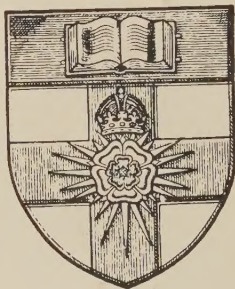


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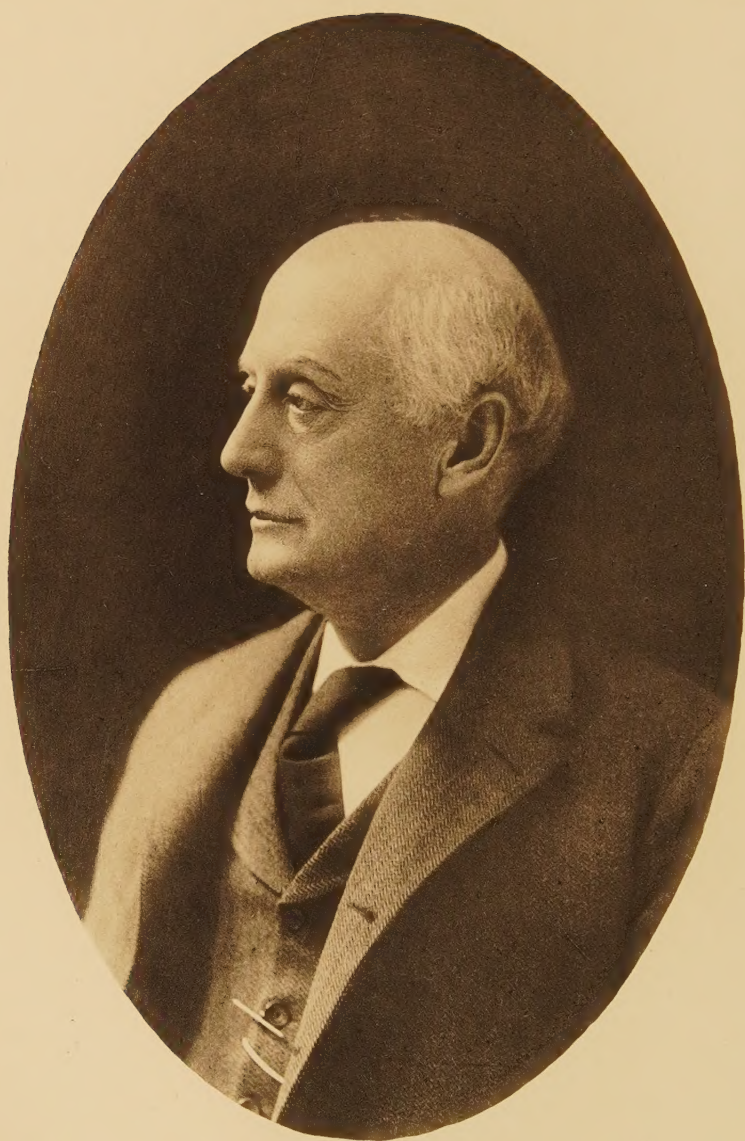
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May 1888
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Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

Proceedings

October, 1929—June, 1930



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Changes in Membership

October, 1929 — September, 1930

HONORARY

1929, George Macaulay Trevelyan, transferred from the Corresponding Roll of 1916

DEATHS

RESIDENT

1873, Winslow Warren, April 3, 1930
1898, George Angier Gordon, October 25, 1929
1903, Moorfield Storey, October 24, 1929
1907, Jonathan Smith, February 28, 1930
1910, Edward Waldo Emerson, January 27, 1930
1922, Morris Schaff, October 19, 1929
1925, John Whittemore Farwell, October 7, 1929

HONORARY

1904, Adolf Harnack, June 15, 1930
1910, Eduard Meyer, August 31, 1930

CORRESPONDING

1927, Claude Halstead Van Tyne, March 21, 1930
1927, Thomas Frederick Tout, October 23, 1929

Proceedings
OF THE
Massachusetts Historical Society

OCTOBER MEETING, 1929

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 10, 1929, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, papers of Thomas Cushing (H. C. 1834), from 1826 to 1879, including his journal January 20, 1833, to October 12, 1834, and a few issues of Boston periodicals of 1846, the *Eagle*, the *Germ*, and the *Bedford Street Budget*.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., papers of the late William Everett, 1864 to 1909.

From Dr. George C. Shattuck, the account book of Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck, the elder, Jan. 1, 1849 to 1853.

From Mrs. Mary Allan Hooper, of Milton, pages from the ledger of John Allan, 1785 to 1789, and a Bible, Charlestown, 1803, containing the family record of Samuel and Susannah Roach (now Rotch); also a record of the family of John Allan (b. 1746).

By deposit, from Mrs. Hooper, a proclamation by John Allan, commanding officer at Machias, Maine, June 23, 1779, to encourage the enlistment of Continental troops to defend the Eastern Country; and letter of Samuel Rodman, Nov. 12, 1867.

By deposit, from Daniel P. Rhodes, the papers of his father, the late JAMES FORD RHODES, from 1889 to 1927, through MARK A. DEWOLFE HOWE, who wrote the biography of Mr. Rhodes.¹

By deposit, from the Boston Young Men's Christian Union, three volumes of newspapers, owned by Edward Everett, 1831-1843.

¹ M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *James Ford Rhodes: American Historian* (New York, 1929).

By purchase, photostats of Winthrop Family Papers in the Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Richard D. Ware, a daguerreotype of "The Christian Socialists," taken perhaps as early as the 60's, but not later than September, 1875, showing a group of seven persons, from left to right: Chauncey Wright (H. C. 1852), Charles William Eliot (H. C. 1853), James Bradley Thayer (H. C. 1852), Ephraim Whitman Gurney (H. C. 1852), Darwin Erastus Ware (H. C. 1852), and the sixth and seventh not yet identified.

From Mr. Allan Forbes, a calendar for 1930, issued by the State Street Trust Company, in commemoration of the coming Tercenary showing St. Botolph's Church, Boston, England, begun in 1309 and completed in 1460. The inhabitants of Boston, in America, are planning to restore the tower of this church, which is badly cracked, and Mr. Forbes, as treasurer of the funds now being collected for that purpose, hopes to be able to finance the whole undertaking with the money for which the State Street Trust Company is acting as depository.

From John K. Allen, a photograph by Warren, Boston, of Longfellow in his study.

From Mrs. Mary Allan Hooper, engraving of the Reverend John Flavel, 1754, bearing the signature of Joshua Winslow, 1761, and a water-color sketch of "Wrecker's Den near the Pond on the Isle of Sable, 1760."

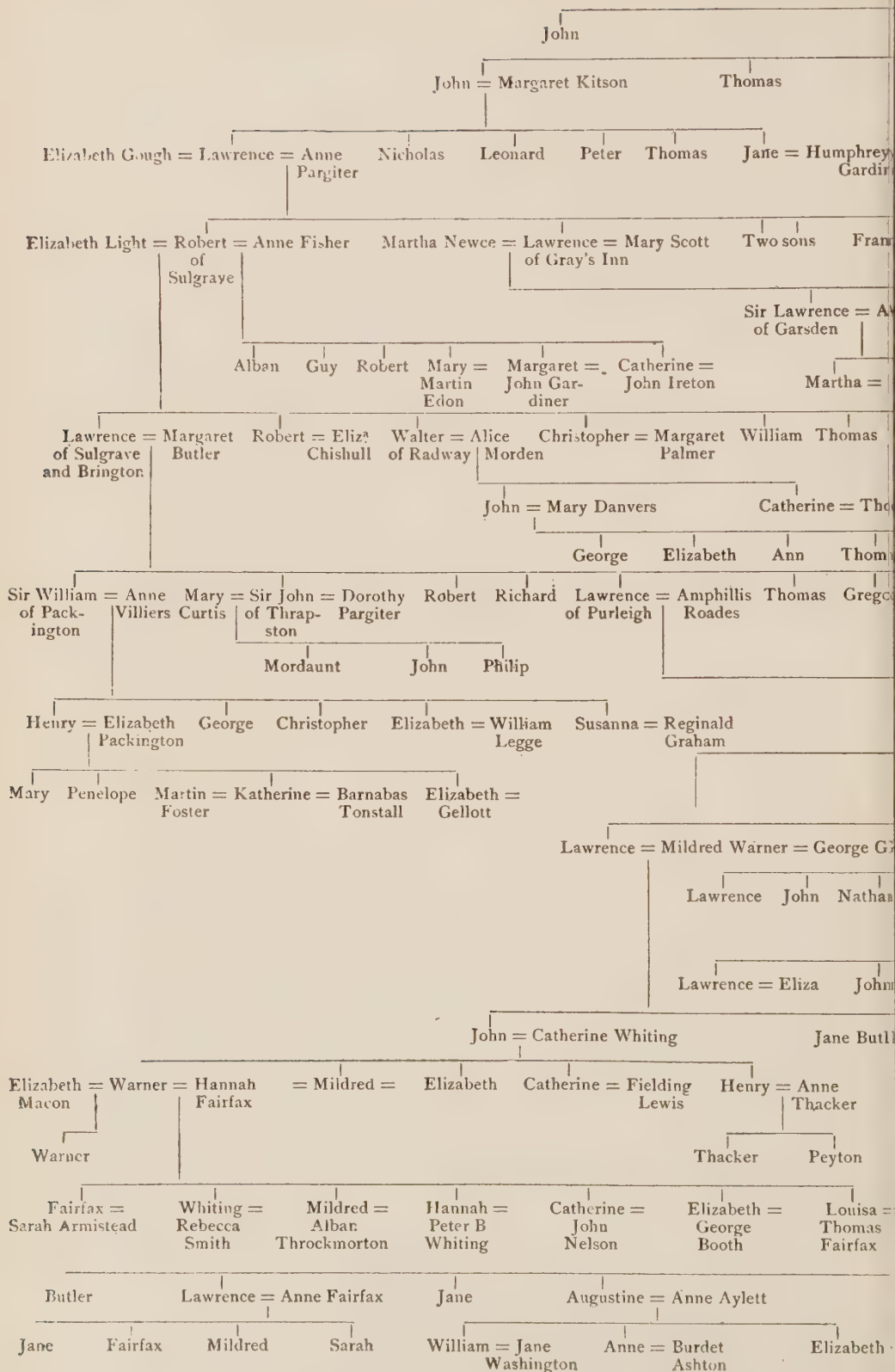
From the National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, the medal worn at its 40th Congress, Springfield, Illinois, May 19-23, 1929.

From the Lechmere National Bank, East Cambridge, their medal.

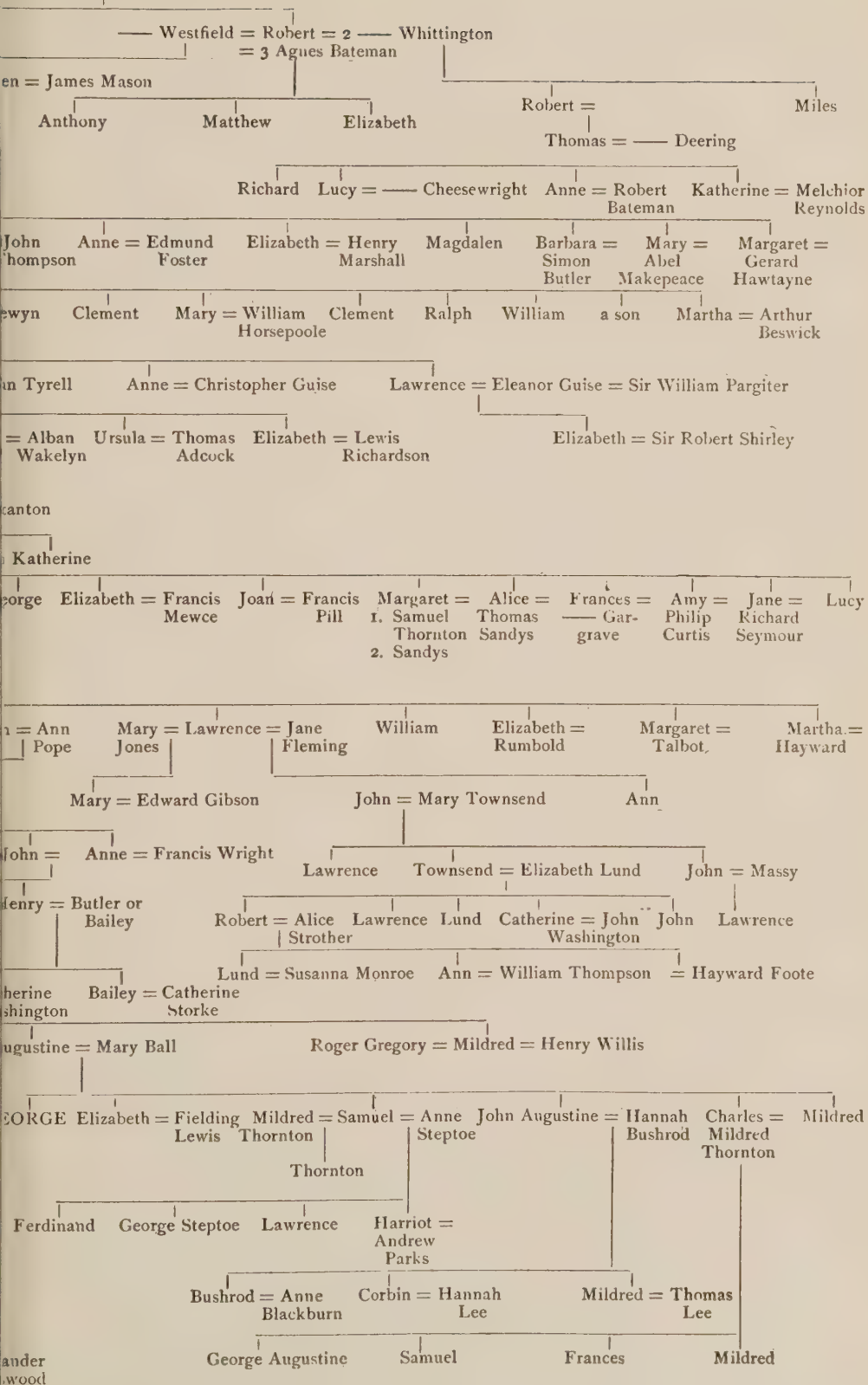
From H. A. Gray, the medal of the Sacred Heart Church, East Boston.

The Corresponding Secretary handed to the Society a gift from our associate GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, one volume of the original manuscripts of his father's *American Revolution*,² which Professor MERRIMAN had received from him while on a recent visit to Trevelyan's home, Hallington Hall, Newcastle-on-Tyne, England. It was voted that the

² Sir George Otto Trevelyan, *The American Revolution* (London, 1899-1914). The manuscript volume contains the text of Part II. Volume I. Chapters IV. and V. (1903).



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thanks of the Society be presented to Dr. TREVELYAN for his gift.

The President announced the death in Boston on October 7, 1929, of JOHN WHITTEMORE FARWELL, a Resident Member, and on June 25, 1929, at Paris, France, of CHARLES VICTOR LANGLOIS, a Corresponding Member.

Frank Washburn Grinnell, of Boston, was elected by ballot a Resident Member of the Society.

Professor-Emeritus ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, spoke on

THE ENGLISH ANCESTRY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

The question of George Washington — of his ancestry in this country and England, is still not satisfactorily answered, in spite of the labors of various members of this Society, particularly Worthington C. Ford, whose admirable edition of the *Writings of George Washington* in fourteen volumes is a monument to his learning, his fairness, and his insight. The Washington Genealogy which appears in the last volume of that collection stands as he left it.¹ Nothing has been discovered that substantially alters the succession of ancestors there set forth; and yet the whole subject is still fluid.

I can give you an example which has come to my knowledge within thirty-six hours. We all think we know exactly where George Washington was born — Wakefield, Virginia, a spot now marked by a monument set up by the government of the United States in the midst of the foundation of what was once a brick house. We “know” that was the spot, because George Washington Parke Custis stood upon it in 1815 and said in effect: “Here is where George Washington was born, and I know it.” That statement as confirmed in a letter by Mr. Custis to the *Alexandria Gazette* (April 14, 1851) has been accepted ever since, and yet even now Mr. Charles A. Hoppin is preparing a re-statement of this fact as based on the security of accuracy.²

¹ Worthington C. Ford, Ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1893), xiv. 319-443, “The Washington Family.”

² George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, Benson J. Lossing, Ed., (Philadelphia, 1859), 127-128; Tyler's *Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, xii. 149-152.

The history of the tracing of the Washington Genealogy is long and interesting. The first, and in many ways the most important person involved, was Washington Irving. A genial writer, a delightful gentleman, he published a biography of George Washington which few people use to-day, although it is a scholarly as well as a readable work, containing a vast amount of information derived at first hand. Irving seems to have been the first man to visit England in order to look up the genealogy of the Washingtons. The story begins with Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-of-Arms, who initiated a correspondence with President Washington in December, 1791, by informing him that he had been investigating the ancestry of the English Washingtons and hoped to complete his record with such particulars as could be furnished by the family in America. In accordance with this request the President wrote to some of his relations and eventually sent Sir Isaac the letter which has been frequently quoted:

I have often heard others of the family older than myself, say, that our ancestor, who first settled in this country, came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember.³

But Washington knew nothing of his family earlier than his great-grandfather John, the immigrant, about whom a good deal of material has been accumulated in recent years. It is an interesting fact, in view of Washington's character as a man of business, that this great-grandfather was a merchant seaman, who not only sailed to the West Indies and to Virginia, but to Copenhagen and Danzig as part owner of cargoes.

Henry F. Waters long ago showed the exact connection between John, the immigrant, and the great family of Washingtons who lived at Sulgrave Manor.⁴ This field of Washington relationships has been the subject of wide inquiries, several Virginian scholars, including Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, hav-

³ Jared Sparks, Ed., *The Writings of George Washington* (Boston, 1839), I. 547: George Washington to Sir Isaac Heard, May 2, 1792.

⁴ *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, XLIII. 379-424: Henry F. Waters, "The Ancestry of Washington."

ing worked out various cross-connections.⁵ Although Washington himself knew no more about the source of the family than anybody else, curiously enough he did know that there was a German branch — a twig of which, Baron George von Washington, I visited about a month ago. Among Washington's letters printed by Jared Sparks, there is one to James Washington of this German line, great-grandfather of Baron George:

There can be little doubt, Sir, of our descending from the same stock, as the branches of it proceeded from the same country. At what time your ancestors left England is not mentioned. Mine came to America nearly one hundred and fifty years ago.⁶

George Washington Parke Custis printed a long letter written at Munich, in 1844, by Baron James von Washington, Chamberlain to the King of Bavaria.⁷ This James was the great-grandson of the James who fled from England to Holland about 1684, having been implicated in one of the many plots centering about the Duke of Monmouth. The letter in Custis's *Recollections* relates the adventures and success of the German Washingtons in Holland and in Bavaria, in the latter of which countries they had become persons of some consequence by 1844. At that time Washington's autograph letter of 1799 was already a treasured possession in the family, as it is to-day, although "the universally famous General and President George Washington" had been obliged to discourage James Washington in the matter of the American commission for which the latter had applied when war with France seemed imminent. The German name of Washington will disappear, unfortunately; for the Baron has children but no son.

As to the Washingtons in England, Irving, as we have seen, was the first man to go to work systematically. In so doing he struck what would seem to be the ancestral source of all the Washingtons: William de Wessyngton of the town of Washington, in what was formerly the Palatinate of Durham.

⁵ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, iv. 28-43; 75-89: Lyon Gardiner Tyler, "Washington and His Neighbors."

⁶ Sparks, *Writings of George Washington*, xi. 393-394: January 20, 1799.

⁷ Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs*, 126-127 n.

Subsequent researches have confirmed the existence not only of William de Wessyngton but of a line which probably will be proved to be that through which all the Washingtons, English, American, and German, are descended.

When I was appointed a member of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission, and its historian, one of the first things that needed to be done, it seemed to me, was to establish this descent. With this in view I made five different journeys to England, for that purpose. My records show at least three hundred Washingtons who were presumably in the same line of which George Washington's family was a conspicuous part. My own researches have been immeasurably aided by Canon Sulloway, of York Cathedral, who for fifteen years, or thereabouts, has been vicar of Selby Abbey, twelve miles to the south, one of the most beautiful parish churches still preserved in England. An American flag hangs in the chancel opposite a magnificent panel of glass which contains a representation of the arms of the Washington family. The identification was the work of Canon Sulloway, whose studies have made him the great authority on the Washingtons. He has succeeded in pushing back the undoubted genealogy of George Washington to a family of Washingtons at Warton, in Lancashire.

Five miles east of Selby is another curious memorial of the Washingtons at a place called Hemingbrough, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. The very beautiful parish church is commonly believed to have been built by John de Wessyngton; once prior of the monastery attached to the cathedral church of Durham. Though his arms are nowhere to be found in the church, Prior John nevertheless left his mark in fifty-two barrel-shaped objects in stone placed around the base of the fine, pointed spire. A barrel is a "tun" in which water is put for washing — "Washing tun." Such, at least, is the tradition of the village, and Canon Sulloway believes that for some obscure reason this device was used to conceal the name now so familiar to us.

We must begin with William de Wessyngton, whose name occurs in the Boldon Book. Durham, as a palatinate, was not, strictly speaking, a part of England at the time the Domesday Book was drawn up; therefore this manuscript

copy of an original lost long ago, is the best substitute we have for the complete feudal list of land extant for the rest of England. The compilation of Boldon Book was begun by Hugh, Bishop of Durham, on March 20, 1183, and represents only the "assizes and customs" of the bishopric.⁸ The entry for William de Wessyngton, or Wessington, reads as follows:

William of Hertburn holds Wessington [Washington] except the church and the land belonging to the church, in exchange for the vill of Hertburn which he quitclaimed for this, and he renders 4 pounds and goes on the great hunt with two hunting-dogs, and when the general aid comes he ought to give in addition 1 mark of the aid.⁹

To connect this remote ancestor, who lived at a place still called Washington—a village in Durham five miles south of Newcastle—with the Washington families of the seventeenth century, is the problem which no one has yet solved. But a curious piece of evidence indicates the direction in which the answer lies—helps us half way, indeed, toward the solution. George Washington and his relations thought, as late as 1792, that their immigrant ancestor "came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly" they did not "precisely remember." "Still more northerly" in England would mean one of four counties: Durham or Northumberland on the east coast, or Westmoreland or Cumberland on the west. At Maidstone, in Kent, is the tomb of Lawrence Washington of the Garsdon branch—not in the direct line of ancestry of George Washington—with an inscription to the effect that he was of the "Washingtons of Durham." The tomb is three hundred years old and thus antedates any evidence from America as to probable origin of the family. It is possible that this Lawrence believed himself to be descended from the William of Hertburn listed in Boldon Book, whose family got their name from a feudal manor on the site of the present-day Washington, a town of factories and col-

⁸ William Page, F.S.A., Ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Durham* (London, 1905), I. 259-327; G. T. Lapsley, "Boldon Book" (Introduction and Text, 259-341; Index, 415-422).

⁹ *Ibid.*, 327.

lieries. South of London, by the way, is another town of Washington — the scene of one of Kipling's stories, "They," — a place named before the Conquest, "Washington" being supposedly the Saxon word for "wet meadow." No connection, however, has ever been traced between any of the Washingtons and this remote town which fiction made famous.

William de Wessyngton is entered in Boldon Book as having come originally from Hertburn, one of three parishes tributary to Durham. The town on the land which he took in exchange for the "vill of Hertburn" is a very poor place to-day: the church is completely rebuilt and next door is a little manor house, Jacobean in style, the stone of which evidently came from an earlier building now in a state of dilapidation. If the Wessyngtons had a seat at Washington, that building, or even a predecessor, must have been the dwelling. About four or five miles away to the east, however, is Hylton Castle, on the front of which are the arms of the noble families who have lived there. Among these are the arms of the Washingtons. The story goes that these were the arms of a granddaughter or great-granddaughter of William de Wessyngton who married a Hylton. There is no longer any doubt of this. Whether there is any record of later intermarriages between the owners of Hylton Castle and the Washingtons of Durham is a question which still requires investigation for an answer.

The mining town of Washington referred to above is on a rise of ground within sight of the North Sea. But Washingtons occur also on the west coast of England, where we find them living within a mile of tidewater at a place called Warton — very likely a contraction for Washington — a village on Morecambe Bay, just six miles north of Lancaster. From these Washingtons of Warton to the Washingtons of Sulgrave Manor a complete line of relationship has been established — first traced by Washington Irving, confirmed by Henry F. Waters, and worked out in detail by a gentleman named Pape. This Mr. Pape is a schoolmaster somewhere in the north of England, and though I have tried repeatedly to find him, he is never at home and the only information I could elicit was the statement that he "goes away in the summer somewhere." But the Reverend Isham Longden, who lives

near Sulgrave, has written the most complete and convincing account of this line of Washingtons in which it is possible to work back eighteen generations to Robert Washington, Lord of Milburn.

Milburn, or Milbourne, is about twenty-two miles south-east of Carlisle, an old-fashioned village built around a square, and containing no great house. There is a tradition, not yet substantiated but probable, that George Washington's father and his two brothers, at the time they went to school at Appleby, in Westmoreland, visited friends at Milburn five miles to the north, on the border of Cumberland. The only place where they could have stayed was Howgill Castle, just a mile to the east of the village, at that time owned by the Sanfords, who came from southern England and were kin of the Washingtons.¹⁰

Beginning with Robert Washington, we can trace the descent directly down to John of Tewhitfield and thence to Lawrence, from which point there is no doubt whatever. But who was the father of John the immigrant? Mr. Waters's researches settled this difficulty, and additional proofs have been brought forward lately. Mr. Waters ascertained that John's father was the Reverend Lawrence Washington, the incumbent (1633) of the valuable living of Purleigh near the town of Maldon, in Essex. This Lawrence Washington was removed by Parliament in November, 1643, on the ground that he was not only a tippler but a "malignant royalist":

The Benefice of Lawrence Washington, Rector of Purleigh in the County of Essex, is sequestered, for that he is a common frequenter of Ale-houses, not only himselfe sitting dayly tippling there, but also encouraging others in that beastly vice, and hath been oft drunk, and hath said, *That the Parliament have more Papists belonging to them in their Armies than the King had about him or in his Army, and that the Parliaments Armie did more hurt than the Cavaliers, and that they did none at all*; and both published them to be Traitours, that lend to or assist the Parliament.¹¹

¹⁰ James Wilson, M. A., Ed., *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland* (London, 1901-1905), I. 16-17; II. 216.

¹¹ *The First Century of Scandalous, Malignant Priests Made and Admitted into Benefices by the Prelates, in whose Hands the Ordination of Ministers and Government of the Church hath been* (London, 1643), cited in Ford, *Writings of Washington*, XIV. 371.

The real reason for his deprivation was probably politics rather than thirst, for John Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* exculpates him of the charge of tippling, on the basis of a letter now in the Bodleian Library written by Henry Ayloffe in 1706:

I doe not remember that ever I knew or heard of Mr. Washington after he had been sequestered, but there was then one Mr. Roberts a neighbor of mine who was owner and patron of a parish so small that nobody would accept of his church (but with difficulty) and Mr. Roberts entertained Mr. Washington, where he was suffered quietly to preach. I have heard him and tooke him to be a very worthy pious man. I have been in his company there, and he appeared a very modest sober person, and I heard him recommended as such by several gentlemen who knew him before I did. He was a loyal person and had one of the best benefices in these parts, and this was the only cause of his expulsion as I verily believe.¹²

Indeed, so far as they had an opportunity, all the Washingtons fought on the royal side during the Civil War. Two brothers of Lawrence, Sir William, who married Anne Villiers, the half-sister of the great Duke of Buckingham, and a second son, Sir John, were both of them loyal soldiers of the first two Stuart kings. Sir John lived long enough to be handsomely rewarded by Charles II, who also honored the son of Sir William.

It was a great-grandfather of the Reverend Lawrence Washington of Purleigh, another Lawrence, fourth in descent from John Washington of Tewhitfield, who first acquired Sulgrave Manor from Henry VIII at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries. The manor was part of the possessions of the priory of St. Andrew and three generations of the Washington family lived there until 1610, when it was sold. The part of this homestead which survives, a stone dwelling just fifteen miles southwest of Northampton, is a place of pilgrimage for Americans. This important acquisition by the Washington family resulted from their intermarriage with the Kytsons, John Washington of the third generation having married Margaret, sister of Sir Thomas Kytson of Warton, Lancashire, alderman of London and Master of the Mercers

¹² Ford, *Writings of Washington*, xiv. 373.

Company in 1535. Sir Thomas raised wool on a grand scale: he acquired pasture land for sheep; the fleece was spun and woven into cloth and distributed through a machinery of sale that he himself contrived. Kytson helped to vitalize industrial England; possibly this fact was recognized when he was knighted by Henry VIII, whose daughter, Elizabeth, granted the son the same honor. This son built the magnificent country house of Hengrave, not very far from Cambridge — one of the very finest in all England. Both father and son lie buried in Hengrave Church.

Apparently much of the Kytson money flowed in the direction of the purchaser of Sulgrave, Lawrence Washington, who was not only twice Mayor of Northampton, but something of a character. So much has been said of Henry VIII having generously bestowed monasteries right and left, that it is hard for us to realize that the King's grants were a source of great profit to himself. When Lawrence Washington, for instance, came to settle up for Sulgrave Manor and certain other parcels of land in the neighborhood, he had to pay the Crown over £300 to establish his title. Perhaps the chief reason for the purchase of Sulgrave was the fact that it included land on which sheep could be profitably raised for the Kytson family industry. To-day visitors are told that this manor was once a monastery, and they are shown where the chapel must have been. But nothing of the kind existed, for Sulgrave was simply the principal building on a country estate which was owned and operated for the benefit of the monks of the priory of St. Andrew in Northampton.

Robert Washington, the son of Lawrence, seems also to have had plenty of money, for he rebuilt Sulgrave, where, tradition has it, Queen Elizabeth herself spent a night as his guest. Robert, a second son of Robert, not only enlarged the house but panelled the hall, in which he installed eight representations on glass of the arms of the Washingtons and the eight families with whom they had intermarried. The replica of one of these coats, which I have here, contains those of the Washingtons and the Kytsons. Another panel represented the arms of a family named Newce. While going over the papers relative to the transfer of the property in Wakefield, Virginia, I was amazed to discover

that near neighbors of the Washingtons there bore the same name.

Washington Irving saw these eight glass panels in position when he visited England, but to-day they are no longer there. Apparently at a time when the house was deserted and going to ruin, these panels passed into the possession of two or three county families in the vicinity; and there seven of them are still. Six of them would seem to have been deposited temporarily in the church of Fawsley. Two I have seen; four, I know, are still in existence.

When I first heard of these panels of glass, I placed an advertisement in *The Times* asking for any information about them. Thereupon I received a letter from a Dr. Turpin of Bath to the effect that he owned such a representation of the arms of the Washington and Kytson families and intimating that it was for sale. On my next visit to England, I called upon him in Bath. He brought out this very panel, and my mouth watered, for I knew of the set of eight which had once ornamented the hall of Sulgrave Manor. I offered Dr. Turpin £200, and no questions asked; whereupon he said he would rather look further and make some inquiries. A few weeks later he wrote me that the price was £20,000—a sum I did not quite feel like paying. Some time after I met Dr. Turpin, quite by accident, in a restaurant in the Strand. He was carrying a package which he placed on the table. “There,” he said, “you can have it for two-and-six. We have just now had an opinion on it and they say the glass is new though the lead is old.” He himself, I learned, had paid £2. 10s for the trophy.

In the neighborhood of Sulgrave are many spots connected with the Washingtons, and I have made it my business to try to search out every one. So far, I have located forty-two in Northamptonshire alone. One family with which the Washingtons were associated and whose arms were placed in the hall at Sulgrave, was that of Thorpe-Mandeville, a village about a mile to the west, where one of the panels had gone about 1780. There I found it, in the house of an hereditary parson named Humphrey, set into a piece of furniture, a large secretary, which to-day is in the White House, as the gift of Mr. Bernard Baruch.

The difficult puzzle of the genealogy of the Washingtons remains unsolved, and these are the complications. In the east of England, in Durham, approximately where George Washington thought the family had originated, we find a succession of Washingtons, four or five generations. But in the west of England, in Westmoreland and Lancashire, we find an unbroken line of Washingtons beginning with Robert, Lord of Milburn, and terminating in George Washington. Whether, or in what way, William de Wessyngton was the ancestor of Robert of Milburn, is the question. Although I have tried to follow up every Washington mentioned in the records, I have thus far failed to establish any connection between these two branches. One suggestive fact we have to work with: the eastern Washingtons, of Washington in Durham, had possessions in the west, as evidenced by grants of land in the neighborhood of Kendal, not more than twenty miles south of Milburn and ten miles north of Warton. Again, as early as 1350, a Washington came to the hamlet of Knipe and married an heiress, and his descendants held an estate there for many years. Indeed there are at least ten places near Kendal and Windermere in which the Washingtons at one time owned property, and some of that property came from the eastern line, because we know that William of Hertburn and Washington, who was listed in Boldon Book in 1183, held considerable areas of land in western England, particularly in Lancashire.

A gentleman named Plantagenet Harrison, a native of a village called Whashton, or Washeton, three miles northwest of Richmond in the North Riding of Yorkshire,¹³ has been working at the problem of connecting the eastern Washingtons with those of the west. Whashton is not only one of the smallest of villages but one of the hardest to get to, but Mr. Harrison has long felt certain that this Whashton in Yorkshire, not Washington in Durham, was the real starting-place of the Washingtons. There are unquestionable traces of families named Washington in the neighborhood of Richmond, and Mr. Harrison may one day discover that the connection between William de Wessyngton and

¹³ William Page, F.S.A., Ed., *The Victoria History of the County of York: North Riding* (London, 1914-1923), I. 566, map.

Robert of Milburn is traceable to the neighborhood of Richmond.

The name Milburn suggests how difficult it is, sometimes, to establish exact truth. In Northumberland is another Milburn, a little village twelve miles northwest of Newcastle and not more than fifteen miles from the colliery town of Washington in Durham. I had ruled this town out as having no probable connection with George Washington, but lately I happened on a grant of land made in 1204 to a Washington in this Milburn, and when I visited the place I found two houses — one of them a large dwelling. The proprietor knew nothing about the Washingtons, but luckily he had a set of *The Victoria History* in his library, with one of the volumes of which I was able to show him that he owned the land a Washington had owned seven centuries before — land within a bowshot of his mansion.

Among the houses connected with the family of George Washington is that of the Garsdon branch in Wiltshire. Their relationship to the American Washingtons can be seen in Mr. Ford's genealogy¹⁴ to which I have referred, Sir Lawrence Washington of Garsdon having been the grandson of the Lawrence Washington who bought Sulgrave Manor and the first cousin of the Lawrence Washington who sold it in 1610. Sir Lawrence occupied very much the same position in his town — a little village five miles east of Malmesbury — that John Winthrop did in Groton before he came over to America in 1630. He was born about 1579, matriculated at Oxford, served as Registrar in the High Court of Chancery, succeeding his father in that office in 1619, and was knighted by Charles I in 1627. He purchased the manor from the descendants of a man named Boody, who had had the enterprise to rush up and pull Henry VIII out of a bog into which the heavy monarch had been thrown head first while hunting — receiving the grant of this real estate as a reward from the grateful king. Suitably enough, the son of Sir Lawrence, the purchaser, "set forth four men and horses" in the service of Charles I, had his own horse shot under him at Newbury, and was mulcted £50 for the restoration of his estate of £1200 a year by the government of one of Cromwell's Major-Generals.

¹⁴ Ford, *Writings of Washington*, xiv. 318.

By a curious set of circumstances I found living not very far from Swindon, twelve miles to the east of Garsdon, a lady who has a large piece of building stone on which are carved the arms of the Washington and Lawrence families joined, showing intermarriage. The stone is for sale, but there was, for a time, a legal complication, the difficulty being the interpretation of the English laws of real estate. Years ago, a tenant of the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire found this stone upside down in a pigsty, noticed the arms on it, kept it "loose," so that it never became "attached" to the place he rented, and when he moved out, took it with him. His daughter has it now, and is willing that others should have it. The difficulty was to discover the state of mind of the present Earl on the subject of rightful ownership, but the fact that he disclaims property interest (in the course of the sixty or seventy years since the stone was first separated from its setting) leads to the hope that it will eventually reach the United States.

The search made in the endeavor to establish the connection between the Washingtons of the east and west of northern England, has naturally led to the accumulation of a mass of details as to persons of that name. Apart from the ancestor who fled to Holland, and his descendants, the German Washingtons of Bavaria, there would seem to be no other Washingtons on the Continent. So far, I am not aware of any in the English West Indies or the Colonies. The main outflow of the Washingtons from England seems to have come in the direction of this country. The stock must have been prolific, for the families are not only large, but numerous and widely scattered. My present list shows two hundred and sixty places in England where pieces of real estate were owned at one time by Washingtons, or connected closely with them in some way—so far as one can get a completely clear statement.

This glass replica of one of the original eight glass panels set up in the hall of Sulgrave Manor is a reminder of one of the most prosperous chapters in the history of a great family—a chapter which was drawing to a close by the time John, the immigrant ancestor of George Washington, set out for America at the middle of the seventeenth century. The stars

and the fish distinguish the Washington and the Kytson arms respectively — the colored glass surrounding the central section is purely decorative, or was supposed to be. The heraldic accuracy of these arms I must leave to the committee authorized to pass upon it.

Professor Hart showed the modern reproduction, on a panel of colored glass, of the arms of the Washingtons (*argent two bars gules, in chief three mullets of the second*) of Sulgrave Manor, in Northamptonshire, and those of the Kytsons of Warton, in Lancashire. This he presented to the Society, in behalf of which the President thanked him.

Mr. NORCROSS presented to the Society copies of several historical letters from his autograph collections.

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO THOMAS L. MCKENNEY

DEPARTMENT OF WAR, December 24, 1817

SIR,

You are requested to transmit for the information of this department, a list, with the prices, including expenses of transportation of the goods which have been furnished to the Cherokee nation of Indians, under the late treaty concluded with that nation.

I have the honor to be,

Your most obedient Servant

J. C. CALHOUN

Thomas L. McKenney, Esq;
Superintendent Indian trade,
Georgetown,
District of Columbia.

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO WILLIAM POPE DUVAL ¹

WAR DEPARTMENT
22 October 1820

MY DEAR SIR,

I most sincerely sympathise with you in that reverse of fortune, which you have made known to me in your two last letters. The

¹ William Pope Duval (1784-1854) lawyer, Congressman, and first civil governor of Florida (1822-1834), was born near Richmond, Virginia, and

calamity of the times appear to be such to the West, that but few will entirely escape its sure visitation. Yet in your case, it must be a source of much consolation, that it has been brought on you not by imprudent speculations, or by living beyond your means, but by a generous confidence in others.

As soon as the President returned to the city, I brought your case before him; and I can venture to say that he feels a lively interest in your favour, of which on the first suitable occurrence, he will give substantial proofs.

He fully confides in your talents and integrity, and feels that your claim is increased by your reverses. In the meantime, he is not aware of any vacancy to the West, which would suit you, and he desires me to say to you, that he desires you, should any vacancy occur, which would suit you, to communicate your wish in relation to it.

I have had a long and a very agreeable excursion to the North. The country through which, I passed, is I presume, surpassed by very few. The interior of New York, taking it all and all, is an admirable country. In New England, I was much gratified to find, that, since my residence there formerly, there has been a great increase of attachment to our republican institution.

We have no foreign news except such as you have seen detailed in the publick prints.

To return to yourself, you are young and with an excellent constitution, and with your talents and experience, will readily with proper exertion reclaim your affairs. You must not therefore despair, or permit yourself to take any hasty resolution. Continue vigorously the pursuit in which you are engaged till a favourable opportunity offers, still to do better yourself. It is said to be easy to advice those in misfortune, but I am sure you will not set down my suggestions to a cold lecturing morality, but to a sincere desire to see you prosper.

With great respect
and esteem I am,
J. C. CALHOUN

Hon. William P. Duval

went out to Kentucky, alone, as early as 1800. He sat as a Republican in Congress (1813-1815), and in 1821 President Monroe appointed him the first judge of the Superior Court of East Florida. *Dictionary of American Biography*, v. 557-558. The spelling is Calhoun's.

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO JOHN PLUMMER HEALY ²

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON, 28 May, 1844

J. P. Healy, Esquire
Boston, Massachusetts

SIR:

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th instant, relative to the liberation of a young man who is now at Botany Bay; and to inform you, in reply, that the petition of which you speak may be addressed to Her Majesty Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *etc., etc., etc.*; that the ordinary form of petition should, in the case under consideration, be observed; that the prisoner's place of residence previously to his arrest might be stated; and that, as good behaviour after their arrival in the colonies is a condition invariably required in pardoning prisoners transported to the British penal settlements, that fact ought to be set forth in the petition, if it can with propriety be done, together with any other which, in the opinion of the friends of the prisoner, would be calculated to strengthen his claims to the royal clemency.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient Servant,
J. C. CALHOUN

JOHN C. CALHOUN TO GENERAL THOMAS WORTHINGTON ³

WASHINGTON
7 July 1846

DEAR SIR,

The independent course I felt myself bound to take on the question of declaring war against Mexico, prevents me from interfering, or offering any advice, except in my place as senator with those who have the charge of conducting it.

With great respect
I am *etc.*

General T. Worthington

J. C. CALHOUN

² John Plummer Healy (1810-1882) was born in Washington, New Hampshire, graduated from Dartmouth, and studied law in the office of Daniel Webster, whose partner he became. From 1856 to 1882 he served as city solicitor and corporation counsel of Boston. *Memoir of John Plummer Healy, LL.D.* (Boston, 1882).

³ Thomas Worthington (1807-1884) was born at Adena, near Chillicothe, son of one of the first Governors of Ohio. He was graduated from West Point

GEORGE DEAS ⁴ TO GENERAL BEAUREGARDMONTGOMERY
March 20, '61

DEAR BEAUREGARD

I send you herewith the official acceptance of your resignation from the old service — which was forwarded here from New Orleans. We are up to the eyes in business here. Feeling quite secure in all things around Fort Sumter, our attention is now more particularly directed to Fort Pickens. Five thousand men are now on their way thither. We have intelligence of reinforcements having been ordered to land at that place, probably it means the force on board the Brooklyn.

Permit me to congratulate you for the decidedly good effect you have produced at Charleston. In passing through I could easily see that a military head was wanting — and on arriving here was much gratified to find that the want had been supplied by my old friend Beauregard.

With sincere wishes for your continued fame and fortune, believe me

Truly yours
GEORGE DEAS

General Beauregard

The Chairman of the Committee of Publication, Professor MORISON, communicated a note made by Mr. George Washington Robinson, Editor of the second volume of the *Winthrop Papers*, during his researches in the records of the Court of Wards and Liveries, in London, during the past summer:

in 1827 and served as an adjutant in the Mexican War. In 1862, as Colonel of the 46th Ohio Volunteers, he became involved in a controversy over Shiloh with Grant and Sherman, the latter of whom had mentioned him for personal bravery in his dispatches. Colonel Worthington was honorably discharged November 21, 1862, but was publishing attacks on Grant as late as 1880. Daniel J. Ryan, *The Civil War Literature of Ohio: a Bibliography* (Cleveland, 1911), 460-463.

⁴ Colonel George Deas (1816-1870), son of William Allen Deas, was born in Philadelphia and died in Flint, Michigan. His mother, Anne, was a daughter of Ralph Izard of South Carolina. During the twenty-three years he was in the United States Army, Colonel Deas served with distinction in the Mexican War, under both Taylor and Scott. He married Mary Elizabeth Garland, a sister of the wife of General James Longstreet. In 1861 he became Inspector-General of the Confederate Army, and in 1862 was Acting Assistant-Secretary of War.

AFFIDAVIT OF ELIZABETH BRENT

In the first volume of the *Winthrop Papers* (362-363) there is printed a petition of Brampton Gurdon to the Court of Wards concerning John Brent of Cossington, Somerset, a ward of the King. The following affidavit and order, also relating to John Brent, copied from Court of Wards, books 567 (47) and 543 (86), May 15 and 16, 1628, further illustrate the functions and procedure of the same Court.

(1)

Elizabeth Brent of Cossington in the County of Somerset widdow mother of John Brent esq. his maiesties warde maketh oath That John Brent esq. father of the said warde her late husband died seised in taylor of the Mannor of Cossington in the said County of Somerset, and of a certayne wast Common or moore called Cossington outmoore alias Cotemoore parcell of the said Mannor, as by an Inquisicion founde after her husbandes death appeareth, in which said Moore her said husband had fishing and fowling and made and enjoyed wayes and passages as well for water course as carriages, and punished in his Court Baron offenders vpon the said moore, and as this deponent beleeveth (haueinge crediblye heard it though shee were not then present) that her said husband did drive the Cattell vpon the said Moore as Lord of the soyle accordinge to the custome of the country. And that in all other thinges her said husband did acte and tooke himselfe as Lord of the soyle of the said moore duringe all his life, and that her said husband and his Tenants and the now Tenants of the said warde haue and doe pay tythes for Cattell depasturinge vpon the said Moore to the parson of Cossington only, and not to the parson of Hunsvill or any other Parson. And the said deponent further saith that the said warde haueinge lately taken a pray vpon his said Moore hath byn lately arrested by the Earle of Bath Lord of the Mannor of Hunsvill for the same. And that shee this deponent hath byn allsoe arrested for the same [by] the said Earle and three accions are now brought against her for the same, one by the said Earle, another by one John Ash and another by one Thomas Eames two tenants or Inhabitants of the mannor of Hunsvill aforesaid. And that two other accions are brought for the same by the said Earle against John Bennett and John Pride two tenants or servants of the said warde att the Common Lawe. All which Five severall vexatious accions are brought meerely touching the said wardes drivinge the said pray.

(2)

Vpon readinge the affidavit of Elizabeth Brent widowe recorded the xvth of this moneth and vpon hearinge of Sir Richard Mynshall knight of Counsell with John Brent esq. his Maiesties ward by Information plaintiff against the right honorable Edward Earle of Bath John Band officer to the said Earle John Ashe Thomas Eames and others defendantes It is ordered that an Iniunccion shalbe heereby awarded against the said Earle and against John Band and others defendantes to staie the severall suites at the Common Lawe brought against the ward, or his mother or against any others the wardes tenantes or servants In regard the said suites doe tend to question the wards Inheritance towching a wast Comon or Moore called Cossington out Moore alias Cotemore. And further to enioyne the said defendantes and all others whome yt doth or may concerne to permitt and suffer the ward and his tenantes and servants to vse and enioy the benefitt of the said Comon in all respects as the wardes Father in his life time and his Auncestors held vsed and enioyed the same without interrupcion or disturbance vntill the cause shall receive hearinge vpon the Information.

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 14, 1929, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

From the late John Henry Edmonds, Manuscript Note-Books, 24 in number, giving valuable references to historical material prepared for the late Frederick L. Gay, with whom he was at one time associated in historical researches.

From Charles Albert Frost, of Framingham, papers of the Frost family, of Monmouth, Maine, 1814 to 1867, mostly letters from his father, Horace Carr Frost, of Company K, 7th Maine regiment, including his service in the Navy, in the Civil War.

From Harry A. Wright, of Springfield, a photostat negative of the report of the King's Commissioners, by Edward Cranfield and others, October 20, 1683, on the establishment of the King's Province in controversy between Rhode Island and Connecticut, from the original manuscript in the Connecticut State Library.

From the Saturday Club, through Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, papers, 1855 to 1927, used as a basis of the two published volumes of its history and biography, by Edward Waldo Emerson in 1918, and by Mr. Howe in 1927.

From Matt B. Jones, of Newton, a deed of land in Stoughton, by Katharine Withington, March 14, 1747, to John Bennet; and a copy of a "Sorrowful Poem" on Isaac Stetson, of Scituate, "who was cast away in a sloop near the mouth of the North River," Nov. 1, 1718.

By purchase, Journal of Robert M. Cushing, of Belmont, kept on a trip from Boston and New York to Florence, Italy, 1859-1860, illustrated with colored lithographs and other views.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Arthur Holland, of Washington, D. C., of additional relics associated with William Dawes, the patriot, and his family, placed with her former similar gifts, in an exhibition case, all given

in memory of her late husband (1850-1926), a great-grandson of Mr. Dawes.

From the General Society of the Cincinnati, through Winslow Warren, of Dedham, President-General of that Society, one of the medallions of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of George Washington, made by Christian Petersen, sculptor, which were presented to delegates at the Triennial Meeting of the Society in Boston, June, 1929.

From T. Julien Silsby, several badges of the Sons of the American Revolution, and of Masonic bodies, 1889-1917.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, a gold dollar of 1853; a Canada Confederation medal, 1927; a twenty franc piece, France, 1810.

By purchase, a set of eight coins, of the Free State of Ireland, and a badge of the Boston City Guards awarded Sept. 1, 1851, to Lieut. David Pulsifer for the best average shots.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL accepting Resident Membership.

The Vice-President announced the death of THOMAS FREDERICK TOUT, of London, England, a Corresponding Member, on October 23, and of three Resident Members: General MORRIS SCHAFF, at Southborough, Mass., on October 19; MOORFIELD STOREY, at Lincoln, Mass., on October 24; and of the Reverend GEORGE ANGIER GORDON, at Brookline, on October 25.

GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN, now a Corresponding Member, was by a unanimous vote chosen an Honorary Member of the Society.

George Francis Dow, of Topsfield, was elected by ballot a Resident Member, and Professor Henri Hauser, of Paris, France, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. ALLEN FRENCH read a paper on

THE HALLOWELL-GRAVES FISTICUFFS, 1775

I hesitate to present my offering to-day, because it is not serious history. I have nothing to do, this afternoon, with great deliberations, notable decisions, or epoch-making events. And yet, if you agree with me that the personal qualities of men have much to do with the course of affairs,

that a man's largeness or littleness has bearing on the way he carries out his trusts, even gossip can throw some light on history. We who have seen important elections turn, not on a candidate's abilities nor even on his honesty, but on his personal warmth or coldness, or his tact, may be willing to look at the personal quarrel of two men as throwing light not only upon themselves but on the events in which they took part. For one of the antagonists was typical, I believe, of an important section of the American Tories. And the other, the British admiral, had laid upon him a great responsibility in which his personal qualities may have affected his failure.

It has long been known, if any have cared to remember it, that on August 11, 1775, when Boston was under siege by the provincial forces, there was an encounter in the street between Benjamin Hallowell, Commissioner of Customs, and Samuel Graves, admiral of the British fleet. Few besides local historians have troubled to record the affair; but as was natural in a small community where time hung heavy (for the siege had for some weeks been very monotonous and eventless) it was at the time the subject of comment more or less malicious, since both of the gentlemen were personally unpopular. It was recorded in many letters, and spoken of in newspapers, and between these manuscripts and printed papers it has got itself spread upon the records. It might remain thus half-forgotten, as insignificant, had not the comparatively recent emergence of the Gage and Clinton papers¹ thrown fresh light upon the affair. I have, as well, stumbled upon two letters of the Admiral's. In order thoroughly to air the matter, and to let you judge what deeper significance it may have (which indeed is not very much), I offer the new documentation to-day. I am not very solemn about it, however, and warn you that beyond a new slant in a breath of scandal, it is still not momentous.

¹ The Gage MSS., the Clinton MSS., and the Germain MSS., referred to in this article, are in the possession of Mr. William L. Clements, Bay City, Michigan. Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Mr. Clements for permission to study and print from his collection. The papers will eventually be bestowed on the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, to which students should address any inquiries. Neither the Gage Papers nor the Clinton Papers have been printed. The Germain Papers have been printed, in part, in a report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, from which quotations have been taken.

Benjamin Hallowell was of Boston descent. His earlier record is confused by the fact that he had a brother Robert. Both were in the customs service, and both, in consequence, were involved in the Stamp Act riots of 1765, and the affair of the seizure of Hancock's sloop *Liberty*, in 1768. It would appear that at this early time Benjamin was comptroller of the customs, Robert an inspector. Sabine accords to the latter, but Drake is correct in ascribing to our Benjamin the misfortune of having his house plundered in the Stamp Act Riot, when the mob, drunk with Hallowell's wine, went on to gut Hutchinson's house. Again, 1768, Robert was injured by the mob, and his brother's windows broken. Later both brothers were promoted, Benjamin to be commissioner of the customs, Robert to be comptroller, which offices they held at the time of the siege. A lamentation by John Temple in 1772, in the form of a petition to the Lords of the Treasury, would seem to prove that Benjamin Hallowell was a good manipulator of his own affairs. Going to England without leave, he got an allowance of a guinea a day, with payment for his ocean passages; while Temple, his superior, taking the same unpermitted leave, was forced to beg for reimbursement, while complaining of his mortification at learning that Hallowell had superseded him as commissioner.²

A glimpse of Benjamin Hallowell is given by John Adams in his diary of 1766 — at least one may assume that he means Benjamin and not Robert when he simply says "Mr. Hallowell." Benjamin was the elder brother, and as such, in those days, he was entitled to the Mr. without his given name. Adams in January, 1766, recorded that he

dined at Mr. Nick Boylston's, with the two Mr. Boylstons, two Mr. Smiths, Mr. Hallowell, and their ladies — an elegant dinner indeed. . . . The conversation of the two Boylstons and Hallowell is a curiosity. Hotspurs all. . . . Hallowell tells stories about Otis, and drops hints about Adams, *etc.*, Otis told him, he says, that the Parliament had a right to tax the colonies, and he was a d—d fool who denied it; that this people never would be quiet until we had a council from home [that is, from England], till our charter

² Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1864), I. 508–511; Samuel Gardner Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston, 1856), 686, 695n., 699, 735–736; 6 *Collections*, IX. 141n., 152n., 287 ff.

was taken away, and till we had regular troops quartered upon us. He says he saw Adams under the tree of liberty when the effigies³ hung there, and asked him who they were and what; he said he did not know — he could not tell — he wanted to inquire.

One wonders if one sees in these broken phrases Samuel Adams's manner of speaking.

Benjamin Hallowell, then, who married Nick Boylston's sister, lived in some style if we can accept the contemporary descriptions of his new and elegantly furnished mansion, plundered by the mob. We have also the testimony of Abigail Adams, who dined at his house in London in 1784. She described his "handsome dinner of salt fish, pea soup, boiled fowl and tongue, roast and fried lamb, with a pudding and fruit." A curious dinner that, according to our ideas, if salt fish came before the soup; but if codfish was thus accorded precedence, the meal was truly, as Mrs. Adams said, "a little in the Boston style." She added "Mr. Hallowell lives handsomely, but not in that splendor which he did in Boston." He took his place, then, among the Boston aristocrats. In right derived from his wife he owned, besides his mansion in Hanover Street, a house in Jamaica Plain, from which it is said he made a hasty departure early in April, 1775, thenceforth to stay in Boston until he left it with the British troops, at the evacuation.⁴

And he was a Hotspur. I repeat John Adams' characterization of him in order that we may consider him both personally and as a member of a class. Personally, then, Hallowell had strong opinions of his political opponents, and did not hesitate to tell of them what we should hesitate to believe. One would like John Adams's opinion of Hallowell's stories. We are not shocked to learn that Samuel Adams may not have been willing to tell Hallowell the interpretation of the two figures, the man and the horned jack-boot, hanging on

³ Of Andrew Oliver and Bute, in Stamp Act days. The quotation is taken from Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850), II. 179-180.

⁴ This Jamaica Plain house was at the corner of Boylston and Centre Streets, and is illustrated in Justin Winsor, Ed., *The Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), II. 344. For Hallowell in London, see Charles F. Adams, Ed., *Letters of Mrs. Adams, the Wife of John Adams* (Boston, 1848), 174-176; 178.

Liberty Tree. Adams may have appeared on the scene no sooner than Hollowell himself, but we suspect that he may have had some previous knowledge of the scheme, and he may well have preferred to keep his knowledge to himself. What Hollowell told John Adams of James Otis is of a piece with other whispers about that great but eccentric patriot, and need no more be believed than his greatness (or his eccentricity) permits. But Hollowell had no hesitation in telling his tale in the presence of a disciple of Otis.

A man of Hollowell's type would be equally frank in expressing himself before the mass of his political opponents, and it is not difficult to guess what that opinion would be. In the first place, the mob had twice taken vengeance of Hollowell, in a way which no one can condone, and he had every reason to dislike and dread them. But in the second place, let us consider for a moment the feeling of the aristocratic loyalist toward the mass of his Whig opponents.

The upper-class Tories in Massachusetts were, it must be remembered, close imitators of their prototypes in England. There is much to show that they were a semi-leisure class, coming, to be sure, out of mercantile life, but ambitious, as few modern Americans are, to retire early and live upon an estate like an English gentleman. They drew the line between themselves and the generality of their countrymen as sharply as possible, with the upper-class Englishman's belief that they were of different clay. The English gentleman was thoroughly imbued with the idea of his superiority to the lower class; and though in this simpler land it had been impossible to establish any such generally-accepted distinction, it seems certain that a type among the Tories held the rest of their countrymen in much disdain, patterning in this after the travelling Englishman. It was natural enough for Henry Hulton, imported official, to despise the yokels who killed gentlemen at Bunker Hill. But Jonathan Sewall, Yankee born, and a humane man, wrote of the provincials who had seized his property, "my farm [is] in possession of the very worst of all God's creation."⁵

If this be so, there was a class of Tory who was as irrecon-

⁵ 2 *Proceedings*, x. 414. For Hulton's letter, see Ann Hulton, *Letters of a Loyalist Lady* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 99.

cilable as any conservative of any period. And I invite you to consider one opinion which has long been prevalent. It is customary to say that in losing the loyalists, America suffered a great loss. Their culture would have been of value after the Revolution in raising the social level of a new society. Their conservatism would have provided a political balance-wheel. Their fine qualities would have been useful in various ways. To all this I thoroughly agree. But I do believe that there were some who never could have been happy, or even comfortable, in their old abode. They were those who were incurably aristocratic, who believed not merely in the royalist government principle, but who believed in class, could not agree in the American "levelling," never would allow that the common man could be as good as themselves. Jonathan Sewall, you will remember, never wished to return to America. I offer for your consideration the idea that these men never could have been satisfied nor even useful in a democracy, and that their talents were best exercised elsewhere.

I suppose that Benjamin Hallowell was one of this sort, who believed so thoroughly in his own kind that he could not admit any claim to equality from the class or classes below. And having this opinion, and being a Hotspur, he was the man to express himself not only of those classes but to those classes. He was, in consequence, personally very unpopular, not merely among the Whigs, but also among the Tories. Among the Whigs the feeling against him was so strong that it led to the next incident, when Hallowell entered history.

This was on the second of September, 1774. You may recall that in a paper read before this Society⁶ I recited how William Brattle suggested to General Gage that the provincial powder had best be removed from the powder-house in Medford, and that Gage, early in the morning of the first of September, sent troops and took it all away. In indignation, the people rose; rumors were sent flying, and from as far away as Connecticut men came marching with arms in their hands. This was the famous Powder Alarm. Near at hand, however, the people were not armed, and on the second, having

⁶ *Proceedings*, LXII. (January, 1929) 55, "Massachusetts Minute-Men and Militia, 1774 and 1775," a chapter in a forthcoming book.

assembled in Cambridge, proceeded by the familiar processes of a public meeting to require the resignation of the Lieutenant-Governor, Thomas Oliver, and such councillors as fell into their hands.

While Cambridge was occupied by some thousands of people on this extra-constitutional business, it happened that Benjamin Hallowell, riding in his post-chaise accompanied by a mounted servant, came by. Hallowell's livery, or his face, may have been recognized and its presence resented by the mob. It is quite as likely, if we have rightly judged the man, that his disdain of the unlawful proceedings, and of the men who carried it on, appeared on his features. We all know that a sneer can spoil a very hopeful situation; and this situation was not hopeful at all. At once the horsemen among the gathering, estimated at from a hundred to a hundred and sixty men, forgetting the real reason for their presence in Cambridge, turned their attention to Hallowell.

"That obnoxious person" was proceeding on toward Roxbury, perhaps ignorant of the pursuit which had begun "at full gallop," when leaders among the Whigs tried to stop this entirely unnecessary proceeding. Captain Gardner of Cambridge, Richard Devens of Charlestown, and Dr. Young of Boston, "delivered their minds very fully," and "generally observed" that as the business of the day had nothing to do with Hallowell, he had best be let alone. They did not entirely succeed. The story commonly quoted is that "one gentleman of a small stature pushed on before the general Body and followed him, who made the best of his way till he got into Roxbury, where

Mr. "——" [says the *Boston Evening-Post*, but the *Massachusetts Spy* calls him Bradshaw] overtook and stopt him in his chaise. Mr. Hallowell snap'd his Pistol at him, but could not disengage himself till he quitted the chaise and mounted his servant's horse, on which, he drove into Boston with all the speed he could make, till the horse falling within the gate he ran with all speed to the camp, thro' which he spread consternation, telling them he was pursued by some thousands, who would soon be in Town and destroy all the friends of Government before them.⁷

⁷ *Boston Evening-Post*, September 5, 1774, and *Massachusetts Spy*, September 8. As customary, the two accounts are almost identical, the newspapers copying freely from one another.

But as this account was too evidently partial and overdrawn, Hallowell or his friends printed in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy*, September 19, a letter, the author of which left his name with the printer, showing that he was ready to support his words.⁸ By this account Hallowell, coming from Salem, slowly made his way through the crowd, many of whom knew him and treated him with civility, some telling him "the Occasion of that Body of People being assembled." But just as he was getting clear of the crowd, he came upon a Boston group, who said to him, "'Damn you, how do you like us now, you Tory Son of a Bitch,' and much other abusive language." This excited the mob, and some began to follow, but most were called back by the Boston Committee of Correspondence. Six or eight, however, still kept on, and when they overtook him, "one Mr. Bradshaw advanced before the rest, and desired Mr. Hallowell to stop." Hallowell not complying, Bradshaw tried to stop the horse by force.

Mr. Hallowell, [continues the letter] put on⁹ his Horse, and presenting a Pistol at this Bradshaw, he retired at a Distance, still keeping before the Chaise; whenever any of them approached, Mr. Hallowell presented his Pistol, reserving his Fire, and by this Kind of Defence kept himself out of their Hands, never once even snapping his Pistol, as is represented by Bradshaw, who kept before the Chaise and cried out all the Way as he passed, "Stop the Murderer! . . the Tory Murderer! . . he has killed a Man." This Hue-and-Cry occasioned a Sallying forth of the People from the Houses which were many, and others upon the Road joining in the Cry, all endeavouring to stop him.

We can not wonder, then, that Mr. Hallowell, mounting on his servant's fleet horse, and dropping the reins on its neck, with a pistol in each hand ran the gauntlet of a hundred people, till he reached the protection of the guards at the Neck.

⁸ This letter was doubtless by Hallowell himself as the wording is much the same as that of a letter from him to Gage dated September 8, 1774, in the Gage MSS.

⁹ "Put on." Note that young Dr. Samuel Prescott, when riding with Paul Revere from Lexington toward Concord, on the night of April 18-19, 1775, on being intercepted by British officers, cried out to Revere, "Put on!" and spurring his horse, escaped, while Revere was captured.

This was his third taste of the mob, and it can not have pleased him to know that the gold-headed cane which he left in his chaise, and his holsters, had been "since seen in the Possession of Mr. Bradshaw." If Benjamin Hollowell had any lingering doubt of his popularity among his political opponents, we can have none.

One little incident we know concerning Hollowell which shows his feeling toward a Whig. Peter Edes, son of Edes the printer, a strong Whig but a boy of only eighteen, was arrested soon after Bunker Hill, and thrown into jail. In his diary he wrote on June 23:

Benjamin Hollowell came into the yard and asked the provost if he had not one Gill in prison, the provost told him no; but that he had Edes's son, upon which he came into my room, and said I was a damned rascal, and ought to have been hanged long ago.¹⁰

Edes and Gill were the printers of much Whig literature. It does not exactly recommend Hollowell to us that he went to the jail to gloat over the imprisonment of one of them, and finding in his place a boy, had to go into his room to curse him to his face.

Let us turn, now, to the other protagonist in our little drama, Admiral Graves, who may need more introduction, though only because in the past the naval side of the Siege of Boston has been unaccountably neglected. The outstanding events of the siege were on land: that is why, perhaps, history has kindly let the admiral alone, and glossed over the fact that he proved a failure in a post of great responsibility and potential importance. The fact that the British army was fought to a standstill, and manœuvered out of its position, by an American army without training or munitions, has obscured the fact that Graves might have done much to save the situation, and failed to do his share.

This is not to deny the fact that Graves himself was in part the victim of circumstances. Parsimony at home, and the corrupt administration of the Admiralty, had sent him out with too few ships, badly equipped, and undermanned. With this poor fleet he was expected to do at sea what Gage,

¹⁰ Samuel L. Boardman, Ed., *Peter Edes: Pioneer Printer in Maine* (Bangor, 1901), 95.

likewise badly supported, was quite unable to do on land. It is true that conclusions were never tried by water as they were on shore: there was no naval Concord Fight, or Bunker Hill. The provincials had no ships to oppose to Graves's larger vessels, and it was only by degrees that they learned what could be done with whaleboats and light-draught sloops and schooners. With these, however, they soon stripped the harbor islands of the sheep and cattle which would have been invaluable to Gage's army, and indeed to the navy. They twice burned the lighthouse under the admiral's nose. The grumblings in the garrison were many: letters of complaint reached friends at home, and Graves's eventual recall surely was influenced by Burgoyne's scathing indictment which, addressed to Lord George Germain, must have been reported among the inner government ring. Burgoyne wrote, August 20:

It may perhaps be asked in England, what is the Admiral doing? I wish I was able to answer that question satisfactorily. But I can only say what he is *not* doing: —

That he is not supplying the troops with sheep and oxen, the dinners of the best of us bear meagre testimony, the want of broth in the hospitals bears a more melancholy one.

He is *not* defending his own flocks and herds, for the enemy has repeatedly and in the most insulting manner plundered his own appropriated islands.

He is *not* defending the other islands in the harbour, for the enemy landed in force, burned the lighthouse at noon day, and killed and took a party of marines almost under the guns of two or three men-of-war.

He is *not* employing his ships to keep up communication and intelligence with the servants and friends of Government at different parts of the continent, for I do not believe General Gage has received a letter from any correspondent out of Boston these six weeks.

He is surely intent upon greater objects, you will think; supporting in material points the dignity and terror of the British flag, and where a number of boats have been built for the rebels, privateers fitted out, prizes carried in, the King's armed vessels sunk, the crews made prisoners, the officers killed, he is doubtless enforcing instant restitution and reparation by the voice of his cannon, and laying the towns in ashes which refuse his terms. Alas! He is *not*! The British thunder is diverted or controlled by pitiful attentions and

quaker-like scruples, and under such influence, insult and impunity, like righteousness and peace, have kissed each other.¹¹

That poor Graves was not equipped to do all that was required of him, is plain enough. But that his spirit and enterprise were not equal to his tasks, must also be admitted. Burgoyne's reference to his "quaker-like" scruples bears upon the admiral's strange belief that whereas the army was at war, the navy might not be involved, leading him to fear reprimand from home, and to do as little as possible while waiting for orders.¹² In his letters he frequently asked for instructions, and meanwhile ordered his captains to act against the Americans only when forced. This is the more peculiar because on the night of April 19 he advised Gage to seize and burn Roxbury and Charlestown. To seize the two towns would have been the best possible strategy; but to burn them was not necessary, and Gage rejected the advice. Again, at Bunker Hill the admiral took part almost eagerly, using his men as landing parties to burn Charlestown, while his ships were employed in cannonading. But when it came to aggressive measures at other times he was curiously slow, and while always professing his almost abject willingness to be of use, contrived to do so little that the whole army, and we suspect a part of his fleet, was deeply resentful.¹³

¹¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville* (Hereford, 1910), II. 7-8.

¹² The Gay Transcripts, Mass. Hist. Soc.: Thomas Hutchinson to Lord Hardwicke, July 7, 1775: "It seems to me, the strangest war that ever was heard of. . . . The Britons engage with these [their?] Land forces, only, because no attack is made upon their Ships, for it seems as if until they are attacked, nothing is to be done lest it should be deemed offensive."

¹³ Admiralty Reports, I. 485: Despatches; and The Gay Transcripts, Mass. Hist. Soc.: "The Conduct of Vice-Admiral Graves in North America" MSS. British Museum. A despatch of May 13th, 1775, is typical: "Our Boats rowing Guard have often been fired at from the Shore, but I have given the Captains of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels Orders not to fire again upon any Account unless they are absolutely attacked, and some one wounded or killed; and then only to drive away the Rebels without pursuing; being extremely loath (however difficult from repeated provocations to forbear) to commence Hostilities by Sea without the justest Reasons, until I can be honoured with their Lordships Commands on this important Subject. I shall continue to give every Support in my power to his Majesty's Governors of Provinces, upon their requisition, for the protection of the King's faithful subjects and their property, and for the security of lawful commerce."

Apart from Graves's inactivity, there are two more complaints against him. One is the fact, or the alleged fact, that he was at odds with the general. On the surface their relations were correct. But it was freely said that there was feeling between them. Thomas Hutchinson wrote: "It is said the difference between the Admiral and General was occasioned by their Wives, one of whom would have dancing at a card assembly, and the other would not."¹⁴ Differences between the ladies have so often led to coldness between gentlemen that it is easy enough to believe this.

Gossip made this bare statement picturesque, and went so far as to state that the admiral's dislike for the general was allowed to work harm to the service. A letter of December, 1775, stated:

If a vessel was fitted out by the army for to sail in quest of fresh provisions, General Gage's desiring a pass was sufficient reason for a refusal; for the Admiral and his spouse entertained a mortal antipathy against the General and his Lady. On a second application the reply was, that such a pass was against the Port Bill. To this it was answered that the Port Bill was not passed to starve his Majesty's troops. In such messages as these eight, ten days, or a fortnight, were lost, and a pass was at last granted on the General's absolutely demanding it for the sake of supplying the sick and wounded who were languishing in the hospitals. A vessel detained in this manner was taken by the rebels on her return from the Bay of Fundy, fully laden with live stock. She was taken by the first vessel fitted out by the rebels and must have come safe had she not been detained as above. The disagreement between the General and the Admiral first originated with their wives; both of whom led their husbands. Every plan of the Generals that miscarried afforded matter of laughter to the Admiral's family, who sneer'd and cried out, "Well, this is Mr. General's fine plan!" [The letter then recites the Admiral's various failures, and goes on] During all this Mr. and Mrs. General had their revenge, and they enjoyed it: all their cry was, "Well! these are Mr. Admiral's fine plans!"¹⁵

When we try to translate this gossip into documented fact, confirmation is not perfectly easy. For one thing, Gage had

¹⁴ Gay Transcripts, Mass. Hist. Soc.: Hutchinson-Hardwicke Letters, folio 40.

¹⁵ Margaret Wheeler Willard, Ed., *Letters on the American Revolution* (Boston and New York, 1925), 238-239. See also G. D. Scull, Ed., *Memoir and Letters of Captain W. Glanville Evelyn: 1774-1776* (Oxford, 1879), 64.

command of the transports, which made him to some extent independent of the admiral, and he could, theoretically, send them where and when he pleased.¹⁶ But as we glance through the correspondence of the summer months, we do find Gage writing to the admiral asking that fishing passes should not be delayed by formalities, and that no hindrances be put in the way of provision vessels.¹⁷ It is quite evident that there had been some irritation; and the elaborate correctness of the admiral's letters may well have been vexatious to the general, who wanted deeds rather than words. As an instance of the admiral's profuseness in profession, on July 23, 1775, after explaining his seizure of some vessels, he thus expressed his eagerness to be of use:

I most earnestly desire to assure you that anxiously solicitous to co-operate with your Excellency, and to carry on the Kings [*sic*] Service, in my department, I am particularly unhappy when untoward circumstances occasion my endeavours to have a contrary effect. It would give me the highest satisfaction by any means in my power not only to relieve the present distress, but to Contribute in guarding against threatened Evils; and I will readily and thankfully receive any information for these or any other purposes of Government that your Excellency can occasionally give me; being equally inclined to give every encouragement to those who are willing to assist Us, and to punish every one, who at this time shall dare to Supply the Rebels.

Was Graves good for much? All we know of him is that he reached his grade of "vice-admiral of the white" by routine promotion, not by any outstanding service. But that he had his own little political coterie is not difficult to show, if we but recall the picture of his exulting "family." A general's or admiral's family was, in the language of the times, his staff. Graves had no children, at least not with him in Boston. Nephews were there; we shall see something of them presently. His secretary, named Jefferina, who was faithful to him even in disgrace, signed most of his orders, and wrote in retirement the admiral's defence of himself. Clinton trusted neither the admiral nor his man, for when

¹⁶ The Gage Papers, Gage to Graves, July 18, 1775.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, July 2, July 8. Admiral's reply, July 8. Compare also Gage to Graves, July 23, with enclosures, and the answer.

discussing with Howe a proposed plan, he wrote: "One other request I had to make, that the Admiral even might be deceived for I dreaded Jefferiny."¹⁸

Let us turn to the other charge against Graves, namely that he was corrupt. William Eden, in a letter to Germain, summed up the difference between Gage and Graves: "A worthy general with parts inferior to his station and a corrupt admiral without any shadow of capacity."¹⁹ Gage seems to stand clear of any imputation of dishonesty or profit-seeking. Almost the only charge against him that I have found is in the gossipy letter just quoted, which says that his staff (not Gage himself) was "intent on nothing but profit." Of the exactions of his inferiors Gage might have been ignorant, but it would seem to have been difficult for Graves not to have known what the same letter charges against his staff:

All the summer while the sick and wounded were dying daily for want of fresh provisions, not a boat was permitted to fish in the harbour till Mr. —, the Admiral's secretary, was softened down by a dollar for each boat. You may be sure we were not silent at this exaction, which was both impudent and barbarous, and after a long time got it abolished. But after this we found ourselves in a worse situation. As no dollars were paid, fishing passports were with difficulty procured; the Admiral was never to be seen, and his secretary was always busy; so that it often cost many days attendance before a single boat could have leave to fish. You may guess what execrations were poured forth against them by all sorts of people, the sick, the wounded, and the well, the army and the inhabitants.²⁰

There is other evidence that Graves was believed to be working for his own benefit. Before the siege began Lieutenant Barker wrote in his diary: "The Marines not yet landed, owing to the Admiral who wants to keep them on board, that He may have the advantage of victualling them; . . . a mean, dirty principle!"²¹

¹⁸ The Clinton MSS., Clements Library, a paper without a date but of this period.

¹⁹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Stopford-Sackville Papers* (1910), II. 10.

²⁰ Willard, *Letters on the American Revolution*, 238. Following this passage is the quotation already given.

²¹ Elizabeth Ellery Dana, Ed., *The British in Boston* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924), 15.

The point need not be labored here, as the story of the quarrel with Hallowell will throw light on it. We need to see a little more, however, of the admiral's favoritism toward his nephews, and his attitude toward those who displeased him. And on these matters we have his own words, thanks to the British government's method of intercepting and reading the letters of its own high servants. A letter of the admiral's, perhaps to a brother, was thus got hold of and copied. We may read the copy to-day in the Public Record Office. It begins by giving the admiral's opinion of the General: ²²

I have discovered lately a desire to stamp upon me the imputation of negligence, the attempt has turned out to his mortification. — We keep up all the Appearance of civility, (which I will ever keep up for my Country [*sic*] sake with the Commander by Land if possible, . . . At one time I could not be consulted, I was too sanguinary; now Things ought to be done a month ago: There never was a right time of doing anything with prudence and Spirit. In this way we have proceeded very civilly; he has sense and writes well, understands the detail Duty of an Army and I think would make an exceeding good Governor at any other period. Now Activity and Spirit is required more than cold caution is necessary.

Graves had four nephews, all in the navy, three of whom were in Boston, and one on the way. Of them the admiral was taking good care. The same letter says: "I shall very soon perhaps have it in my power to appoint David one of my Lieutenants." Having appointed another nephew, Samuel, to a commission, perhaps unjustifiably high, Graves feared he would not be confirmed, "but if a good Vacancy should happen in a Post Ship I shall appoint him thereto. These Vacancys removes [*sic*] John to be first, Thomas my second and David my third Lieutenant if he arrives in time."

Of people who displeased Graves — all captains in his fleet at Boston — he had this to say:

Three People have found me backward to serve them and have pronounced me rude; namely Burnaby, Pye, and Montagu. —

²² Public Record Office: Colonial Office, v. 134: 157: Letter of Admiral Graves to William Graves, Esq., M.P., October 1, 1775.

Burnaby would, or did, not serve my Nephew. Pye, on asking a Favor of him, gave me a most rude Denial. As to Montagu, he put a Chaplain into a Ship of my Squadron, a few days before I arrived. He never on the Spot recommended his Sons to my Notice; He treated one of my Nephews, knowing him to be so, uncivilly, and a Vacancy he had for a Master and Commander he filled up just before my Arrival, which Vacancy had he Complimented me with it, I most certainly would give his Son James the first Post Ship that fell vacant, and should have had great pleasure in doing so, as that Young Gentleman is very deserving.

We see, then, the personal qualities of Admiral Graves: his imputed avarice, his nepotism, and his nursing of grudges. What were the relations between him and Benjamin Hallowell that these qualities should be directed against him?

As each was a positive and dogmatic person, one might expect that if they did not agree very decidedly, they might with equal decision disagree. And as they belonged to different and perhaps conflicting services, there might be expected to arise plentiful opportunities for disagreement. That the navy and the customs sometimes took opposing views of the same matter in those days as well as this, appears from the correspondence.

In May, at a meeting held at the admiral's desire, it had been agreed virtually to abrogate the Port Bill, by admitting vessels to the port of Boston, without the formality of previously entering at Salem — a wise decision and a necessary one, since Salem was averse to any longer stay of the royal officers. Vessels entering at Boston were to be stationed at places pointed out, but not on any account to unload. On July 27 the commissioners of the customs, and among them Hallowell, wrote a note to Graves in which they asked "if any and what Vessels have arrived in this Harbor since that time, and whether they have been ordered by you to any particular station and have remained in the state in which they arrived."

Graves's answer was very curt. On the same day he replied: "I am to acquaint you that several Vessels have arrived in this Harbour since May last, and that I have given such directions concerning them as the Exigencies of the

times required, and I thought best for his Majesty's Service."²³

Such a snappish reply might arise from conscious virtue. Nevertheless, another set of letters exists which, while not conclusive, throws some light on Graves and his methods. Turning to Gage, the Commissioners sent him not only their letters to Graves and his reply, but five other letters, one of which is unfortunately missing. These all had to do with the case of a "French vessel," the missing letter being presumably that of the consignee, if I am correct in my judgment of the position of "Mr. Dumaresq, a Merchant of this Town." This vessel, a sloop, was sent into port by one of the warships, and was discovered unloading at a wharf a cargo of "Brandy, Wines, Soap, Cordials and other articles of Merchandize," such as well might excite the desires of a dweller in a besieged town. The discoverer was Robert Hallowell, brother of our Benjamin, who as Comptroller of the Customs, in spite of the statement that the admiral had given permission to unload, in the name of his office impounded vessel and cargo, and set as guard upon them three tidesmen, whose declarations form the remainder of the series.

Various sergeants appeared from the general's headquarters, with orders to deliver up the cargo. The sheriff turned up, and wanted the wine he had purchased. The sturdy tidesmen, however, refused to deliver up the goods until the comptroller, on being assured that orders had come from headquarters to deliver the cargo, called off his watch-dogs, and left the cargo to the sheriff.

The documents end with a letter from Gage to the Commissioners. He has not read their letters, but will meet the commissioners and discuss them. Meanwhile his orders were to have the cargo landed, being told by the admiral it was customary. And his sergeants were sent to prevent plundering, which he was told was going on. Thus Gage does not appear to understand the situation as presented by the customs men.

We have not enough data to make the case clear. But it would appear that Gage was ignorant of what was going on,

²³ All this correspondence of Graves with the Commissioners is in the Gage MSS.

while the admiral probably understood it very well. The appearance of the sinister figure of the sheriff offers a clue.

Joshua Loring, Junior, in August sheriff of the town and in October made vendue-master, was of Boston birth, once himself in trade, and now fattening in the public service. Before the siege was out, and perhaps already, he was the complaisant husband while his wife was mistress of General Howe. He went with them to Halifax and New York, and gaining the post of commissary of prisoners, is charged with bringing many to death for his own profit, by slow starvation and complete neglect. One may read about him in Ethan Allen's story of his imprisonment in New York. Allen wrote of him:

This Loring is a monster! — There is not his like in human shape. He exhibits a smiling countenance, and on a superficial acquaintance, seems to wear a phiz of humanity, but has been instrumentally capable of the most consummate acts of wickedness, (which were firstly projected by an abandoned British council, clothed with the authority of a Howe) murdering premeditatedly (in cool blood) near or quite two thousand helpless prisoners, and that in the most clandestine, mean and shameful manner, (at New York.) He is the most mean-spirited, cowardly, deceitful, and destructive animal in God's creation below, and legions of infernal devils, with all their tremendous horrors, are impatiently ready to receive Howe and him, with all their detestable accomplices, into the most exquisite agonies of the hottest region of hell-fire.²⁴

The 1849 editor of Allen's book asks later readers to "make all reasonable allowance, both for the style and the matter." It is hard for peace-time readers to understand the pitch of indignation of a man who freshly recalls the unnecessary deaths of his comrades. Howe, who passed his responsibility to his mistress's husband, and Loring, who passed it on to the jailers, must take the real blame for the death of hundreds from which these two profited. — This was, however, at our period yet in the future: we merely note Loring's possibilities, and recall that his purpose was profit. Peter Edes's diary shows him, in September, making mock vendues

²⁴ Ethan Allen, *Ethan Allen's Narrative of the Capture of Ticonderoga, and of His Captivity and Treatment by the British. Written by Himself* (Burlington, Vermont, 1849), 44.

of plundered goods.²⁵ It is difficult not to suspect that in this matter of the French wines and brandies, Loring and the admiral were in collusion, and that the customs officers were irritatingly in the way. So much for the official relations between the admiral and the commissioners. What of any personal differences between Graves and Benjamin Hallowell?

Thomas Hutchinson, always well primed with the gossip of his native town, puts the origin of their dislike as far back as Bunker Hill Battle. He wrote Lord Hardwicke:

One of the Commissioners of the Customs, who formerly commanded a Vessel of War in the Province Service, advised the Admiral to place his Vessels otherwise than he did, at the time of the Action in Charlestown, but he refused. It is now said, the Commissioner was right, but, from thence, sprang a dislike, and . . . from words they came to blows.²⁶

This touches important history. It is well known that one of the errors in British strategy at Bunker Hill, was the failure to send light vessels up the Mystic River, to cannonade the provincials from behind. That done, the provincials must have abandoned the rail fence, allowing the breastwork and redoubt to be outflanked and taken in the rear. The British themselves knew this when too late. Now Hallowell, having been in the provincial naval service, and therefore sometimes called Captain, may have pointed out to Graves the opportunity he was losing, an incident which neither of them could forget. Here would begin, then, their animosity.

But the real cause of their fight was less heroic. It was about hay. And why? Because these two gentlemen surely had, in their domestic establishments, carriage horses and perhaps each a milch cow, and hay was not to be had in the town. It grew in quantities on the harbor islands, but the impotence of Graves had allowed the provincials to burn much of it. In Nantasket Roads, however, lay the *Boyne*, a ship of seventy guns, under the protection of which the hay of Gallup's Island, near by, was safe. Graves desired this hay; but unfortunately for him, Hallowell had already bought

²⁵ Boardman, *Peter Edes*, 107. Here Loring is already acting as vendue-master, though not actually appointed by Gage till October 7. Peter Force, Ed., *American Archives* (Washington, 1840), Fourth Series, III. 984.

²⁶ Gay Transcripts, Mass. Hist. Soc.: Hutchinson-Hardwicke Letters, Letter of September 22, 1775, folio 58.

it, and refused, early in July, to sell either the whole or a part of it. On his refusal to divide equally with the admiral, Hallowell's hay was lost to him completely, though in his innocence he did not suspect it. Graves put him off on pretence of consulting the general. The simple-minded Tory saw the general first, and getting permission to cut his hay, engaged his harvesters, only to learn that the admiral had forbidden all haying on the islands. On the seventh of July Hallowell wrote to the admiral for permission to cut; the messenger returned with the statement that no answer was to be given.

A light then broke upon the commissioner, and on the 9th of July he wrote to Graves that he submitted to the heavy contribution levied on him. Graves should have half the hay. But still in his ignorance the Tory believed that he had done enough, and thought that his submission was sufficient. He sent men down to the island for the hay: "the interest," he wrote the admiral, "every day is suffering very much," and it must have pleased the admiral to know that the hay was rapidly going to the bad. Graves had provided for himself elsewhere. Hallowell's men were stopped by the commander of the *Boyne*, because of the admiral's positive orders. We may suppose that he tried other means to reach the silent admiral, but failing, on July 20 his wrath flamed out in a letter in which he accused Graves of extortion. The letter ended:

Are we not sufficiently oppressed by the enemies without, but must suffer by those who are sent for our protection? — as an officer of the crown therefore I demand by what right you thus continue to deprive me of my property.

Then as the admiral continued silent, Hallowell turned to Gage. He stated his case, and sent copies of his letters, and begged him to interpose to secure common justice.²⁷

What Gage could have done, beyond appealing to the admiral's sense of decency, is not clear. What he did, at any rate, brought no result. The admiral did not answer; the hay was not cut. On August 11, 1775, the two had their en-

²⁷ The letters are in the Clinton Papers, Clements Library, except for that of September 2, 1775, presently to be quoted, which is in the Gage Papers.

counter in the street, and to get the story at first hand, here is Hallowell's tale, written in the third person.

When Mr. Hallowell in the street saw the Admiral . . . he . . . desired to speak with the Admiral on that business who withdrew from a Gentleman that was with him to the side of the street, and when together Mr. Hallowell civilly asked the Admiral whether he had not received four letters from him? and was answered in the affirmative. Pray sir, says Mr. Hallowell had you any particular reason for not answering any of them? The Admiral replied I did not choose it. Then Mr. Hallowell said when one gentleman writes to another some kind of answer is expected. He again replied that he did not choose it — then Mr. Hallowell said Sir, you do not use me like a Gentleman and was advancing to whisper the Admiral in the ear,²⁸ — but was prevented by the Admiral's throwing both his fists in Mr. Hallowell's face, and before Mr. Hallowell could recover himself from the two first he received a third stroke — then the Admiral retir'd and drew his sword and pointed it at Mr. Hallowell — on which, and not before, Mr. Hallowell told him that he was a rascal and a scoundrel — and asked him if he was not ashamed to draw his sword on a naked man²⁹ who had not even a stick in his hand? and adding these words "for shame put it up." Which, after it had been some time presented at Mr. Hallowell, he did. Then Mr. Hallowell made up to the Admiral and asked him what occasioned all this abuse — so unbecoming a Gentleman by striking a naked man and drawing his sword on him? The Admiral immediately on this struck Mr. Hallowell again with his fist, which he returned and several blows passed between them. Then the Admiral retired a little and drew his sword a second time presenting it again at Mr. Hallowell who said "for shame put up your sword you are no Gentleman to draw on a naked man" on which the Admiral again returned his sword. Then they closed and several blows pass'd and lest the Admiral should again draw his sword Mr. Hallowell wrested it from him and broke it, and then they were parted.

Mr. Hallowell is informed that the Admiral declared that he called him rascal and scoundrel before any blow was struck. This Mr. Hallowell utterly denies, nor is it at all probable considering Mr. Hallowell was totally unarmed, had his gloves on during all this transaction, and must naturally have expected, on the use of such language, an attack from the Admiral.

²⁸ This might, of course, have seemed a hostile action.

²⁹ It is interesting to see this medieval expression, meaning unarmed and now only poetical, surviving in actual use in 1775.

This story spread at once in the town, was rolled under many tongues and occupied many pens. Sheriff Tyng of Falmouth described it as witnessed from his window, and told the Hallowell story of the hay.⁸⁰ Others exaggerated the encounter. But all agreed that Hallowell got the best of it, and Graves's black eye, or eyes, was mentioned. It is plain that the admiral got no sympathy. The *Boston Gazette and County Journal* had its little fling at the affair in its issue of August 21:

Britain beats Spain; America and Britain beat France; America alone beats Britain; Broughton beat Taylor; Taylor beat Slack; Slack beat Broughton; Hallowell beat Graves, good lack! good lack!

There were sequels to the affair. In a letter of August 20, Hallowell complained to Gage that he had received two challenges from Graves's nephew, Thomas, and begged him "to make such representation to His Majesty's Ministers as you think I am intitled to deserve." And in another letter, of September 2, Hallowell told how both Thomas and Samuel Graves had fallen foul of him.

On the previous day, when on business at Rowe's Wharf, he had been waylaid by Thomas Graves, "accompany'd by the Boatswain of His Majesty's Ship Preston" (which was the admiral's own ship), and by various others, many with sticks, while young Graves had not only his sword but a large bludgeon. The young man demanded why Hallowell had not met him according to his challenge, and asked him to come and discuss the matter at "the next wharfe, where the vessel laid which he now commands." Hallowell, not intending to be lured from his own ground, refused to go or to answer the challenge: the admiral had ill used him, and to the admiral only, who was fully able to do himself justice, would Hallowell answer. He gave the young man very freely his opinion of him, and being supported by a customs official, was allowed to go away unmolested.

Presently, however, as he went, Hallowell met nephew Samuel. This was "in Cornhill, near the bottom of School street," a thing impossible to-day, but in those days a part of Washington Street was called Cornhill. This junior Samuel

⁸⁰ Ward MSS., III. Letter of August 12, Mass. Hist. Soc.

"passed me with a lowering look, and without speaking or the appearance of an intention to do me mischief, came behind me, and struck me a violent blow on the back part of my head, with a bludgeon which he had in his hand." After which we are not surprised to learn that the assailant, after the manner of bullies, though with drawn sword, retreated, as Hallowell, recovering from the shock, advanced upon him, and made no further attack as the older man reproached him. The two were parted by others, "but not without an apparent disapprobation and indignation at his conduct by all the standers by, both military and civil." Hallowell received a challenge from the lieutenant, but referring it to Gage, claimed protection.

Protection may now have been given, as there was no more fighting, and between the various principals nothing more came to pass. And yet there would appear to have been a court-martial on the main affair, and a most curious sentence. In the Dartmouth Papers is a letter by one of the younger Graves's, the name apparently not given. He thinks his uncle pays too much attention to a parcel of sycophants, who are constantly about him. His uncle is in disrepute with the army; the two commands do not draw well together. The disagreeable affair with Hallowell was tried by court-martial, the sentence being, "An error in judgment for disobedience of orders and neglect of duty."⁸¹

A strange sentence, indeed, as it appears not to fit the case. And yet there is almost a confirmation of this in a letter of the admiral's. Having acted to court-martial one of his officers, he wrote:

I shall be censured by the young Captains for Severity, and perhaps too great a Desire for providing for my Nephews, yet neither is true. I act to my own Feelings and Judgment. I have that Virtue, the Love of my Country, strong upon me, and find no Degree of Avarice in my Heart, so if I err it will be error in Judgment.⁸²

We have his word, then, that he was no nepotist nor was he avaricious, which should perhaps lead us to review our

⁸¹ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth*, II. *American Papers* (London, 1895), 357.

⁸² Letter of Admiral Graves, October 12, 1775, in the Public Record Office, C. O. S: 134: 152.

analysis of him. It is unlucky that he did not also assure us that he was not spiteful. But as to the sentence of the court on him, here we have him using its phrase, "error in judgment," as if a safe sort of exculpation. It may be that that strange verdict was actually handed down.

So far as I know, there were no more conflicts between Hallowells and Graveses. Benjamin Hallowell stayed in Boston till the end of the siege, and at the evacuation went with his family in a crowded transport to Halifax, and thence to London, where he spent a number of years. Abigail Adams, as we have seen, met him in London in 1784. His brother, Robert, was also in England for a while, but returning to settle the estates of his father and his wife's father, he brought his family over in 1792, lived in Boston for some years, and then went to Gardiner, Maine. While Robert was in Boston, Benjamin came and visited him, and so were times changed that he was "received by his former associates with the greatest kindness and hospitality." A difference indeed from the earlier fierce antagonism! Benjamin went to finish his days in Canada. But his sons recovered their mother's Jamaica Plain property; and one of them, Ward Nicholas Boylston, took her name. Descended from one branch or the other, there are Hallowells still among us.³³

The admiral fumbled through a shorter stay in Boston. Sometimes unwilling to act, he sometimes took the opposite course, and did too much. For the burning of Falmouth, that unnecessary and wanton act, was due to his sudden determination to take revenge upon the coast towns that had defied him, and the burning did very much to solidify American feeling in favor of actual independence. He was recalled at the end of the year. "I do think," wrote the King, "the Admiral's removal as necessary if what is reported is founded as the mild General."³⁴

Graves went home amid rejoicings in Boston. The Americans alone regretted him. The British recalled his many failures, particularly the recent loss of a valuable store-ship,

³³ In this paragraph I follow Sabine's *American Loyalists*. In preparing his account, Sabine had in hand letters of Hallowell's, the originals of which I wish we might have entire.

³⁴ Sir John Fortescue, *The Correspondence of King George the Third: From 1760 to December 1783* (London, 1928), III. 237.

captured under the admiral's nose. In it was a great brass mortar, christened by the provincials the "Congress," out of which it was said "they drank good health to Admiral Graves."³⁵ Thinking of him, that most practical of correspondents, Major Francis Hutcheson, waxed poetical and wrote to Haldimand: "The White flag at the foretop Mast-head is Old, Durty, and unfit for Service, if the Ministry expects it should fly with Luster, they must send a New One, Clean and Ferm."³⁶

Graves went home full of wrath and resentment. He asked for a trial, but there was no charge against him: he was merely shelved. He was offered a shore berth, but to his credit he indignantly declined. All he would accept was active service. In his retirement he and Jefferina worked over the two manuscript volumes, "The Conduct of Admiral Graves," now in the British Museum, building it from Graves's own despatches, and comments of his own. All he did was to make clear what kind of man he was in official life: hesitant, unaggressive, with little ability to meet his difficult problems. His private character we have seen. In spite of his own denial, he was a grafter, a nepotist, a nurser of spite, a bully toward those in his power.

To return to my opening statement: this is not great history, being merely a private affair, and a small one at that, between two officials at an important juncture of our development. But our various items throw light, I believe, on the American Tory and the British admiral. There was a type of Loyalist, of which kind I take Hallowell to be an example, who was not needed in this country. I base this conclusion not so much on the fisticuff story, as on what we know else of Hallowell, and particularly on his countrymen's hearty dislike of him. Few Tories were so unpopular: few understood so little of what the country desired, and were less in sympathy with the Americanism of that day. There was little room here for men of Hallowell's type.

As to Graves, the boxing-match story, and all his relations of him and his kind toward Hallowell and his, show one rea-

³⁵ Additional Manuscripts, British Museum, 21680, Hutcheson to Haldimand, December 23, 1775.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1775.

son why England failed to suppress the Revolution. If its naval chiefs were corrupt at home, they were also corrupt in America. Petty absorption in personal affairs, also, was sure to prevent proper conduct of the larger business of the admiral's office. Finally there could not be whole-hearted service given to a chief of this kind, whose main reason for rewarding underlings was subservience toward himself. The morale of the fleet must have suffered; here, perhaps, we have one reason why the British navy failed so signally in 1775.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies of letters in his autograph collection:

EDWARD PREBLE TO EBENEZER STOCKER

12 May [1806]

DEAR SIR

I have this evening put on board Moody one gangway stantion for the Bombketch, one ordinary stantion, and one sett up bolt for forward and aft for the ridge ropes — I have also put on board the moulds for one side compleat, the same we made ours by — Moody will deliver you the Head and trail boards — the other carved work you will please to have done as we have not the form of the galleries or sweep of the stern —

Yours with esteem

EDWARD PREBLE

Ebenezer Stocker esq.

OLIVER HAZARD PERRY TO BENJAMIN W. CROWINSHIELD

NEW YORK January 27th. 1815

SIR

I enclose a letter recommending Mr. John McComb Junior for a midshipman's warrant. I have no knowledge of him personally.

I have the honor

To be Sir,

Very Respectfully

Your obedient Servant

O. H. PERRY

The Honorable

Benjamin W. Crowinshield [*sic*]

Secretary of the Navy

BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD TO LIEUTENANT JOHN PERCIVAL

NAVY DEPARTMENT
Nov. 20. 1815

SIR,

I have the pleasure to enclose herewith, your commission, as a Lieutenant in the Navy, of the U. S. dated and confirmed by the Senate, December 9th 1814, and numbered 32; and am,

Respectfully
Your obedient servant
B W CROWNINSHIELD

Lieutenant John Percival
Sloop Peacock
New York

Lieutenant Percival	[<i>Endorsed:</i>] B. Crowningshield [<i>sic</i>]
No. 32	letter inclosing my
	Commission as Lieutenant

BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD TO PRESIDENT MONROE

BALTIMORE June 16 1818

DEAR SIR,

I received your kind letter by Lieutenant Smart, on the morning of the 14th at Norfolk. Most sincerely do I regret that a moment of uneasiness should have arose from any mistake of mine! the arrangement I thus understood, that the Commissioners on the survey, with the public vessels, was to proceed with you to Norfolk, and there wait your pleasure, the day previous to your leaving Norfolk, I asked you, if you proceeded to Washington, and you said yes, *in the Nonsuch*. I then gave orders to [have] launches ready for the service, she was ready. On the morning of your departure Commodore Casin called, and wished to know if his services could be useful, I directed him to inform, his boat would take you and suite on board, shortly after breakfast you departed, without my knowledge, as I certainly intended to have waited on you to the boat.

Being upstairs, writing, I looked out of the window and saw the Nonsuch getting under way, in a moment, I ran below, and saw all your baggage in the entry, then, no one with it, this thought I, is a mistake, and I will go on board the Nonsuch and rectify it myself,

I did so, the rest you know!! I did not comprehend you, nor could I divine how the mistake arose, for I knew we did not comprehend each other, knowing your justice, the moment it was understood, all would be right.

I thank You kindly for your letter, it has relieved me from much pain of mind.

Never did I, for an instant, doubt of your regard for me, for I knew no reason to, and many to believe to the contrary.

I love and respect you, and allways shall, and you have my best wishes for your happiness and fame here, and blessings hereafter. —

You must be, I think, in Washington now, where I hope you find your family well, enjoying every good.

I am, very sincerely, and respectfully, yours

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD

The President. US.

ISAAC HULL TO COMMODORE BAINBRIDGE

NAVY YARD 22nd December
1818

SIR

The following is an account of the articles taken for other ships that belonged to the independence.

With great respect
I have the honour to be
Sir your obedient

ISAAC HULL

Commodore William Bainbridge

STEPHEN DECATUR TO JOHN BINNS

WASHINGTON December 22nd 1819

SIR

I have received your communication of the 6th Instant enclosing your circular. I have seen your splendid copy of the Declaration of independence., It merits, and I hope will receive the liberal patronage of the public. As far as I can contribute to the furtherance of your object I assure you it will give me pleasure.

I am Sir

Very respectfully
your obedient Servant
STEPHEN DECATUR

Commodore Decatur presents his respects to Mr. Adams, and regrets that he is prevented, by company at home, from accepting his polite invitation for Thursday the 17th February.

Friday Morning

[*Endorsed:*]

Decatur, 17 February 1820

J. Q. A.

SCHUYLER COLFAX TO SAMUEL HOOPER.¹

SOUTH BEND, IND.
September 28, 1867.

MY DEAR MR. HOOPER, — Your letter pains and surprises me. I had never dreamed of such a thing; and how it could have been brought about baffles all conjecture. With you, I hope most sincerely that this alienation, which must embitter the lives, is not to be permanent.

I have been speaking ten days in Ohio to large crowds. The State ticket is safe, but the Suffrage Amendment, from old prejudices, drags behind, though all of us addressed our main arguments to its vindication. I go next to Wisconsin, where our friends write me that there is great apathy and German disaffection. In fact, unfortunately for us, we seem to have side issues weakening us in all the N. W. But I have strong hope and abiding faith that all will come out right in the end, despite the ominous threatenings from Washington.

With sincere regard to your family, I am, as always, very truly yours

SCHUYLER COLFAX

The party West is unanimous now for Impeachment.

¹ From the Mrs. Grenville Temple Winthrop Collection, 46. 30.

DECEMBER MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 12, 1929, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From HAROLD MURDOCK, of Chestnut Hill, several pages of *An Impartial History of the War in America*, Boston, 1781, added to the Society's incomplete copy as originally issued in parts.

From FRANCIS R. HART, of Boston, his new work, *The Disaster of Darien; The Story of the Scots Settlement and the Causes of its Failure, 1699-1701*.

From FRANK W. GRINNELL, of Boston, the issue of the *Know Nothing and American Crusader*, Volume 1. Number 34, Boston, December 16, 1854; and photostat copies of letters of George Washington, May 20, 1782, William Cushing, November 18, 1789, February 2, 1796, and October 20, 1800, and from John Jay, May 17, 1790.

By purchase, photostat copies of early Winthrop Family Papers in the New York Public Library, in the Library of Yale University, and in the State Paper Office, London.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Mrs. Arthur Holland, of Washington, D. C., two framed photographs of the portraits of William Dawes, the patriot, and of his wife, Mehitable (May) Dawes, given in memory of her late husband, a great-grandson of the patriot.

From Miss Rebecca W. Wright, Librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, at Montpelier, a collection of photographs of the destruction in Montpelier and Waterbury, Vermont, in the great flood there of November 3 and 4, 1927.

From WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE, of Haverford, Penn., a photograph of the tablet erected in November, 1929, in front of the Hammond Street Church, Bangor, Maine, in memory of Peter Edes, who established Bangor's first newspaper, *The Weekly Register*, in 1815.

From Dr. Alfred C. Redfield, of the Harvard Medical School, the medal of the recent International Physiological Congress held in Boston.

From the Edison Electric Illuminating Company, its medal of the recent Edison Lights Golden Jubilee.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN accepting Honorary Membership in the Society; from HENRI HAUSER accepting Corresponding Membership; and from GEORGE FRANCIS Dow accepting Resident Membership.

Henry Munroe Rogers, of Boston, was then elected by ballot a Resident Member of the Society.

Professor McILWAIN read a paper on

THE TRANSFER OF THE CHARTER TO NEW ENGLAND, AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE IN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

"Neither the Short nor the Long Parliament at their assembling in 1640 contained a single Republican." Such is the statement of a competent modern historian of the period, Mr. G. P. Gooch.¹

It is probably true, but it is one of those truths of which we are aware but do not know, for we seldom consider what it means. And yet it has a profound meaning for American history as well as English, for it was before 1640 that the foundations of Massachusetts were laid. If there was no republican elected to Parliament in 1640, how many presumably came to New England between 1630 and 1640? In 1661, Governor Endecott declared to Charles II:

Our wittnes is in heaven that wee left not our countrie vpon any dissatisfaction as to the constitution of the civil state. . . . If it were in rebellion or schisme that wee wittingly left our dwellings in our owne, or continew our dwellings in this strainge land, saue vs not this day.²

¹ G. P. Gooch, *Political Thought in England from Bacon to Halifax* (London, 1914-1915), 78.

² Ebenezer Hazard, *Historical Collections* (Philadelphia, 1794), II. 580, 582; *Records of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1853), IV. Part I., 450, 452.

If Mr. Gooch's statement is true, possibly we are warranted in accepting Governor Endecott's with fewer reservations than some modern historians have insisted upon.

But what has all this to do with the transfer of the Charter and its importance for later American history? Possibly the connection may briefly be made clearer by the following propositions:

First. The Charter granted by Charles I in 1628/29 to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England is, on the whole, the most important of all our colonial charters in its constitutional results. This I hope later to illustrate, if not to prove.

Second. This Charter of 1628/29, in form and legal effect, differs in no essential way from a number of other American charters of the same period. This is probably too obvious to need proof.

Third. If the Massachusetts Charter is significant, and this significance is not owing to its form, we must look for that significance in something else. We find it, in fact, in the use made of the Charter by the corporation — its transfer to America and the manipulation of it after the transfer.

Fourth. If Governor Endecott is accurate in saying that these things were done "wittingly," we may assume that some of this manipulation of the Charter was foreseen and intended by the incorporators before their migration. As Professor Osgood says, they "were in a preëminent sense self-conscious."³

Lastly. These intentions must have been formed and colored, in part, by the conditions ecclesiastical and constitutional existing in England not after 1640, but before; and before 1640 not a single republican had ever been elected to Parliament, not one was chosen even in 1640. The incorporators of Massachusetts likewise were "wittingly" planning neither schism nor rebellion, as they defined these, and in 1661 they still considered their own former actions as neither schismatic nor seditious.

Clearly, if we are ever to understand the influence of the Massachusetts Charter on later American constitutionalism,

³ Herbert L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1904), I. 200.

we must first know what it actually was. If later American theory depended on the views and purposes in regard to Church and State of the incorporators of the Company, then the substance of those views and purposes can best be found by a study of English history, particularly English intellectual history, before the year 1640. No small part of the attacks made in recent books upon the founders of New England are the result of inadequate knowledge or understanding of the constitutional and intellectual history of England in the earlier part of the reign of Charles I and before.

It is a significant fact that the critical years in the forming of this Colony are also the years between the Petition of Right and the Long Parliament, that period of eleven years in which no Parliament was summoned, the longest in all English history. It is in the ideas, the fears, the convictions, the constitutional views of this period in England that we must find the background of the Massachusetts Charter.

In 1641 Henry Martyn declared to Edward Hyde, afterward Earl of Clarendon, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all," which, Clarendon says, "was the first word he had ever heard any man speak to that purpose."⁴ The founders of Massachusetts were not radicals, levellers, or anti-monarchists. They were, in most respects, conservatives in both Church and State. They favored neither schism nor rebellion. They were Nonconformists, it is true, but this to them did not mean unorthodoxy, schism, or sedition. James I had called the Puritans "novelists,"⁵ but this they denied. The real innovators, they insisted (with some truth), were not they but their Laudian opponents. Mr. Keith Feiling, himself a high Anglican, has admitted in his history of the Tory party that the very founders of Anglicanism, Archbishop Parker and his fellows, would themselves have been called Puritans if they had lived in the seventeenth century instead of the sixteenth. Before the Savoy Conference following the Restoration, men with such ecclesiastical views

⁴ [Edward Hyde, First Earl of Clarendon], *The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon* (Oxford, 1827), I. 92.

⁵ Charles H. McIlwain, Ed., *The Political Works of James I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), 274. James I used this expression in the speech opening his first Parliament, in 1603.

as John Winthrop's might, and often did, consider themselves the truest members of the Church of England. Governor Endecott was speaking truth when he said the founders of Massachusetts were not wittingly schismatics.

But it is the secular side of their views that mainly concerns us here. Governor Endecott also said they were in no sense rebels. He denied that they had taken an active part against the King in the Civil War. "Wee are not seditious as to the interest of Caesar." These statements have sometimes been dismissed as the words of flattery or even deceit, used merely to save the Charter. This is more than doubtful. England before 1640 was not anti-monarchical, neither was Massachusetts. The views of a Hampden and a Hyde were not so far apart before 1640. I doubt very much whether John Winthrop and Falkland, if they had ever chanced to meet, would have found much to quarrel with in each other's political or constitutional views. Even Sir John Eliot, the martyr to free speech in Parliament, wrote a book, *De Jure Majestatis*, which is one of the strongest of all the defenses of monarchical government written in the seventeenth century.⁶ His biographer, John Forster, has garbled it outrageously in his frantic attempts to make his hero a Whig. In New England John Winthrop remained scarcely more of a parliamentarian than Eliot had been. In 1641, he says, the leaders in Massachusetts rejected offers of help from the English Parliament "for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or at least such as they might impose upon us."⁷ There is reason to believe that the founders of Massachusetts held views not unlike this when they first came to America, and probably before they came. It was as early as 1632 that Winthrop tells us how he quieted the scruples of the men of Watertown against paying a tax imposed upon them, with the assertion "that this government was rather in the nature of a parliament" than of that of a mayor and aldermen.⁸ In 1646 the Presbyterians charged the leaders of the Colony with just

⁶ Sir John Eliot, *De Jure Majestatis, or Political Treatise of Government* (Alexander B. Grosart, Ed., London, 1882).

⁷ James K. Hosmer, Ed., *Winthrop's Journal* (New York, 1908), II. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 74.

such views as these. They were said to consider the Colony "rather a free state than a colonie or corporation of England."⁹ The answer of the General Court is remarkable. It does not deny that these are its views. It reiterates them and openly defends them. In England, it is admitted, "the supreme authoritie" may be in the high court of parliament, but "The highest authoritie here is in the general court, both by our charter and by our owne positive lawes." And to hold this involves no breach of the oath of allegiance, since "our allegiance binds us not to the lawes of England any longer than while we live in England."¹⁰

These are remarkable statements, and other like ones might be added. But they are not usually regarded as expressing the normal and habitual view of Massachusetts on these questions. For my own part, they seem both normal and habitual, a fair expression of a constitutional view firmly held by some of the leading founders of this Commonwealth probably before they migrated, one of the main reasons why they determined to bring their Charter over with them and to treat it as afterward they did, as a true instrument of government. It is most important to bear in mind, in this connection, that the incorporators left their mother country before the quarrel in England between King and Parliament had passed from a controversy over law into a life and death struggle for mastery. The history of those critical years before 1640 has in general been given too strong a Whig flavor by later historians. They have thrown back the ideas of 1689 into the period of the Petition of Right and sometimes with little discrimination. The principles of the Bill of Rights, however, are at bottom revolutionary; those of the Petition of Right, are still constitutional. The founders of Massachusetts belong, in thought and action, to the constitutional epoch of the Petition, not to the revolutionary epoch of the Bill. They regarded an American "free state" under the prerogative compatible with the constitution, in a way impossible for English revolutionary Whigs of the next generation. The incredible folly of Charles I had not yet divided his subjects into the two irreconcilable groups, one holding doctrines

⁹ *The Hutchinson Papers* (The Prince Society, 1865), I. 219.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 230-231, and Hosmer, *Winthrop's Journal*, II. 301.

of divine right and unlimited obedience, the other, a republican, or even a democratic, theory of the state.

There is evidence that the constitutional view thus held by the founders of the Colony existed in Massachusetts nearly a century and a half later. It is one purpose of this paper to inquire whether this later view is connected in any way with the doctrines of 1632.

The principle that allegiance to the English King involves no obedience to the English Parliament, as every one knows, is the accepted political, if not legal, principle in all English self-governing colonies to-day. I have contended elsewhere that it was also the final and the strongest of the American constitutional contentions before the American Revolution.¹¹ Here we are concerned only to ask whether it was not in a rather special sense a Massachusetts doctrine, held here from the first planting of the Colony, revived after the Declaratory Act of 1766, and transferred from here about 1774 to the other colonies.

With one important exception (the Resolves of the Assembly of Virginia in 1765) it is a noteworthy fact that the earliest clear statements of the constitutional position of America to be found in the continental colonies between 1771 and 1776 — the theory that they were subject to the King of England but not to the Parliament of England — all seem traceable, more or less directly, to Massachusetts. The colonies retain allegiance to the King but they reject the authority of the Parliament in England because they have parliaments of their own in their colonial assemblies. But how does this differ in any essential way from what Governor Winthrop told the men of Watertown as early as 1632, when he showed them that the General Court of the Massachusetts-Bay was "in the nature of a parliament"? If we find such statements as this earlier and oftener in Massachusetts than elsewhere in the colonial period and later find in the years from 1771 to 1776 these same statements coming again from Massachusetts earlier, more clearly, and more frequently than from the other continental colonies, it is not unnatural to conclude that this is not altogether an accident. We may even be justified in saying that this American constitutional

¹¹ Charles H. McIlwain, *The American Revolution* (New York, 1923).

doctrine probably came in large part from the conditions existing under the first Charter of Massachusetts Bay.

Aside from the reference in Virginia referred to above, the earliest statements of this doctrine that I have met with after the Stamp Act occur in the writings or speeches of Benjamin Franklin. In 1766 he told a committee of the House of Commons in England that "the colonies are not supposed to be within the realm; they have assemblies of their own, which are their parliaments," almost the very words of Governor Winthrop in 1632.¹² Other similar expressions occur elsewhere in Franklin's writings. But Franklin was born here, grew up here, and here received all the formal education he ever got, to say nothing of the informal — which was more important. He did not leave Boston till he was seventeen, a remarkably mature young man for his age. It does not seem a very wild guess to say that there was probably a real connection between the words of Governor Winthrop in 1632 and those of Franklin one hundred and thirty-three years later.

If you will move on another five years to the year 1771, we shall find another statement of the same constitutional view and one in some ways even more striking. It was the custom for a number of years after 1770 to celebrate the so-called Boston Massacre by an oration delivered in the Old South Meeting-House. The first of these annual orations was delivered in 1771 by James Lovell. One of its periods was as follows:

The declarative vote of the British parliament is the death-warrant of *our* birthrights, and wants only a Czarish king to put it into execution. *Here* then a door of salvation is open. Great Britain may raise *her* fleets and armies, but it is only *our own king* that can direct their fire down upon our heads. He is gracious, but not omniscient. He is ready to hear our APPEALS in their proper course: and knowing himself, though the most powerful prince on earth, yet, a subject under a divine constitution of LAW; that law he *will* ask and receive from the twelve judges of ENGLAND. These will prove that the claim of the British parliament over *us* is not only ILLEGAL in ITSELF, BUT a DOWN-RIGHT USURPATION OF HIS PREROGATIVE as king of *America*.¹³

¹² William Cobbett, Ed., *The Parliamentary History of England* (London, 1806-1820), xvi. column 156.

¹³ Hezekiah Niles, *The Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America* (New York, 1876), 19.

To James Lovell, George III was "King of America" as well as King of England, and he had parliaments in America as well as in England, of which he was an integral part. Therefore, if the Parliament in England interfered in the business of the parliaments of America, it was exceeding its authority and trampling not only on the rights of the colonists but of their King. Again, one is tempted to ask, where did this Massachusetts man get these ideas, and how far does this striking expression of them differ essentially from the constitutional doctrines of 1632 voiced by Governor Winthrop?

Moving on again, this time about a year and a half, to the well-known proceedings of the Boston town meeting in 1772, we find them complaining that "the British Parliament have *assumed* the power of legislation for the colonists in all cases whatsoever," and have "exerted *that assumed power*."¹⁴ From this time on expressions of this idea become so frequent here in Massachusetts that I can mention only a few of them. Between 1774 and 1776 you can find similar statements in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia, but in Massachusetts they are more frequent and they began much earlier. In fact, they are almost continuous here from 1772 on.

The next expression to be noticed came in March, 1773, an answer to a speech of Governor Hutchinson made by the Massachusetts Assembly and probably written by Samuel Adams: "Our ancestors," they declare, "considered the land, which they took possession of in America, as out of the bounds of the kingdom of England, and out of the reach and extent of the laws of England; and that the king also, even in the act of granting the charter, considered the territory as not within the realm." So it follows, they say, that our ancestors here in Massachusetts believed that "the right of being governed by laws, which were made by persons in whose election they had a voice, they looked upon as the foundation of English liberties. By the compact with the king, in the charter, they were to be as free in America as they would have been if they had remained within the realm; and, therefore, they freely asserted that they 'were to be

¹⁴ Samuel E. Morison, Ed., *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788* (Oxford, 1923), 91. The italics are mine.

governed by laws made by themselves, and by officers chosen by themselves.' ”¹⁵

We now come to the next year, 1774, to the adoption of what I venture to call the Massachusetts doctrine, in the famous declaration of the Second Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and to the important part played by Massachusetts in its preparation. On September 17, 1774, there were laid before the Congress certain resolutions of delegates from towns in the county of Suffolk in Massachusetts drawn up shortly before in meetings held at Dedham and Milton. These resolutions declare that George III is “justly entitled to the allegiance of the British realm, and agreeable to compact,” — a reference to the Charter — “of the English colonies in America.” But they complain of recent acts of the British Parliament as breaches of “the laws of nature, the British constitution, and the charter of the province,” and assert “that no obedience is due from this province to either or any part of the acts above-mentioned.” These resolutions were spread on the minutes of the Continental Congress;¹⁶ then the delegates proceeded to draw up their own famous resolution. The first draft of it was made by Major John Sullivan of New Hampshire;¹⁷ it asserts in principle the old Massachusetts doctrine — a fact scarcely to be wondered at, since New Hampshire was mainly settled by colonists from Massachusetts, during the latter half of the seventeenth century was practically a part of Massachusetts, and drew its constitutional views from the same sources as early Massachusetts Bay. But Major Sullivan’s draft was not quite strong enough, so the Congress ultimately accepted an amendment made by John Adams of Massachusetts, and the famous provision as finally agreed on was his work. In part it reads as follows:

Resolved, 4. That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council: and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be repre-

¹⁵ Niles, *Principles and Acts*, 90-91.

¹⁶ Worthington C. Ford, Ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904), I. 32 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 63 n.

sented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed.¹⁸

This provision was adopted by the Congress on October 14, 1774, and about two months later the question was reopened in Boston in the papers of *Massachusettensis* answered by John Adams under the name of *Novanglus* in the most powerful and comprehensive statement ever made of the doctrine of the Continental Congress. It is the old doctrine of John Winthrop that the assemblies of the colonies are their parliaments and their only parliaments.¹⁹

No time remains to develop in detail any of the positive contributions of the transferred Charter to our later institutions, state and national, or even to mention more than one or two of the most important; yet they are scarcely less significant than the negative ones already referred to.

The first Charter of Massachusetts Bay was not strictly a popular constitution, because it was in form and legal effect a royal grant, but in its practical operation after the transfer, it approximated a popular constitution more closely than any other instrument of government in actual use up to that time in America or elsewhere in modern times. It seems no accident, then, that what Charles Borgeaud has termed "the first American constitution accepted by the people" and "the first written constitution of modern democracy" ²⁰ — namely the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut of 1639 — should have been the work of men who migrated to the Connecticut River from Watertown, Newtowne, and Dorchester. Its provisions of greatest historical importance came, no doubt, in part from the actual situation of the settlers, in part as a reaction from the narrowness of the Boston government, but

¹⁸ Worthington C. Ford, Ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Washington, 1904), I. 68.

¹⁹ The letters of *Novanglus* and *Massachusettensis* were reprinted together in John Adams and Jonathan Sewall [*sic*], *Novanglus, and Massachusettensis; or Political Essays* (Boston, 1819). Daniel Leonard, not Sewall, was the author of *Massachusettensis*.

²⁰ Charles Borgeaud, *The Rise of Modern Democracy* (London and New York, 1894), 123.

they owe fully as much to the actual self-government in which Thomas Hooker and the other leaders had been active participants here. The first American constitution was an outgrowth of the self-government under the first Massachusetts Charter.

In closing, let me turn to a much later example of the influence of the early government under the Charter — but one scarcely less significant. Massachusetts was not the first state to adopt a constitution after independence, but she has the greater distinction of being the first to reject one, and she has been rejecting them almost ever since. It is difficult now, after a century and a half of experience of written constitutions, to appreciate how novel they were just after our independence. The people were eager to control them and make them really “popular” constitutions, but as they had no experience they did not know how. John Lilburne and the Levellers about 1648 apparently thought the best way would be to have the people actually subscribe to the document, as had been done occasionally to petitions addressed to the King.²¹ In the American states before the nineteenth century it was deemed enough to secure popular control if a constitution were made by an assembly elected by the people for that express purpose. None, therefore, was submitted to the people for ratification except in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, which naturally offered the only opportunity of rejection. They were submitted in Massachusetts and New Hampshire — the local institutions of which were practically the same in origin — because the local institutions were better suited to this purpose than the machinery of government elsewhere — except in Rhode Island and Connecticut, where no new constitutions were proposed. But the institution of the town meeting in which Massachusetts rejected the first constitution proposed, was influenced, I need not point out, at every step of development by the ideas and practices obtaining under the first Charter.

If ratification is the chief security for the popular character of a state constitution, certainly its formulation by an assembly chosen for that particular purpose is the next in

²¹ Samuel R. Gardiner, *The History of the Great Civil War* (London and New York, 1905), III. 388.

importance. Mr. Hoar has shown in his book on the constitutional convention that the first distinct assertion of this principle, also, came from Massachusetts, in a resolution of the Concord town meeting on October 21, 1776.²²

All these things have become so much a matter of course to us that we appreciate with difficulty the boldness and the novelty of some of these expedients which have since spread all over the constitutional world. If you will take the trouble to enumerate the most important of them, you will find that a disproportionately large number come either from Massachusetts or from other colonies which were early subject, like her, to the influence of political ideas and political expedients which the founders of this Commonwealth brought with them—or devised soon afterward under authority of the Charter granted by Charles I in 1629 to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England.

Mr. MORISON criticized the paper of Mr. McILWAIN on two points: first, Winthrop's statement to the men of Watertown, in 1632, that the government of Massachusetts was "rather in the nature of a parliament,"²³ was not an attempt to declare the omniscience of the Bay Government in respect to the English Parliament, but rather an effort to stave off representative government—or the participation of the freemen in the government. Secondly, there was negative evidence that the ideas current in Massachusetts about 1774 had no *conscious* connection with those of 1644. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, containing a very full and accurate account of the "Free-State" attitude of the Bay Colony, appeared in 1764. If the Massachusetts leaders of the 1770's had felt that they were defending traditional local liberties, they would have used this material and flung quotations from Hutchinson in his own face. They never did.

The fact is that Parliament had frequently legislated for the colonies after 1691, and its acts had been regarded, without question, as law in Massachusetts. The people had implicitly given their consent to a very different organization of

²² Roger Sherman Hoar, *Constitutional Conventions* (Boston, 1917), 7.

²³ John Winthrop, *The History of New England* (James Savage, Ed., Boston, 1853), I. 84.

the Empire from that which had obtained under the Royal Charter of 1628/29. The Province Charter gave them no commonwealth status such as they had asserted for themselves in using the first charter, and the readers of the 1770's were too good lawyers to appeal to a document that had been without effect for eighty years. Besides, they probably realized that the "Free-State" attitude of Winthrop was primarily religious in motive, and not political.

Mr. GRINNELL said, in support of Professor McILWAIN's paper, that the constitutional views of the Revolutionary period of the eighteenth century were a direct outgrowth of the independent attitude of the early Massachusetts colonists in the development of their own laws regardless of the English Parliament, or the English Common Law, except so far as they found it convenient, or expedient, to follow them. The colonists, under the lead of Winthrop, were determined to be as free of control by Parliament as they felt that they could afford to be — without getting into hot water.

Professor HART spoke of the new idea in the government of Massachusetts, and particularly of what seemed to him the first conscious effort in the direction of a written constitution — the Connecticut Charter of 1661 in the getting of which his ancestor, Stephen Hart, played an important part.

Captain FROTHINGHAM read an editorial which appeared in the *Boston Post*, the leading Democratic paper of the section, on the morning of Tuesday, April 16, 1861:

STAND BY THE FLAG

The spectacle our country presents, if inexpressibly painful, is most imposing. The constituted authorities, uttering the will and speaking the voice of the nation, in the exercise of their legitimate functions, have raised the standard of REPUBLICAN LAW. Let us think up to the magnitude of the great fact and solemnly of the dire necessity that occasioned it. The course of South Carolina, from first to last, has been arrogant, precipitate, unjust to her Southern sister States, and false to the first principles of Republican Government; and we do not see how a candid mind in the civilized world

can justify her immediate attack, under the circumstances, on Fort Sumter because it was about to be supplied with provisions. This act of war made necessary the Presidential Proclamation.

This unsheaths [*sic*] the sword of the law, and there was no other course. But the good citizen will observe that the President is careful to say, that in every event the utmost care will be observed to avoid devastation, not to interfere with or destroy any property, or to disturb peaceful citizens in any part of the country. This is well put and must meet the approbation of every considerate mind. No people and no State have done more to exasperate than South Carolina; but not even for her peaceful citizens and her towns and cities is to be the devastation of war: if for nothing else, for the sake of old memories, that will come thronging in with every passing event.

At this call of the LAW, this great country, in the armed men springing to the rescue, now presents a spectacle that the world will contemplate with wonder. President Jefferson said in his first inaugural that it was a theoretic and visionary fear, that this republican government, *the world's best hope*, was not strong enough; or that it could, even by possibility, want energy to preserve itself; and he pronounced it to be the strongest government on the face of the earth. His words are: — "I believe it the only one where every man, at the call of the law, would fly to the standard of the law, and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern." This is what the people are doing now! The uprising is tremendous; and well would it be for each good citizen, South and North, to feel this invasion of the public order at Fort Sumter as his own personal concern. In reality it is so. There is left no choice but between a support of the Government and anarchy! The rising shows that this is the feeling. The Proclamation calls for seventy-five thousand men; and from one State alone, Pennsylvania, a hundred thousand are at the President's command at forty-eight hours notice! Nor is this all. Capitalists stand ready to tender millions upon millions of money to sustain the grand Government of the Fathers. Thus the civilized world will see the mighty energy of a free people, supplying in full measure the

sinews of war, men and money, out of loyalty to the supremacy of law.

Patriotic citizen! choose you which you will serve, the world's best hope, our noble Republican Government, or that bottomless pit, social anarchy. Adjourn other issues until this self-preserving issue is settled. Hitherto a good Providence has smiled upon the American Union. This was the Morning Star that led on the men of the revolution. It is precisely the truth to say, that when those sages and heroes labored, they made UNION the vital condition of their labor. It was faith in Union that destroyed the Tea and that nerved the resistance to British aggression. Without it the patriots felt they were nothing, and with it they felt equal to all things. That Union flag they transmitted to their posterity. To-day it waves over those who are rallying under the standard of the LAW. And God grant, that in the end, as it is with Old Mother Country after wars between White and Red Roses, and Roundheads and Cavaliers, so it may be with the Daughter; that she may see PEACE in her borders, and all her children loving each other better than ever.

This editorial, headed by a cut of the "Stars and Stripes," was written by Richard Frothingham, Esq., and appeared two days after the attack on Fort Sumter and one day after President Lincoln's call for volunteers.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies of letters from his autograph collection:

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE TO CAPTAIN ALDEN PARTRIDGE¹

NAVY YARD CHARLESTOWN, MASS.
29th July 1824.

DEAR SIR

Your very polite and obliging letter of the 12th instant, came duly to hand. I have delayed answering it — in hopes that I should have it in my power to inform you that I should accept your friendly Invitation. But I regret to say, that owing to official duty, I shall

¹ Captain Alden Partridge, a graduate of West Point, established the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy at Norwich, Vermont, in 1820. In 1824 he moved his school, which attracted cadets from nearly every

not be able this Year, to gratify myself, in the pleasure of attending the annual examination of your highly respectable and useful Seminary. I take the liberty Sir, of presenting through you, to your pupils, my best wishes for their advancement in learning, and in the estimation of their Country. And I pray you to believe me to be

With great regard

Very sincerely yours.

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE

To Captain Partridge,
Norwich, Vermont.

BENJAMIN W. CROWNINSHIELD TO GENERAL H. A. S. DEARBORN ²

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, January 7th 1831.

DEAR GENERAL

After wishing you and your kind family a happy new year, and all the joy and comfort attendant on a wintry climate, I will ask pardon for delaying an answer to your friendly letter so long, the truth is, I have had a bad cold, and the rheumatism made me so cross, I thought, I had better delay it.

If this was my first trip to Washington instead of my *last*, perhaps, I might think things went on well enough, and that society etc. here was the same as usual, but *we* know better, my wife and children say, how things are changed, all the old standards, dropped away, *driven* I mean, the *better sort*, if I may say so, not disposed to spend their means to gratify the powers that be, so that, there is no gayety, no life, no joy, no animation. those [*sic*] in office, the high minded care nothing about, Van Buren gives no partys [*sic*]; to ladies, nor Eaton, nor Barry, nor *the President*, so you see, the ladies will not cry, Hosanna in the highest, and unles [*sic*] they *sing*, nobody will *pray*, you know. *Wife and I* went to see the President on new Years [*sic*] day, as we were wont to do, but in

state in the Union, to Middletown, Connecticut, where it was discontinued in 1829, Captain Partridge returning to Norwich. Wesleyan University, founded 1830, took over the old buildings in Middletown; Norwich University was founded in 1834 on the basis of the school which was continued in Vermont. Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (Burlington, 1842), 168-169; David D. Field, *Centennial Address, Etc.* (Middletown, Conn., 1853), 108-110.

² Henry Alexander Scammell Dearbon (1783-1851), politician and author, was the son of General Henry Dearborn, whom he succeeded as Collector of the Port of Boston in 1812, serving until 1829, when Andrew Jackson removed him. In 1830 Dearborn was elected Representative in Congress and served one term as a resident of Roxbury. At the same election Benjamin Crowninshield, of Salem, after serving four terms as a Democrat, was defeated for Representative in Congress by Rufus Choate, a Whig.

place of such ladies as Mrs Madison, Mrs Adams, Mrs Rush, Mrs Barbour and a host of others to grace the line, and stand around the President there were, only, in the round room, after passing the President a few ill dressed slovens and dirty *ragged boys*, my wife said, she could cry. — the truth is nobody respects or cares a cent about him — the only joy they have, is that, *no Yankee* fills the throne and that makes up for every other curse.

You may want to know how Calhoun and the President stands [*sic*] together, there is a complete no intercourse, at present, these things we understand were brot about last summer by Van B[uren]. He found out that Calhoun was *opposed* in Mr. Monroe [*sic*] time, and pending Seminole campaigns to Jackson, and that he C[alhoun] wanted to court martial him, this was drawn from Crawford by Van, thro Forsyth, and then sent to *old hickory*: who thereupon sent them direct to Calhoun and demanded an answer, if things were so! it [*sic*] is said Calhoun answered yes, substantially, and there they are: no communion, no visits, nothing — what good to us? why it will not stop one *southern* vote, for Jackson, but it may from *Van Buren*. from [*sic*] all we know General Jackson will, certainly run again for the Presidency — and the trouble, I suppose is with Calhoun and his friends to know what can be done for him — As for us, we lives [*sic*] in hopes, New Jersey and Ohio have done well, but great doubts are entertained if Kentucky will send a Clay Senator — not so strong as we wish. We are all well.

McDuffie reports a Bill, to attack the Bounty on Fishing vessels, and I fear they will in the end *do* it — I should not care if we could open our Yanke [*sic*] eyes by it. love to all

and believe me your friend

B. W. CROWNINSHIELD

General H A Dearborn,
Brookline.

JANUARY MEETING, 1930

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 9, 1930, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the December meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Matt B. Jones, of Newton, a bundle of manuscripts in Spanish, stitched together, most of them being ecclesiastical records of land and lawsuits in and about the city of Mexico during the seventeenth century.

From George A. Plimpton, of Walpole and New York, the petition of James Williams to the Selectmen of Boston, for more wages for ringing the bell at the Old South Church at 11, 5, and 9 o'clock, dated at Boston, August 17, 1714.

From Francis Munroe Endicott, photostats, made by his permission, of several papers of James Endicott, of the Sir William Pepperrell family, and John Quincy Adams, 1711 to 1847.

From Mrs. Albion D. Wilde, several photostats, made by her permission, of papers in her possession.

By purchase, a photostat negative of the map of 1684, by William Hack, of North America from Nova Scotia to Pennsylvania and the Great Lakes, from the original in the British Museum.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Dr. MALCOLM STORER, several rare and valuable pieces, a *soldo*, Venice, 1229; a *jeton*, Netherlands, 1578, on the death of Don John Austria; a thaler of Saxony, 1693, in honor of the admission of John George to the Order of the Garter; a token of Sir Samuel Hannay's Infallible Preventative of Certain Diseases.

From Mrs. Arthur R. Sharp, of Taunton, by deposit, a portrait of Jared Sparks, by Thomas Sully.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, the medal in bronze struck to commemorate the visit of J. Ramsay MacDonald, Prime Minister of Great Britain, to America, October, 1929.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from HENRY MUNROE ROGERS accepting Resident Membership.

The Reverend Henry Wilder Foote was then elected by ballot a Resident Member of the Society, and Professor William Otis Sawtelle, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, a Corresponding Member.

Mr. ROBERT LINCOLN O'BRIEN read a paper on

THE CENSUS AND NEW ENGLAND

Before Daniel Webster retired from Congress from the Portsmouth District in 1817 — and this seems to me a proper place for any paper before our Historical Society to start — he wrote to his brother Ezekiel: "Our New England prosperity and importance are passing away. . . . If any great scenes are to be acted in this country within the next twenty years, New York is the place in which those scenes are to be viewed."¹ Nevertheless, he came to Boston and so identified his great career with our own Commonwealth.

I have brought this quotation to illustrate the persistency of the idea that New England is on the decline. With the possible exception of the theory that the winters are warmer than they used to be, no superstition seems more deeply grounded in popular thought. And if one looks over the industries of New England, one continues to see much that lends color to this theory seen to be as old as the days of Webster. When I was a boy, a half-century ago, and came into Boston by train, it was past the Norway Iron Works at South Boston, which mightily attracted my attention. At Bridgewater, eight miles south of my home, a railroad station bore the name "Bridgewater Iron Works." Neighboring East Weymouth exhibited a similar enterprise on what looked to me like a large scale. These are all gone. We hear current discussions to-day of the passing of our textile industries, the liquidation of one concern after another, until the industrial survey which the motorist makes of the towns through which he passes seems to point quite unvaryingly to industrial decadence. The great car works at Sagamore, on the Cape Cod

¹ J. W. McIntyre, Ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster: National Edition* (Boston, 1903), *Private Correspondence*, xvii. 256. Letter of March 26, 1816.

Canal, have recently gone out of business. I read a similar story recently about the Laconia, N. H., industry. The Ipswich Mills have for the most part sold out and sent their machinery to Russia. The growth of the shoe industry in St. Louis, in Endicott, New York, and Columbus, Ohio, continues to perplex the loyal New Englander. Our unique place on the sea we seem not to be utilizing. Our Commonwealth Pier, one of the finest wharves in the world, is largely used for the registration of automobiles, a wonderful agency of conveyance, but not as yet amphibious. The chair industry of Gardner has experienced a severe slump. Such a list might be extended almost indefinitely.

But the Chamber of Commerce will not allow me to say more. Suffice to conclude that the ordinary impression which Massachusetts makes is one of industrial decline. And yet we continue one of the most rapidly growing states of the country. We were the seventh state in population when Webster wrote what I have just quoted. We are the sixth to-day. In 1817 there were only half our present number of states. This is what I call the New England anomaly. I shall await with great interest the disclosures of the census to be taken this year, but fortified by the recollection — again to quote Webster — that “the past, at least, is secure.” Permit me to say that while population itself is not the great *desideratum* of progress, it does afford a highly practical test of the continuing appeal to the children of men of such a community as our own, of the resources which it offers persons seeking a livelihood, and of the attraction it possesses for those of larger economic independence, who are essentially seeking the most congenial surroundings in which to live.

We came into being in 1620 or 1630, and into the American Union with the formation of the Federal Constitution. Indiana came into the Union in 1816, yet it was a wilderness as late as the travels of Hugh McCulloch (a native of Maine, and Secretary of the Treasury under Johnson) whose *Men and Measures of Half a Century*² depicts the extremely primitive conditions which prevailed in that Hoosierdom to which he went as a young man, seeking a career. But so superior

² Hugh McCulloch, *Men and Measures of Half a Century: Sketches and Comments* (New York, 1888), 46-150. McCulloch reached Indiana in 1833.

were the natural resources of Indiana, that by 1860, when its soldiers marched to the Civil War, its population exceeded that of Massachusetts by more than one hundred thousand. Why should it not? It has over four times the territory, it is well-watered, level, astonishingly fertile, in the greatest agricultural valley of the world. It is underlaid with coal and natural gas, of primal importance to industry, and huge shale deposits. It backs up against the magical city of Chicago, affording a market for numberless products of the farm, factory, and mine of this great region lying between the Lakes and the mighty river.

Now if a state like this starts at the bottom of the ladder and in forty-four years surpasses us in population, how far would it naturally be expected to go ahead of us in the seventy years since 1860? If this problem were submitted to a class in commercial geography, the ordinary answer would be that, with its four-fold area and even more disparate agricultural and other natural advantages, it would by this time have doubled our population, or perhaps gone even further. What are the facts? By the census of 1920 Massachusetts has not far from a million people more than Indiana. We were the sixth state and Indiana the eleventh. We have three more congressional districts, even by the belated apportionment under which Congress inexcusably continues to operate. Before I discuss why this is so, I should like to give you another illustration.

There is the great State of Missouri, whose present-day citizens have achieved an unexplained pre-eminence in the questioning attitude, till "I am from Missouri," "has a meaning all its own." This state did not come into the Union until 1820, under the terms of the so-called "Missouri Compromise," which brought in our own Maine as an anti-slavery offset. It was not until 1870, when Missouri was sending Carl Schurz to the United States Senate and when St. Louis still exceeded Chicago in population, as the metropolis of the great west, that Missouri passed Massachusetts in population. Why should it not? It has between eight and nine times our area. It is an altogether wonderful state. It could be an old-world nation all by itself. Its products of field and orchard and mine exhibit a surprisingly wide range.

It raises cotton and corn. It produces lead, coal, zinc, and the Missouri mule, which is said to have "won the war." To ride to-day across its beautiful black asphalt ribbon from Kansas City to St. Louis, a distance as great as that from here to Philadelphia, is to see a stretch of country which, in every manifestation of natural adaptability for human habitation, leaves little to be desired. The route twice crosses the Missouri, once at Boonville, known as the "corn-cob-pipe capital" of America, because of its pre-eminence in the production of that beautiful and artistic emblem of rural America, and again at St. Charles, a few miles out of St. Louis, one of the great shoe-manufacturing centers of the country. These two terminal cities are growing magically; the rural country looks prosperous. The state passed us in 1870 by a quarter of a million. By 1890 it had increased its lead so that it had two more representatives in Congress than we. What is the situation to-day? How far would you have expected Missouri to outrun us? We actually exceed Missouri in population by four hundred thousand.

Here is the explanation, if one is needed. The growth of the cities of Massachusetts makes the growth of our state, and this in turn rests on the changed economic status of our people. In the old days it took a very large percentage of the energy of man to supply himself with food. He had little time left over for more than the barest rudiments of apparel and shelter. To-day this is all changed. The production of our food is a small part of life's task. A constantly increasing fraction of our energy goes into electric refrigerators, and comptometers, and vacuum cleaners, and wind-shield scrapers, and the thousand and one articles which have blossomed forth in such abundance and appeal in our marvelous century. These are the products of our cities, and so it is inevitable that a state of cities such as we are, should be one of very rapid growth, and in reversal of the population tendencies that we would have normally expected. But I shall await the further disclosures of the census of 1930 with great interest, not to say concern.

Thus far the growth of American cities has been one of the wonders of the age. When I was a boy, my parents took me

to what is now the city of Brockton, four miles from my home, where an old barn transformed into a story-and-a-half clothing store, on what remains the best business corner in the city, furnished my outfitting. The town then had a population of a few thousand. Why should it grow at all? It is not a seaport. It is on no river, not even a lake. It has no water-fall, no minerals, no other natural advantages that I ever heard of. It is not even a railroad junction. It is just a place on the map. And yet there are thirteen states in the American Union to-day, including West Virginia, which have no city so populous as Brockton. On the Northern Pacific Railroad one must travel from the headwaters of the Mississippi, till one reaches the falls of the Spokane, and the country's extreme northwest, before reaching the equal of Brockton. Going out of Kansas City, the "Westport" of the pioneers, by the Santa Fé trail, a trade route of civilizations long ante-dating our own, one must ride from the city already named, before one meets the equal of our own bootless Brockton until — again in the words of Webster — one is "lost in the murmurings of the Pacific seas."

When the Civil War began, Springfield was a city of 15,000, Worcester of 25,000. Bridgeport, Connecticut, which to-day has 175,000 people, was then a town smaller than Plymouth, Massachusetts, to-day. Are not these growths magical? Can they continue?

We should not forget that the growth of Massachusetts, and similarly situated areas during this century, has been accompanied by a great racial transformation — one to which the observers of our political and social life seem to give altogether too little heed. I have before me the telephone directory of Boston and vicinity. This does not mean the old city but that larger community, extending out fifteen to twenty miles in every direction, which we call Greater Boston, and so is representative of the present-day activities of Massachusetts. Everybody does not have a telephone. It has become bracketed as a popular convenience with the automobile, the radio, and the Gillette Razor. Were I to make comparisons with the city directory, or even the combined directories of Greater Boston, the disparities to which I shall point would be considerably greater. But I think the tele-

phone directory fairly representative. Paying the rent of a telephone means that we are up and about in the world, and having some part in the current molding of affairs. I am also influenced by a consideration which President Hoover mentioned at the Edison Centenary; here is a book of names which in this age of the incandescent light, are easy to read, and for my purpose easy to count. What are the disclosures of the telephone book as to the racial changes which have taken place — which are still taking place in our own New England?

Eliot is one of the great New England names, from the days of John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," to Charles William Eliot, the long-time president of Harvard University. How many times does the name Eliot occur in the telephone book? Just 27, and 17 of these are names of institutions, and only 10 of persons, including business offices. By institutions, I mean the Eliot Hospital, and the Eliot Savings Bank, the Eliot Church, the Eliot Hall, and, *mirabile dictu*, the Eliot Beauty Parlor. The 10 individuals who bear the name, everybody here would know without recourse to a genealogical dictionary. How many Donovans are there? Answer, 453, of which 4 are institutions and 449 persons. The latter include one each of bowling alley, restaurant, battery-repair station, and apothecary.

Henry Dunster, I understand, was the first president of Harvard College. His name has recently come into perhaps an uncongenial conspicuousness in the case of the Dunster House Book-Shop, in our neighboring city of Cambridge. This is one of three times "Dunster" appears in our voluminous directory. There is a Dunster Garage, and one, and only one, individual listed. Now take the good name of Murphy: over 1300 entries, practically all of them representing individual telephone-takers. I have not spared the time to pick out the institutions, although there is a garage, a lobster lunch, a market, and a taxi service. There are 161 John Murphys, with varying initials. Is it any wonder that the immigrant from Czecho-Slovakia, applying in the probate court for a change of name, asked for a "good, straight, one hundred per cent American name — like Murphy"?

Few names have been associated with more deserved honor in this Commonwealth than that of Endicott, which the president of this Society bears with distinction. I find nineteen telephone entries under that name — including the expected percentage of the institutional entries. But let us look at the Cohens. I doubt if they average a smaller number of individuals to each receiver than do the Endicotts, and therefore it is fair to assume that the whole population bearing these names would compare in equal ratio as 19 to 754. There is the great name of Saltonstall now represented in the present Speaker of the House of Representatives. I find just eight entries in the telephone book, including one of a student in Harvard College. I recall the time when the late Leverett Saltonstall, the grandfather of the present Speaker of the House, on his way to a Democratic National Convention, occupied an adjoining compartment to Michael Doherty, a Democratic leader of the old time. The late Patrick A. Collins, seeing this juxtaposition, and always possessed of a pleasing sense of humor, thus introduced them: "Mr. Leverett Doherty I want you to know the Honorable Michael Saltonstall."

These racial changes are having an unmistakable effect upon the political and social life of the community. I used to go to Republican state conventions, in my early days as a reporter, and when the ever-stentorian leader from Somerville reached the platform, he customarily began his remarks with the wide-chested declaration that he represented "the banner Republican city of this Commonwealth," and he did. Somerville could always be relied on to pour in a huge Republican majority on election night. It was organized as a city fifty-seven years ago. It has conducted its politics upon party lines rather than by the attempted disguise such as that to which we vainly adhere in Boston. For fifty-seven years Somerville has had a variety of mayors — perhaps not so great a variety as that figure suggests, but they have all been Republican, until the other day when Leon M. Conwell, whose gifted father, Russell H. Conwell, wrote *Acres of Diamonds* and other well-known works, returned to his editorial duties on the *Somerville Journal*, of which the younger Conwell has long been the head. His successor, John J. Murphy, is the

proprietor of a gasoline station. This is the career that has brought to the mayoralty and to successive elections to that office the gifted Mr. Gillis of Newburyport, the town in which William Lloyd Garrison was born, where the pious Whitefield died, and where I saw a sign on my first visit there a number of years ago which read: "Furniture Moving — we make a specialty of taking families out of town."

Quite seriously, we are undergoing sensational changes here in New England. We are growing very rapidly — at least I shall think so until I get the next census returns. Rhode Island and Connecticut are growing faster than we are, because they are more immediately affected by the dominance of New York. The three states to the north of us, with a smaller population than those two to the south, are growing less rapidly, perhaps because of an apparent southerly trend of population the world over, which may, perhaps, be accounted for by the automobile, with its preference for dry roads, the electric fan, the electric refrigerator, and other devices which aid man in his warfare against warm climates. No corresponding implements seem to pull as strongly in the opposite direction. But with this rapid growth in city population, which seems likely to continue, we are witnessing a racial change of the first magnitude. Somebody wrote a book thirty years ago, in French, the only part of which I remember is the title, which translated reads: *Canada Reconquered by the French*. Its thesis was that while the British prevailed on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, and brought Canada under their dominion and flag in 1763, the French, by their superior numbers had again made Canada French territory. We have since then had direct evidence of this reconquest in the conflicting attitudes of the two great elements of population in Canada during the World War towards support of the Empire of which they were alike subjects.

The census of this year will tell us much about a variety of matters. China forbids that we should glory in mere numbers. At the same time the evidence which the distribution of population affords, as to the progress and meaning of our civilization, must be rated as of high and continuing significance to all Americans.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies from his autograph collection of three letters from Presidents of the United States:

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON TO WILLIAM V. CUSHING

CINCINNATI 30th December 1834

DEAR SIR

I assure you when I wrote to you I had entirely forgotten, that Mr. Skenke wished to go with me to Columbus. The truth is that you and Schenke were singularly indetified [*sic*] in my mind. You were both sons of men whom I highly esteemed. both [*sic*] the bosom friends of my sons. In point of talents I considered you on an equality. But there was a circumstance in your favor which if it did not decide the question it is the first time that it lost its influence with me. I allude to the service of your father in the army under my command. I do not recollect the circumstances of the case at all. But if they were as Schenke represented them the result was produced by some inadvertence as you very generously suppose to have been the case.

Mr. Hammond informed me this morning that there was a report current at Columbus that I had written to some one there that I considered my fees as a vested right not subject to the contrroll [*sic*] of the legislature. This is a possitive [*sic*] untruth. No such folly ever came from my pen or my lips. I wrote to the Delegation in the House of R from this County something like the following. that [*sic*] altho I was nominally appointed by the Judges yet as these gentlemen had declared that they would not have given me the appointment if they had not have had evidence that the people of the County wished me to have it I considered the people as my Constituency as well as theirs and asked if it would not be better to refer the matter to their decision at the next election when a fair expression of their will could be had and to which I would cheerfully submit.

As I have no time to write to Mr. Schenke I will thank you to contradict this statement and appeal to my letter.

Scott is this [*one word illegible*] day driving up some hogs to this market. He is the same *solid fellow* that he always was. I sincerely wish it was in my power to shew by any means the great regard I have for the memory of your father.

I am very sincerely
Your Humble Servant
W. H. HARRISON

W V Cushing Esq.

[House of Representatives, Columbus, Ohio.]

MARTIN VAN BUREN TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN BUTLER¹

MY DEAR SIR

I propose to leave here on Saturday Morning [?] and make a visit of four or five days to Kinderhook. What say you to taking Mrs. Butler and the family upon a visit to Stuyvesant for that period. If they cannot go with you join me on the boat with or without Miss Harriet. Let me hear from you by return boat.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Butler and family and believe me to be

Very truly

Yours

M. VAN BUREN

Wednesday July 25
1836

M Butler

JAMES KNOX POLK TO COLONEL SAMUEL H. LOUGHLIN

NASHVILLE March 9th 1841

MY DEAR SIR!

PRIVATE

My opponent you see has been announced. I do not consider him by any means as formidable as *Governor Cannon* would have been much as the leading Whigs seem to object to him.—I shall be ready to enter upon the canvass as soon as I receive the official announcement of the Cabinet and the Inaugural Speech; though I will not do so for some three weeks to come, unless my competitor shall move sooner than that time, in which event I will be *with him*. My present purpose is, (though this I shall not make public until I can learn the movements of my opponent) — to be at *Jackson* at the meetings of the Federal and Supreme Courts on the first Monday in April,—and open the canvass at that time. From Jackson I would return immediately here, and thence to Athens in E. Tennessee by the most direct route.—Should this be the case I would desire to make speeches on my way, at *Woodbury*, and some point in Warren that you might designate.—Would Mc Minnville be the point, or would some other be better? or had I better go by the way of *Smithville* and omit *Woodbury*,

¹ Benjamin Franklin Butler (1795–1858), of New York City, a law partner of Martin Van Buren, was Attorney-General of the United States 1833–1838. During the last five months of Jackson's second term he served also as Secretary of War.

until my return from E. Tennessee. I can delay but little on the way as my object is to canvass every County in E. Tennessee by the 20th of May.—Should my competitor however go into another part of the state I will go with him. I see from the last *Gazette* that you are announced for the Senate—and intend soon to take the field. This is right. We must not allow our opponents to take start of us in the canvass, as they did last year. I see too in the same paper that two candidates are announced for the House in Warren,—and that a County meeting is called for the 20th.—I do most sincerely hope that the Democracy of the County may be able to harmonize and that there may be no divisions in our ranks.—Do affect [*sic*] this if possible.—The Candidates in *Franklin* should be announced immediately. Why do they delay?—Who will they be? Will you see or write to our friends in that County?—*Samuel Turney* Esquire—I learn will run for the House in *White*. This is right. Why does he not announce himself?—You may rely upon it, that it is our true policy to be out early and take the start of our opponents,—rather than suffer them to take it of us.—My letters from Washington up to the 26th ultimo, express doubts whether there will be a *called Session of Congress* or not.—I think General Harrison's advisers are beginning to be alarmed, lest such a step might do them great harm.—

Let me hear from you.—

Your friend
JAMES K. POLK

Colonel S. H. Loughlin
Mc Minnville Tennessee

Mr. WOLKINS communicated several letters from the Andrew Papers in the possession of the Society:

GEORGE THOMPSON² TO GOVERNOR JOHN ALBION ANDREW

WASHINGTON, April 6 1864

MY DEAR GOVERNOR ANDREW,

Believing that I owe my reception here and elsewhere in no inconsiderable degree to the truly kind and flattering manner in

² George Thompson (1804-1878), English anti-slavery advocate, "an admirable speaker," visited the United States three times: 1834-1835, 1851, and 1864-1865. During his first visit he was denounced by Jackson in a presidential message and driven out of Boston; during the Civil War, Lincoln and his Cabinet met him at a public reception in the House of Representatives.

which you introduced me to the Citizens of Massachusetts and being deeply grateful for the service you have rendered to me, and through me to the cause of which I am the very humble advocate I sit down on my return from the House of Representatives where I have just delivered my speech to inform you of the nature of my reception in the Capital.

Mr. Hamlin waited upon me to conduct me to the Capitol. Mr. Lincoln met me in the Speakers [*sic*] room, gave me a hearty greeting and with the Vice president accompanied me into the House. There was a large attendance of Senators and Representatives. The audience was large and entirely filled the noble building. The *tout ensemble* was extremely brilliant. My reception was most cordial. All passed off excellently well. I visit the President tomorrow. See the two Chambers and some of the departments and then go to Wilmington, Delaware to speak on Friday evening.

I cut out and enclose a paragraph from Forney's Washington Daily Chronicle of this City.

My mention of the names of Garrison and Phillips called forth loud cheers — so did an allusion to John Brown. How is the scene changed! God grant that this wonderful and mighty revolution may proceed till every heart is leavened with the truth, and liberty is triumphant and Universal!

My Dear Governor Andrew Most gratefully and Sincerely Yours

GEORGE THOMPSON

JOHN ALBION ANDREW TO SALMON PORTLAND CHASE

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

BOSTON, May 2nd, 1864

Hon. S. P. CHASE, *etc.*

MY DEAR SIR,

I have seen with the profoundest regret intimations of your supposed purpose to withdraw from the Cabinet. I can well perceive the inconveniences and discomforts of your official position: — or indeed I had better admit the *hardship* and embarrassment of being in a sense complicated with the policy and non-policy of the administration touching many grave and exigent affairs which you would gladly influence for the better. I do not however perceive how for the present your especial duties *can* be entrusted to

other hands without grievous injury to the public. I sincerely hope that you will be enabled to over-rule all reasons which — if any there are — may withdraw you from the public service; and may consent yet longer to stand in your lot.

I need not, as your personal friend, occupy your eyes one moment to assure you, how poignant is my regret and indignation, at what I feel to be the cruel, baseless and unworthy aspersions of some men and the undignified and incomprehensible conduct of at least one other, [all intended for your injury, or done despite of such a consequence.] ³ I am confident that here in Boston no one who knows your name, much less your fame and repute as a citizen and a statesman, fails to regard that name as a part of the common property of the country, contributing by its unsullied brightness to the honor and renown of us all. I have written this much, in order simply "to free my own mind"; not because I think my repetition of repeated regard of any new value or significance, but as inspiration of a hearty sentiment which I felt it due to truth, to manliness and to my sincere regard to one whose career has helped illumine my own humbler path, at this moment to express. I pray you to remember with respect and regard to Mrs. Sprague, and believe me faithfully

Your friend and servant

JOHN A. ANDREW

LEWIS DAVIS CAMPBELL ⁴ TO JOHN ALBION ANDREW

HAMILTON, OHIO, August 27 1864

DEAR SIR,

I remember that once, whilst I was in Congress, I had the pleasure of being introduced to you in a crowd at Washington; and upon so slight an acquaintance it might under ordinary circumstances be regarded as rather presumptuous in me to write to you familiarly and plainly. Cutting myself loose however from apologetic ceremonies I give you as my only excuse for drawing upon your attention the fact that our great Country was never in greater peril than at present, and that you are geographically and

³ The words enclosed in brackets were struck out.

⁴ Lewis Davis Campbell (1811-1882), Whig editor and Congressman, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the Thirty-fourth Congress, contested the Third Ohio Congressional District with Clement L. Vallandigham four times (1852-1858), each being seated twice. In these elections Campbell received the support of the advocates of Free Soil and Abolition. In 1870 he became a Democrat.

officially in a position that will enable you by bold, prompt and vigorous action to make yourself one of its benefactors.

Prefatory to what I have to write pardon me for saying that I was born in this valley of the Miami and have lived in it for fifty three years and have been an active participant in all the political struggles for the last third of a Century — in the school of Webster, Clay and others. I ought therefore to know something of public sentiment here and of the influences which move our people.

Last year we gave a majority of over 100000 against that infernal traitor Vallandigham, and I fear that Mr. Lincoln and his friends east have supposed that this vote was an indorsement of his administration. There is not the shadow of a cause for such a supposition. Ohio's verdict was against a traitor and not a declaration for Mr. Lincoln. Our Union people are against Mr. Lincoln and cannot unite on Fremont. If we must be driven to the vote, I hesitate not to say that the Copperheads will carry the State. We do not believe that if Mr. Lincoln could be elected the country could survive four years more of his stupid and imbecile management. In this deplorable state of affairs we have been looking hopefully to the east for the lights of her statesmen to guide and direct us — for some one of *position* to lead off on behalf of the mass of the people in a bold demand for another Convention and for the withdrawal of the dead wood that obstructs the great Union track.

You will not accuse me of flattery I trust when I say frankly that you have thousands of admirers in the Northwest who have watched your patriotic and energetic career as Governor of Massachusetts, and who would joyously follow your lead in any movement for the redemption of the Country from its threatening embarrassments. I cannot express the satisfaction I experienced when I learned two days since from Captain Herbert that you was about to throw the great power of your name before the public in a demand on behalf of the people for the withdrawal of Mr. Lincoln and in favor of a new ticket. Let me beseech you to act promptly, *boldly and at once*. Our common foe are in the field. Our ranks are distracted and demoralized, and if leading men like yourself and those who control the Union press are weak-kneed and timid and wait for the rank and file to move, all is lost. Act now in the east and our northwest will follow your lead by hundreds of thousands. Delays are always dangerous — especially so now. Will you not before you again sleep set us the example and make yourself our Countrys benefactor and secure for yourself our lasting gratitude.

I trust we shall soon learn by Telegraph that you have led off in the great movement.

In great haste Very truly Yours *etc.*

LEWIS D. CAMPBELL

HORACE GREELEY *et al.* TO JOHN ALBION ANDREW

PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

NEW YORK, September 2, 1864

Honorable JOHN A. ANDREW

HIS EXCELLENCY,

The undersigned have been requested by a body of influential Unionists to communicate with the loyal Governors for the purpose of eliciting replies to the following queries:

1. In your judgment, is the re-election of Mr. Lincoln a probability?

2. In your judgment, can your own state be carried for Mr. Lincoln?

3. In your judgment, do the interests of the Union party, and so of the country, require the substitution of another candidate in place of Mr. Lincoln?

In making these queries, we give no opinion of our own, and request yours only for the most private and confidential use.

Yours Sincerely,

HORACE GREELEY

Editor of the *Tribune*

PARKE GODWIN

Editor of the *Evening Post*

THEODORE TILTON

Editor of the *Independent*

P. S. Please send an immediate response to Mr. Tilton, *Independent* Office, N. Y. City.

THEODORE TILTON TO JOHN ALBION ANDREW

THE INDEPENDENT

EDITORIAL OFFICE

No. 5 Beekman St., NEW YORK

September 5, 1864

Hon. JOHN A. ANDREW

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I thank you for your prompt response.⁵ Your letter, being the first received of all the replies, was also additional illustration that

⁵ Henry G. Pearson, *The Life of John A. Andrew* (Boston, 1904), II. 162-163.

Massachusetts is always ahead! Mr. Greeley was specially pleased with your view of the case — so he was with Governor Buckingham's,⁶ who wrote in a similar vein with yourself. *The Tribune* and *The Independent*, and I suppose *The Post* also, will take the ground that all the Republican forces ought to rally round the Baltimore platform and candidates (not because these candidates are the best) but because we cannot afford to run the risk, by division, of giving a victory to the outrageous principles put forth at Chicago. God save the Commonwealth and the Republic!

Ever yours,
THEODORE TILTON

RICHARD YATES⁷ TO HORACE GREELEY *et al.*

STATE OF ILLINOIS
EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT
SPRINGFIELD September 6th 1864

Hon. HORACE GREELY [*sic*]. N[ew] York *Tribune*.

" PARK [*sic*] GODWIN. " *Evening Post*.

" THEODORE TILTON. " *Independent*.

GENTLEMEN:

Your letter of the 2nd Instance stating that you "have been requested by a body of influential Unionists, to communicate with the loyal Governors for the purpose of eliciting replies to the following queries" is received, and I take pleasure in sending immediate answer to each of your interrogations.

You enquire of me,

" 1st. In your judgment is the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln a probability."

Answer. It is a strong probability.

" 2nd. In your judgment can your own state be carried for Mr. Lincoln."

Answer. It can be carried for Lincoln and I think not for any other man.

" 3d. In your judgment does [the interest of] the union party and so of the country require the substitution of another candidate in place of Mr. Lincoln."

⁶ William Alfred Buckingham (1804-1875), Governor of Connecticut, 1859-1866; Senator in Congress, 1869-1875. Governor Buckingham was one of the most vigorous supporters of Lincoln.

⁷ Richard Yates (1818-1873), Representative in Congress, 1851-1855; Governor of Illinois, 1861-1865; Senator in Congress, 1865-1871. Yates was an ardent opponent of slavery.

Answer. The substitution of another man at this late day would be disastrous in the highest degree. It is too late to change now. The masses of the Union party and of the western army would not fall into line. Too many of them would go to McClellan.

My friends! fight through on the present base and with faith hope and courage, and if it is not in Higher Council to punish our nation yet longer, we will succeed now, and if not now, hereafter — for our cause is just.

Remember Lot's wife. "She looked back from behind him and she became a pillar of salt."

Be not afraid that Mr. Lincoln has required the abandonment of slavery, as the basis of a proposition from the rebels.

"Revolutions never go backward."

Let our motto be that of Mr. Webster — a little changed. "Not Liberty first and Union afterwards" — nor "Union first and Liberty afterwards," but "Liberty and Union" now and forever, one and inseparable [*sic*]."

Truly Yours,
RICHARD YATES

A True Copy.

John S. Loomis

Colonel and A. D. C.

JOHN BROUGH⁸ TO JOHN ALBION ANDREW

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.
COLUMBUS, September 10th 1864

His Excellency JOHN A. ANDREW

Governor of Massachusetts

Williams Hotel, Washington City, D. C.

SIR

Your favour of 7th instant reached me this morning. It is not possible for me to go to Washington at present. From a recent published account of an interview between the President and a gentleman from Wisconsin, it does not seem possible to me that Mr. Lincoln seriously entertains the idea of presenting overtures

⁸ John Brough (1811-1865), first editor of the *Cincinnati Enquirer*, and a War Democrat, had defeated Vallandigham for the office of Governor of Ohio in 1863 by more than one hundred thousand votes. As late as September 7, 1864, Governor Andrew had written to sound his opinion as to the possibility of a "negotiated peace." See Pearson, *John A. Andrew*, II. 171.

to the chiefs of the Rebellion. To overtures *from them* of the terms of submission and peace, his ear is, of course, at all times open; — but to submit propositions to them, necessarily involving an armistice, or cessation of hostilities, with a surrender of advantages already gained, would in my judgment be ruinous to the cause and the Country. An hundred reasons occur to the mind at once, against such a movement. I am aware of the pressure that is being made upon the President in this particular, and the motives that prompt them; — but I indulge a strong confidence that he can resist the one, and appreciate the other. We are too near the end of this contest to propose or accept conditions of adjustment that will not secure to the country a certain and permanent peace.

I am Very Truly yours

JOHN BROUGH

FRANCIS PRESTON BLAIR, SR.,⁹ TO JOHN ALBION ANDREW

SILVER SPRING [MARYLAND.]

19. November 1864.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR ANDREW,

A few days back I called on Mrs. Lincoln and in the course of our conversation which was merely about Town topics, she changed the current and said "Mr. Blair, Chase and his friends are besieging my Husband for the Chief-Justiceship I wish you could prevent them." On "this hint I spoke," went up to the office and told the President that if he would make one of his Ex-Cabinet men a Judge, I thought Montgomery was his man, that he had been tried as a Judge and not found wanting, that his practice in the West had made him conversant with our land law, Spanish law, as well as the common and civil law in which his university studies had grounded him, that his practice in the Supreme Court brought him into the circle of commercial and constitutional questions. That, besides on political issues he sustained him in every thing, on the proclamation he had been quoted even by Sumner as authority to prove that it put the emancipation of the Slaves beyond the reach of Judicial or legislative power, State or national. This was the vital question for the races and the Government.

⁹ Francis Preston Blair (1791-1876), journalist and Jacksonian Democrat, was the father of General Francis Preston Blair (1821-1875), Democratic nominee for Vice-President in 1868, and Senator in Congress from Missouri, 1871-1873. An elder son, Montgomery Blair (1813-1883), was graduated from West Point, studied law at Transylvania University (1836), and served in Lincoln's Cabinet as Postmaster-General, 1861-1864. Silver Spring was the name of the senior Blair's home in Maryland. The spelling is Blair's.

Then when Chase and every other member of Cabinet declined to make war for Sumpter, Montgomery stood by him declaring it betrayal to surrender it without defence; and held his resignation in his pocket to hand him, if overruled. Chase was ready to let the whole South "*go in peace.*" That was to let the Union go, give half the continent to Slavery, resign a wronged race to eternal bondage, and sacrifice our whole cause to rebellion to promote his ambition to rule in the North.

Lincoln told me he must soon act in the matter but would not, in advance, commit himself. Adverting to his wishes in the matter, he said those of others must be consulted. His idea was forcibly expressed in another good thing. "Although I may be stronger as an authority yet if all the rest oppose, I must give way. Old Hickory who had as much iron in his neck as any body, did so some times. If the strongest horse in the team *would* go ahead, he *cannot*, if all *the rest hold back.*" I replied to these delphic hints, "I dislike Mr. President to trouble you with the importunities of friends to show that they would give me their support. It might not be satisfactory to you either." He said "I would not consider the trouble. It would be satisfactory if I were not called on to direct the course you propose." From the tenor and manner of his remarks I infer that he is well disposed to appoint Montgomery. Now if your feelings coincide with mine on this important matter I beg you to write me such a letter as I may shew to Lincoln to advance my object. If you differ, say so frankly. I know how to value your opinions whether they jump with my humor or not.

I think the whole scope of our politics is alike in the present great crisis of the country. I am sure our hearts beat alike whether our Judgments concur or not. I sincerely desire the perfect and secure freedom of the blacks, supported by the whole federal power, and lest the Legislation of states and the violent prejudice of caste should tyrannize over them and compel an Exodus or involve future wars I would provide a Canaan for such as might choose to emigrate by consecrating to the race the whole region between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. I would compel none to leave their present homes, but if the Government could hold out at the end of the War inducements to carry our black Regiments to this *promised land*, they might establish a Military Colony that would making [make?] their race equal and independent beyond state control and a barrier for us against Indians and Mexicans and French.

Your most obedient servant

F. P. BLAIR

P. S. This letter is confidential and for the advice of a friend.

FEBRUARY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 13, 1930, at 3 P.M. Because of the unavoidable absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Professor MERRIMAN was chosen to preside.

HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, Recording Secretary, not being present, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*.

The record of the January meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

From George E. Cabot and Lucy Sewall Cabot, of Boston, a collection of Robie-Sewall papers, 1611 to 1891, containing a correspondence portraying interesting affairs connected with Marblehead, Halifax, N. S., and Boston. This supplements Mr. Cabot's previous gift of the Cabot and Perkins family papers.

From Stewart Mitchell, Editor of the Society, a letter written by Sir Isaac Coffin, later Admiral, from Portsmouth, England, December 2, 1805, to Admiral Lord Collingwood, who succeeded Lord Nelson in the chief command of the English fleet at the battle of Trafalgar on October 21 of that year, expressing appreciation of the value of his services to his country.

From William Burke Wood, of Newton, several letters written by Charles Francis Adams (1807-1886) to Bartholomew Wood, his father, of Milford, Mass., 1858-1861, relating to their political associations, his addresses, and to public affairs, before and during the period of his election, in November, 1858, to represent the Third Congressional District in Massachusetts in the Thirty-Sixth Congress, with his letter of resignation to the district on May 1, 1861, caused by his appointment as Minister to the Court of St. James's.

From Charles E. Tuttle, of Rutland, Vermont, an eighteenth-century copy of the letter the Quaker, William Leddra, wrote to the Society of the Little Flock from "Boston Gaol," March 13, 1661.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Francis Munroe Endicott, of Boston, a photostat of a silhouette of William Endicott, of Canton, Mass., from the original

owned by Mrs. Franklin Haven; a *solidus* of Valens, 328-378 A.D., of Rome; a medallion in commemoration of the building of the Palazetto of Venice in 1465; and a badge showing the log cabin and a barrel of hard cider in relief, worn in the campaign of Harrison and Tyler, for President and Vice-President, in 1840.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, the medal to commemorate the popular shrine at the grave in Holy Cross Cemetery in Malden of the Reverend Patrick J. Power (1844-1869); also the Tercenary Medallion struck in 1930 for the occasion of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Establishment of the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England. The obverse shows in pictured relief the record of three centuries, with the portrait of Governor John Winthrop in the foreground; and the reverse the codfish in relief as the central feature, and a legend on the planting by the Puritans of free government in 1630.

From DR. MALCOLM STORER, seventy-nine medals; and the gold medal of the Humane Society, 1848.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that he had received a letter from HENRY WILDER FOOTE accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and a letter from WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE accepting Corresponding Membership.

Professor MERRIMAN announced the death, on January 27, 1930, of EDWARD WALDO EMERSON, in his eighty-sixth year. Dr. EMERSON was elected a Resident Member June 9, 1910.

Mr. FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL read a paper on

JOHN WINTHROP AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL THINKING OF JOHN ADAMS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In an unguarded moment after the December meeting, I volunteered to write something suggested by the discussion of Professor McIlwain's paper which was read at the meeting. My study of the early history of Massachusetts has been guided by the practical purpose of bringing out the seventeenth-century background of some of our current constitutional and legislative problems, with the discussion of which I have been actively connected. As an illustration of what I mean, I should like to tell you the story of recent

legislation in regard to jury trials in criminal cases, because it shows the importance of studying the common law of Massachusetts in the seventeenth century.

In 1921, as Secretary of the Massachusetts Bar Association, I attended a meeting of the Maryland Bar Association. In the course of a casual conversation, Judge Bond, then of the Supreme Court of Baltimore City and now Chief Judge of Maryland, told me that most criminal cases, even including murder cases, in Baltimore were tried by a court without a jury at the request of the defendant, and that had been their practice for many years. I had never heard of this practice before, but he said that in Maryland the right to be tried *without* a jury was regarded as one of the inalienable rights of man. I asked Judge Bond to write me an account of the history of their practice, which he did. I printed it in the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly*. His article attracted attention and was revised and reprinted in the *American Bar Association Journal*, with the result that the subject of jury-waiving in criminal cases is being studied all over the country.

Judge Bond's article led me to look into our own history of trial by jury. I learned more than I ever knew before about colonial history and practice. I found that by the Massachusetts practice, which differed from that of England, the defendant was given the option as to the mode of trial; that this option was specially recognized in the *Body of Liberties* of 1641, by Liberty xxix;¹ that the option was not only recognized, but, as shown by cases in the Court of Assistants during the colonial period which were collected by Mr. Noble, it was not uncommon for accused persons to choose to be tried "by God and the bench" instead of "by God and the country."²

I found that this practice appears to have stopped after the Charter was revoked and that when the Province Charter was granted and the judges were appointed by the Royal Governor, and discontent with admiralty jurisdiction of the Crown began to be felt, that the second act of the General

¹ W. H. Whitmore, Ed., *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1889), 38-39.

² John Noble and John F. Cronin, Eds., *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1692* (Boston, 1901-1928), I. 102-103; 114-115.

Court of 1692 was a Bill of Rights, which was disallowed by the Privy Council. This Bill of Rights contained a clause that "No freeman shall be taken and imprisoned . . . *etc.*, . . . but by the lawful judgment of his peers or by the law of *this Province*," and "All trials shall be by the verdict of twelve men," *etc.*

In 1697, in the act establishing courts, the General Court again attempted to require jury trial of "all matters and issues in fact arising or happening within this Province," but this act was also disallowed by the Privy Council for the reason explained by the Board of Trade to Bellomont, that, "Trial in Courts of Admiralty is not by juries." In other words, the right to *claim* a jury was not even allowed in these admiralty cases. This controversy continued down to the Revolution. An entry in the diary of John Adams for Saturday, December 23, 1769, shows that his mind was full of the right to jury trial, partly as a controversial political weapon in the struggle with the Crown against the Navigation Acts.

The account of the seventeenth-century practice was written and called to the attention of the bar and the legislature with the suggestion that the constitutional right to jury trial was an optional one.³ The Superior Court picked up the suggestion and began to try cases without juries at the request of defendants. The question was taken to the Supreme Judicial Court, which held⁴ that there was nothing in the Massachusetts Constitution to prevent such an option, but that the statute defining the jurisdiction of the Superior Court did not recognize the jurisdiction of that court to try a criminal case without a jury. The legislature of 1929, on recommendation of the Judicial Council, passed an act restoring the seventeenth-century practice in all cases other than capital cases.

Meanwhile, the prohibition law has caused such congestion in the federal courts that they can not function properly. Why? Largely because the Supreme Court of the United States in the '80's construed the jury provision in the Federal Constitution as a jurisdictional requirement in all criminal cases, instead of an individual optional right, thus preventing

³ *Massachusetts Law Quarterly* (August, 1923), VIII. 7-51.

⁴ *Commonwealth vs. Rowe*: 257 Mass. 172 (1926).

any federal system of police courts without juries but with an appeal to a jury court such as we have had in Massachusetts for a century or more. If the seventeenth-century practice in Massachusetts had been known and studied by the Supreme Court of the United States, this decision might never have been rendered. Mr. Wickersham's Commission is struggling with the problem to-day, and the early common law of Massachusetts is figuring in this discussion, both before the Congress and in the brief of the Solicitor-General of the United States in the case of *Patton et al. vs. United States*, which is set for argument before the Supreme Court of the United States on February 24, 1930.⁵

I have told this story for two reasons; first, to illustrate the direct bearing which some of our forgotten seventeenth-century history may have on twentieth-century problems of government and, second, to emphasize the importance of the recommendation of the late Nathan Matthews, made to this Society several years before his death, that some historical association or group of individuals should be found to finance the publication, with competent editing, of the early court records of Suffolk and Middlesex Counties, which are rotting in the files.

Turning now to John Adams, let me say that I had occasion to study the background of his mind, during the period of his greatest service, from 1761 to 1780, when I was preparing an account of the constitutional history of the Supreme Judicial Court prior to the constitutional convention of 1917.⁶ The more I read about him, the larger he grows as a figure of constructive influence in the history of this country — in spite of all the rather caustic comments about his inaccuracies and peculiarities which are indulged in by some recent historians, peculiarities, by the way, of which he was conscious, as he tells us. I have studied John Adams in connection with other constitutional problems, also, in and out of court.

It was for these reasons that I was not only interested, but

⁵ By the opinion in this case, decided in April, 1930 (281 U. S. 276), the Supreme Court reversed its earlier view (*Callan vs. Wilson*, 127 U. S. 540) and established jury trial as an individual right which might be waived. The Supreme Court of Illinois has done the same (*People vs. Fisher*: 340 Ill. 250. [1930]). See *Massachusetts Law Quarterly* (August, 1925), x. 16-29.

⁶ *Massachusetts Law Quarterly* (May, 1917), II. 394-407.

rather surprised at the difference of opinion which appeared to exist among professional historians as to the connection between John Winthrop and his Charter and the action under it, and the constitutional agitation which preceded the Revolution. I thought that the views of a mere lawyer might, perhaps, be of interest and, at least, provoke further discussion. If my views do not fit those of either the old or the new historians, any differences may be attributed either to my own ignorance or to the fact that, in addition to some of the early orthodox colonists, I number among my ancestors three of the cantankerous characters of the time: John Billington, Anne Hutchinson, and William Coddington — all of whom, I dare say, whatever their virtues, deserved to be excluded from the Colony for practical reasons.

THE THINKING OF JOHN WINTHROP AND JOHN ADAMS

"You needn't say 'exactly,'" the Queen remarked. "I can believe it without that. Now I'll give *you* something to believe. I'm just one hundred and one, five months and a day."

"I c'an't believe *that!*" said Alice.

"Ca'n't you?" the Queen said in a pitying tone. "Try again: draw a long breath, and shut your eyes."

Alice laughed. "There's no use trying," she said: "one *ca'n't* believe impossible things."

"I daresay you haven't had much practice," said the Queen. "When I was your age, I always did it for half-an-hour a day. Why, sometimes I've believed as many as six impossible things before breakfast. There goes the shawl again!"

I think the "White Queen" should be borne in mind whenever we study American history. Possibly the best proof of this is simply to look about the country to-day. But we have proof of it also in a striking passage from Mr. MORISON's very interesting book, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, in which he characterizes the "Yankee" race:

A tough but nervous, tenacious but restless race; materially ambitious, yet prone to introspection, and subject to waves of religious emotion. . . . A people with few social graces, yet capable of deep friendships and abiding loyalties; law-abiding yet individualistic, and impatient of restraint by government or regulation in business;

ever attempting to repress certain traits of human nature, but finding an outlet in broad, crude humor and deep-sea voyages. A race whose typical member is eternally torn between a passion for righteousness and a desire to get on in the world.⁷

Surely, a brood of the "White Queen" if there ever was one! Such were the people of John Winthrop and John Adams.

I have obtained a copy of the paper which Professor McIlwain read in December, and also a copy of the *Boston Transcript* containing a brief account of the doubts expressed by Professor Morison, who

was not convinced that the Massachusetts ideas of 1774 had any conscious connection with those of 1644. Hutchinson's *History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay*, containing a very full and accurate account of the "Free-State" attitude of the Bay Colony, appeared in 1764. If the Massachusetts readers of the 1770's had felt that they were defending traditional local liberties, they would have flung quotations from Hutchinson in the face of that eminent Tory. The fact is that Parliament had frequently legislated for the colonies after 1691, and its acts had been regarded as law in Massachusetts without question. The people had implicitly given their consent to a very different organization of the Empire from what obtained under the old Charter. The Province Charter gave them no commonwealth status as the old, and the readers of the 1770's were too good lawyers to appeal to a document that had had no effect for eighty years. Besides, they probably realized that the "Free-State" attitude of Winthrop was primarily religious and not political, in motive.

I have also been examining hastily the other writings of Professor McIlwain on *The High Court of Parliament* and on *The American Revolution*, Professor Andrews's *Colonial Background of the American Revolution*, Professor R. G. Adams's *Political Ideas of the American Revolution*, the books of James Truslow Adams, and Professor Schlesinger's *New Viewpoints in American History*. In the last-mentioned book I find the following passages:

Fundamentally the American Revolution represented the refusal of a self-reliant people to permit their natural and normal energies to

⁷ Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), 22.

be confined against their will, whether by any irresponsible imperial government or by the ruling minorities in their midst.

I agree with that statement so far as it goes. He then continues:

The popular view of the Revolution as a great forensic controversy over abstract governmental rights will not bear close scrutiny. How could a people, who for ten years were not in agreement among themselves as to their aims and aspirations, be said to possess a common political philosophy? Before assuming that Otis or Dickinson or Thomson Mason spoke the voice of the colonists, the historian must first ascertain what class or section of the population each represented and how widespread its influence was. At best, an exposition of the political theories of the anti-parliamentary party is an account of their retreat from one strategic position to another. Abandoning a view that based their liberties on charter grants, they appealed to their constitutional rights as Englishmen; and when that position became untenable, they invoked the doctrine of the rights of man. Likewise, their sincere devotion to the kingship was not open to question through ten years of controversy, when suddenly, a few months before the end, the English immigrant Tom Paine in the pamphlet *Common Sense* jerked the bandages from their eyes and revealed the goal of republicanism and independence at which they had already arrived in fact. Without discounting in any way the propagandist value attaching to popular shibboleths as such, it may as well be admitted that the colonists would have lost their case if the decision had turned upon an impartial consideration of the legal principles involved.⁸

This last passage from Professor Schlesinger, together with some of the comments of Mr. James Truslow Adams and others on the part played by Otis and Adams, I do not agree with. I think that they indicate the need of further reflection upon the simple truth that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business" — that constructive thinking by individuals necessarily precedes collective thinking, and that the constitutional history of modern states is a story, not only of economic forces, but of the intellectual history of the constructive thinking leaders who finally formulated and reflected in their draftsmanship the best instincts and the general out-

⁸ Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), 179.

line of government of the communities in which they lived. Sam Adams and Tom Paine could agitate and disrupt an existing government, but without the assistance of men like Otis, John Adams, Thomas Allen, and Theophilus Parsons, it seems to me extremely doubtful whether Massachusetts or the thirteen colonies could have constructed stable governments. The greatest of these men was John Adams. Profoundly stirred by the arguments of Otis against the Writs of Assistance in 1761 (and this result was the greatest contribution of Otis), John Adams became the intellectual leader in the development of the country, the preacher of constitutional ideas and the teacher of most of his contemporaries and the younger leaders that came after him, in the practical business of reducing academic and politically controversial theories to workable rules of government. It seems to be a more or less common assumption of some historians and of even some of the nineteenth-century judges, such as the learned Chief Justice Gray, to assume that their law was bad law, but Mr. Wolkins in his paper on "Malcolm and Writs of Assistance" in the *Proceedings* of this Society⁹ has produced an opinion of the English Attorney-General sustaining the legal argument of Oxenbridge Thacher against the issuance of the writs, and Professor McIlwain in *The High Court of Parliament* has brought out the background of the arguments of Otis and John Adams on the relation of courts to arbitrary legislation which had been forgotten. It is characteristic of thinking lawyers in reconstructive periods of history to study the earlier ideas which were held before the development of settled practices which resulted in revolutions and to revive the sounder principles and make a new start. It is exactly this which was done, as I see it, first by Otis, in a tentative but illuminating manner,¹⁰ and then by John Adams with a grasp

⁹ *Proceedings*, LVIII. 5-84.

¹⁰ James Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies* (Boston, 1764); various passages quoted in the *Massachusetts Law Quarterly* (May, 1917), II. 446-450. Since preparing this paper, I have read the first and last chapters of Professor Robert Livingstone Schuyler's *Parliament and the British Empire*, which I had not seen before. This book was written in support of the "orthodox" view of the complete supremacy of Parliament over the colonists, as opposed to the challenging views of Professor McIlwain, in his book on *The American Revolution*, that the authority of Parliament was limited to "the realm" and that its imperial supremacy over the colonies was an innova-

of essential principles and a power of statement which formed the thinking of the leaders and sketched the outline of the frame of government of the state and nation in such a way that it has worked. We are still living under this plan of gov-

tion after Massachusetts had become a political entity "without the realm," owing allegiance only to the "king in person." Sir Frederick Pollock says:

"There was in Locke's time respectable authority for three different theories of the supreme power in England. The king was absolute according to the ultra-Royalists and Hobbes. . . . Parliament or the king in parliament was absolute according to Sir Thomas Smith and the practice of the Tudor reigns; this view was accepted by Blackstone and has been the only tenable one among English lawyers since. According to a third doctrine prevalent among students of the common law down to the early part of the eighteenth century, there are bounds set by natural justice or "common right" even to what the king in parliament can do; that is to say, the judges are to disregard an act of parliament if it is manifestly contrary to natural justice and perhaps if it attempts to subvert the foundations of the constitution." (*Essays in the Law*, 96-97.)

Obviously, from the books of Professors McIlwain and Schuyler, similar "respectable authority" may be found for almost any legal theory of the relations between the king in person or in parliament, "the realm," and "the dominions." The Elizabethan period and the seventeenth century which followed it were times of imaginative activity in law as in other fields. The "divine right of kings" was challenged (Burgess, *The Sanctity of Law*); the idea—originating from Magna Carta—that even the King was "below the law"—as well as everybody else, was in the air. All these problems contained, in the background, the concept of a "law of nature" dating, as a reasonable system of thinking, from Aristotle.

Sir Frederick Pollock points out (*Essays in the Law*, 62) that the classical tradition of the "law of nature" was so impaired by the controversies of the Reformation that Bentham and his followers supposed that "it meant nothing but individual fancy." But that system of thinking, which, as Pollock points out, contributed very largely not only to the development of international law through Lord Mansfield and Lord Stowell, but also formed the basis of the modern law of quasi-contract, can not be dismissed as a system of "individual fancy." Lord Holt is quoted as saying: "He was a bold man that first ventured on" the form of remedy for the enforcement of a quasi-contractual liability (69, *note*). Incidentally, Maitland said somewhere that "quasi" was the only Latin word that English lawyers really loved. However that may be, the development of the law of quasi-contract as a result of a "bold" and conscious adaptation of an idea from "the law of nature" by the simple expedient of creating a remedy to enforce it, may give us a key to the connection between John Adams and John Winthrop and the variety of legal thinking which was incidental to the gradual growth of Parliament prior to 1630.

The substantial passages in Otis's *Rights of the British Colonies* (1764) which may reasonably be assumed to have been reflected in his arguments against the Writs of Assistance three years earlier, and which stirred the imagination of John Adams, are probably those quoted in part by Professor McIlwain (*The American Revolution*, 153-155), with the following addition. The quotation below not only outlines in dramatic fashion Otis's conception

ernment because it *has* worked. Constitutional law may exist in the minds of men even if it has been violated in practice, so that its principles may not be finally applicable until a revolution occurs. Professor McIlwain, I think, is perfectly

of the British Constitution at the time of that argument, but foreshadows the later division of functions in American constitutional law:

"Government is . . . most evidently founded on the circumstances of our nature. It is by no means an arbitrary thing depending merely upon compact or human will for its existence. . . . This supreme absolute power is originally and ultimately in the people. . . . Tyranny of all kinds is to be abhorred whether it be in the hands of one, or a few, or of many (8, 9).

"The end of government being the good of mankind points out its *great* duties; it is above all things to provide for the security, quiet, and the happy enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. There is no one act which a government can have a *right* to make that does not tend to the advancement of the security, tranquillity, and prosperity of the people. . . . Men cannot live apart or independent of each other . . . and yet they cannot live together without contests. These contests require some arbitrator to determine them. The necessity of a common, indifferent, and impartial judge, makes all men seek one (10, 11).

"The same law of nature and of reason is equally obligatory on a democracy, aristocracy, and a monarchy. . . . The grand political problem in all ages has been to invent the best combination or distribution of the supreme powers of legislation and execution" (13, 14).

After elaborating these ideas and quoting freely from Locke and from the English Bill of Rights of 1689 and the Act of Settlement of 1701, he proceeds:

"Every British subject born on the continent of America . . . is entitled to all the natural, essential inherent and inseparable rights of our fellow subjects in Great Britain. Among those rights are the following, which it is humbly conceived no man or body of men, not excepting the parliament, justly, equitably, and consistently with their own rights and the Constitution, can take away. . . .

"3dly. No legislative, supreme or subordinate, has a right to make itself arbitrary. . . .

"4thly. The supreme legislative cannot justly assume a power of ruling by *extempore* arbitrary decrees, but is bound to dispense justice by known settled rules, and by duly authorized independent judges" (35, 36).

"To say the parliament is absolute and arbitrary is a contradiction. The parliament cannot make 2 and 2, 5: Omnipotency cannot do it. The supreme power in a state is *jus dicere* only: — *jus dare*, strictly speaking, belongs alone to God. Parliaments are in all cases to *declare* what is for the good of the whole; but it is not the *declaration* of parliament that makes it so: There must be in every instance a higher authority, viz., GOD. Should an act of parliament be against any of *his* natural laws, which are *immutably* true, *their* declaration would be contrary to eternal truth, equity, and justice, and consequently void; and so it would be adjudged by the parliament itself, when convinced of their mistake. Upon this great principle, parliaments repeal such acts, as soon as they find they have been mistaken, in having declared

right in saying that the Petition of Right was not revolutionary but an assertion of constitutional ideas, and that this was the view of John Adams is shown by his letters in 1765 written under the name of "Earl of Clarendon" and directed to

them to be for the public good, when in fact they were not so. *When such mistake is evident and palpable, . . . the judges of the executive courts have declared the act 'of a whole parliament void.'* See here the grandeur of the British constitution. See the wisdom of our ancestors. The supreme legislature, and the supreme executive, are a perpetual check and balance to each other. If the supreme executive errs, it is informed by the supreme legislative in parliament: *If the supreme legislative errs, it is informed by the supreme executive in the King's courts of law — Here, the King appears, as represented by his judges, in the highest lustre and majesty, as supreme executor of the commonwealth; and he never shines brighter, but on his Throne, at the head of the supreme legislative. This is government. This is a constitution to preserve which, either from foreign or domestic foes, has cost oceans of blood and treasure in every age: and the blood and the treasure have upon the whole been well spent*" (47).

The term "Executive Courts" (used in the passage above) was commonly applied to courts of justice as distinguished from the legislative or "General Court." See Quincy's *Reports*, 474, note la.

The theory of this argument, as Professor McIlwain points out, was that of a parliament of constitutionally restrained (rather than geographically restricted) powers, the exercise of which was to be governed by the law of nature or reason.

Adams, of course, went further and, entirely denying parliamentary authority over the colonies except by occasional acquiescence, subjected the prerogative of the crown to the tests of the law of nature or of reason as applied to isolated dominions, and, finally, defied that prerogative because of violation of reasonable principles. He then "boldly" thought out, and succeeded in establishing, machinery for reducing his constitutional ideas to practice.

The discussion as to whether or not the authority of parliament extended to the dominions is somewhat like the discussion as to whether or not the government of Massachusetts is based on "social compact," as defined in the Preamble to the Massachusetts Constitution. That Preamble, written in the language of prevalent eighteenth-century thinking, has been much ridiculed, but we must not forget that John Adams was a very practical man confronted with a crisis, and that the idea of a "social compact" meant to him, and to others in Massachusetts at that time, what the Charter meant to John Winthrop in 1630.

The compelling movement which led to the constitutional convention of 1779 was the insistent demand by Thomas Allen (representing the Berkshire constitutionalists) for a "compact" upon which the men in western Massachusetts could rely for protection against the men in the powerful eastern seaboard counties, whom they feared as much as they had feared the King or Parliament. (Smith's *History of Pittsfield*, Chapters XVIII-XX.) John Adams drew this "compact," the substance of which we are living under to-day. Now it resembles a fiduciary "compact," or trust, rather than a bi-lateral contract, but it is still a "compact." Chief Justice Cushing was

"Pym." In one of those letters he impersonates Clarendon, after about a century of reflection in some calm spiritual haven, as saying:

. . . since my departure from the earth I have revolved these things so often, and seen my errors so clearly, that were I to write a history of your opposition now, I should not entitle it a rebellion; nay, I should scarcely call the protectorate of Cromwell a usurpation.¹¹

Incidentally, these letters show how much John Adams was thinking, at the age of twenty-nine, of the early history of New England and the contemporary conditions in England which resulted in the Great Migration. Otis, Adams, Thacher, and others were reading lawyers. It appears in Tudor's *Life* that Otis advised his pupils "that a lawyer ought never to be without a volume of natural or public law or moral philosophy on his table or in his pocket" and that Blackstone's *Commentaries* if they had appeared earlier would have spared him seven years of "delving in black letter."¹² He had read Dummer's "Defense" of the charters and had doubtless read Wise's "Vindication of the New England Churches," and

president of the convention which adopted that "compact," which he knew was intended to be relied upon by each citizen of Massachusetts against all the others as a matter of law, and, although it is generally forgotten, William Cushing sat beside John Marshall and took part in Marshall's opinion in *Marbury vs. Madison* in 1803.

Probably the whole development, therefore, of the American doctrine of constitutional law, both before and after the Revolution, may be traced to the "bold" application of ideas from "the law of nature" (as defined by Sir Frederick Pollock, and as applied by a succession of individuals from John Winthrop to John Marshall) to conditions arising from the isolation of the American colonies.

Marshall was "bold" enough to do as a federal judge, in 1803, just what he had argued that a federal court ought to do in applying the constitution, in the Virginia Convention in 1788. (Beveridge's *Marshall*, I. 452.) Cushing was "bold" enough to abolish slavery in Massachusetts in 1781 by charging the jury that it violated the first article of the Bill of Rights. This was at a time when the legislature did not dare to act.

As pointed out in the text, constitutional law is a story not of a "retreat" but of an advance of "bold" and *balanced* minds. The truth is that "What is everybody's business is nobody's business," and that "individual thinking must precede collective thinking."

¹¹ Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *The Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1851), III. 475.

¹² William Tudor, *The Life of James Otis* (Boston, 1823), 10.

everything else he could lay his hands on. John Adams read much more than Otis, and his constitutional arguments were more unqualified than those of Otis in opposition to the idea of the supremacy of Parliament.

The late William G. Sumner, in a passage which I have often quoted, said:

The fact which gives chief value to the study of the early history of the United States is, that in it we can see a society begin from its earliest germ and can follow its growth. It is a case of an embryo society, not however of savages but of civilized men. They came armed with the best knowledge and ability which men, up to the time of their migration, had won . . . that history presents elements to the student of society which he can find nowhere else; for later colonial enterprises have been undertaken with the help of steam and constant communication between the colony and the mother country, and so under conditions of less complete isolation. . . . It is, however, just this isolation, with the necessity of self-adjustment to the conditions, which gives interest and value to the story of the colonies as social experiments."¹⁸

That passage was written by Sumner at the end of the nineteenth century, but I do not see how any one can read the story of the founding of Massachusetts, the votes and agreements between Winthrop, Dudley, and others which preceded the transfer of the Charter and their emigration, and the constant reference to the early settlement of New England in the writings of John Adams in 1765, without being convinced that the constitutional ideas of Winthrop and his associates, before and after they left England, and of John Adams from 1765 on, were focussed upon this very fact of isolation and its consequences in the relations between the governments, and that the views of Adams were not only influenced by, but were merely a conscious continuation of, the idea of "a free state without the realm" which characterized the views of Winthrop and his associates.

I think the reason that there was not more law writing for the eighteenth-century thinkers to rely on was pointed out by the late Nathan Matthews in an address before the Boston Bar Association several years ago in which he attributed the

¹⁸ Albert G. Keller, Ed., William G. Sumner, *The Challenge of Facts and Other Essays* (New Haven, 1914), 290-291.

loss of the Charter and the witchcraft abuses, or, as he described it, the downfall of the Puritan State and the Puritan Church, to the lack of an educated bar during the colonial period and the substitution of the advice of clergymen, based on the Old Testament, for a study of the records of the Privy Council and other sources of English law.¹⁴ Mr. Matthews pointed out that the Privy Council decided that the Charter of 1628/29 created "a corporation on the place." In his opinion if the implications of that decision had been followed up by capable lawyers trained to controversy instead of by clergymen, much of the apprehension about land titles and other matters might have been avoided and there might have been a very different result of the attack on the Charter.¹⁵

So in regard to the constitutional ideas as to the relation of the Colony and the Province to the Crown and Parliament — while these ideas were somewhat in abeyance for practical purposes for many years, they seem never to have been forgotten. They seem to have been handed on from generation to generation until they were revived with controlling force by the pre-Revolutionary bar. The colonial lawyers — Winthrop, Bellingham, Nathaniel Ward, and others, appear to have been well read and capable, to a surprising degree, of governing and of framing laws, some of them far in advance of their time, as in the case of the provision in the laws of 1648 for compensation upon the taking of property for public purposes. But they were not practising lawyers, trained at fighting out in court the rights of individuals under written instruments or analyzing general principles of law and legal precedents. They were governing a pioneer community, struggling with local problems, independent in their ideas, but also wisely and shrewdly desirous of avoiding unnecessary controversies.

Considering the fact that parliamentary supremacy had not been established in England at the time of the settlement of

¹⁴ *The Massachusetts Law Quarterly* (May, 1928), XIII, 73-94.

¹⁵ The decision of the Privy Council was based on the opinion of Chief Justice Rainsford and Chief Justice Francis North in 1676-77; see W. L. Grant and James Munroe, Eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England: Colonial Series* (H. M. Stationery Office, 1908), I, 690 (§ 1119), 720 (§ 1155), and 722-724 (§ 1159). Mr. Matthews emphasized the phrase "a political corporation on the place," but he was too busy to supply me with his references for the legal significance of the phrase.

Massachusetts, that a struggle had been going on between the King and the Parliament for a quarter of a century or more, and that there was no Parliament at all in England for the first ten years or so after the Charter of 1628/29 was transferred, it seems natural that Winthrop and his associates should have worked out and preserved the constitutional idea that their allegiance was to the King alone and that their charter conferred upon them, in view of their isolation — whatever may have been the views and experience of other pioneers — the right of “absolute government” with the rights and privileges of Englishmen as against the Crown, but with no other political obligations. The fact that they really held this view in 1646, appears from the secret instructions to be followed by Edward Winslow, agent of the Colony, as quoted in *Winthrop's Journal* — “if you shall be demanded about these particulars,”

Obj. 9. About a general governor.

Answer 1. Our charter gives us absolute power of government.

2. On the terms above specified, we conceive, the patent hath no such thing in it, neither expressed, nor implied.

3. We had not transported ourselves and families upon such terms.

4. Other plantations have been undertaken at the charge of others in England, and the planters have their dependence upon the companies there, and those planters go and come chiefly for matter of profit; but we came to abide here, and to plant the gospel, and people the country, and herein God hath marvellously blessed us.¹⁶

Turning to the remonstrance and petition of the General Court in answer to the petition of Samuel Gorton and others, we find a clear but tactful statement of the General Court's attitude toward appeals from their jurisdiction:

Their appeals we have not admitted, being assured, that they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, nor will be allowed by your honors, who well know it would be destructive to all government, both in the honor and also in the power of it, if it should be in the liberty of delinquents to evade the sentence of justice, and force us, by appeal, to follow them into

¹⁶ James K. Hosmer, Ed., *Winthrop's Journal* (New York, 1908), II. 315.

England, where the evidence and circumstances of facts cannot be so clearly held forth as in their proper place. . . . These considerations are not new to your honors and the high court of parliament, the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great council, who, in those times of darkness, when they acknowledged a supremacy in the bishops of Rome in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome, etc., to remove causes out of the courts in England.

Beside . . . considering the vast distance between England and these parts, (which usually abates the virtue of the strongest influences,) your counsels and judgments could neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be so useful to us, or so safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account, for any miscarriage which might befall us, while we depended upon your counsel and help, which could not seasonably be administered to us. Whereas if any such should befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it.¹⁷

That this same view persisted after the revocation of the Charter, although they were unable to establish it in practice, is shown by the fact that the second act of the General Court under the Province Charter in 1692 was an act already mentioned setting forth general privileges. This act contained language borrowed from *Magna Carta* and emphasized the rights of freemen to be governed by "*the law of this Province*." It was disallowed by the Privy Council, but there it was, and there it remained. I see no evidence whatever that it was ever forgotten.

In studying the mind of John Adams, the first fact to remember, although it took place twenty-two years after 1765, is that he quoted the following lines from Pope's *Essay on Man* on the title-page of his *Defence of American Constitutions*, written in London in 1787 and published just as the Convention met in Philadelphia. "All Nature's difference keeps all Nature's peace." Bearing this in mind, and in view of the familiarity with Pope which was characteristic of American readers in the middle of the eighteenth century, we

¹⁷ Hosmer, *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 312. The "great day of account" obviously refers to the Day of Judgment, to people who thought in Biblical terms. This reference is also significant of the one and only final supremacy really acknowledged.

may assume that these lines were familiar to him in 1765 — at all events, the idea was familiar to him ten years earlier, as we shall see.

The next thing to consider is John Adams's own account of James Otis and his argument against the Writs of Assistance — not so much to find out what Otis said, which seems to be the question which interests economic historians, but to get the far more important fact (which some of these historians seem to consider of relatively minor importance), *i.e.*, the effect which Otis produced on John Adams. Unless we remember what Barrett Wendell and others have pointed out, that the American colonists, particularly in New England, down to the time of the Revolution, retained the Elizabethan capacity for enthusiasm, we shall not understand either John Adams or his influence.

Then turn to the *Diary*. In January, Mr. Gridley suggested a small club or "sodality," apparently of four men, to read the feudal and canon law regularly. In February, as a result of these discussions, John Adams wrote a memorandum of suggestions for future study on, "The Canon and the Feudal Law," which was printed in August, 1765, in the *Boston Gazette* and reprinted in England several years later. This "dissertation" will be found in Adams's *Works*.¹⁸ This alone seems to me to show the conscious connection between the thinking of John Adams and that of John Winthrop and his contemporaries.

But, following that "dissertation," we find three letters already referred to published in January, 1766, under the title, "The Earl of Clarendon to William Pym," in answer to some writer who had asserted under the signature of "Pym" that, "A resolution of the British Parliament can at any time set aside all the charters that have ever been granted by our monarchs." These letters were followed later, in January, 1767, by two others under the name, "Governor Winthrop to Governor Bradford," written in answer to "Philanthropos." These letters were in turn followed by others including those written under the name, "Novanglus." We shall see why he chose the names "Clarendon," "Winthrop," and "Novanglus."

¹⁸ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, II. 146; III. 447.

I have not had time to find out how many printed accounts of the settlement of Massachusetts were available to Otis, Adams, and their contemporaries, but we may be sure that not only whatever was in print, but also much that was in manuscript as well as in the unwritten traditions and conversations of leaders of the community, was familiar to these men.

I have already referred to the emphasis of Mr. Nathan Matthews on the absence of an educated bar during the colonial and early provincial period in Massachusetts. In 1765, in John Adams's paper on, "The Canon and the Feudal Law," already mentioned, we find his view, which is directly in line with the view of Mr. Matthews, as to the results of the absence of a bar, not merely well-read but trained in the practice of fighting out the meaning of rules and documents in court. Adams wrote:

The true source of our sufferings has been our timidity.

We have been afraid to think. We have felt a reluctance to examining [*sic*] into the grounds of our privileges, and the extent in which we have an indisputable right to demand them, against all the power and authority on earth. And many who have not scrupled to examine for themselves, have yet for certain prudent reasons been cautious and diffident of declaring the result of their inquiries.

The cause of this timidity is perhaps hereditary, and to be traced back in history as far as the cruel treatment the first settlers of this country received, before their embarkation for America, from the government at home. Everybody knows how dangerous it was to speak or write in favor of any thing, in those days, but the triumphant system of religion and politics. And our fathers were particularly the objects of the persecutions and proscriptions of the times. It is not unlikely, therefore, that although they were inflexibly steady in refusing their positive assent to any thing against their principles, they might have contracted habits of reserve, and a cautious diffidence of asserting their opinions publicly. These habits they probably brought with them to America, and have transmitted down to us. Or we may possibly account for this appearance by the great affection and veneration Americans have always entertained for the country from whence they sprang; or by the quiet temper for which they have been remarkable, no country having been less disposed to discontent than this; or by a sense

they have that it is their duty to acquiesce under the administration of government, even when in many smaller matters grievous to them, and until the essentials of the great compact are destroyed or invaded. These peculiar causes might operate upon them; but without these, we all know that human nature itself, from indolence, modesty, humanity, or fear, has always too much reluctance to a manly assertion of its rights.¹⁹

If further evidence is needed of this period, it may be found in the following sentence, which appears in a footnote and which his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, quoted from the original draft of "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law":

I always consider the settlement of America with reverence and wonder, as the opening of a grand scene and design in Providence for the illumination of the ignorant and the emancipation of the slavish part of mankind all over the earth.²⁰

Turning back ten years to 1755, in the biographical fragment appearing in the first volume of his *Works*, we find John Adams writing from Worcester, when he was under twenty years of age, to Nathan Webb:

Soon after the Reformation, a few people came over into this new world for conscience sake. Perhaps this apparently trivial incident may transfer the great seat of empire to America. It looks likely to me: for if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us. The only way to keep us from setting up for ourselves is to disunite us. *Divide et impera*. Keep us in distinct colonies, and then, some great men in each colony, desiring the monarchy of the whole, they will destroy each others' influence and keep the country *in equilibrio*.

Be not surprised that I am turned politician. This whole town is immersed in politics. The interests of nations, and all the *dira* of war, make the subject of every conversation. I sit and hear, and

¹⁹ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, III. 458-459.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, III. 452.

after having been let through a maze of sage observations, I sometimes retire, and by laying things together, form some pleasing reflections to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above.²¹

The world has been satiated, even nauseated, by filio-pietistic collections illustrating the wisdom and virtue of precocious youngsters — records of words and actions posthumously gathered and produced as early indications of future greatness. I do not refer to this early letter for the purpose of adding to the collection, although Charles Francis Adams writes of it:

Had the political part of it been written by the minister of state of a European monarchy, at the close of a long life spent in the government of nations, it would have been pronounced worthy of the united penetration and experience of a Burleigh, a Sully, or an Oxenstiern.²²

But if we are studying the conscious connection between the thinking of John Adams and the thinking of John Winthrop as showing a continuity of constitutional thought, it is important to realize that the vision of an independent Commonwealth, independent not only of the English Parliament, but very probably of the English King and all the rest of Europe, had presented itself so vividly to John Adams before he was twenty years old, as a result of reading, listening, and then thinking. Surely, this vision of things to come, in the mind of the man who, above all others, was turned to in every crisis between 1765 and 1780 for constructive suggestions, furnishes an answer to Professor Schlesinger's statement that, "At best, an exposition of the political theories of the anti-parliamentary party is an account of their retreat from one strategic position to another."²³ I respectfully suggest to Professor Schlesinger a closer study of the mind and influence of John Adams from 1755 to 1780, when he drafted the Constitution of Massachusetts. In this connection, the chapter on Adams "as a Britannic statesman" foreshadowing the present constitution of the British Commonwealth of

²¹ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, I. 23-24.

²² *Ibid.*, I. 24.

²³ Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints*, 179.

Nations, in Professor R. G. Adams's little book,²⁴ deserves the closest reading, together with Professor McIlwain's volume *The High Court of Parliament*. The facts collected by Professor McIlwain as to the gradual development of Parliament from the King's Council, in which the judicial and legislative functions were fused, to an independent and omnipotent law-making body, may also throw some light on the meaning of what appears to be the somewhat ambiguous language of early New Englanders.

The Colony was settled before the independence of Parliament was established. It was settled under a royal grant, and no Parliament met in England during the first ten years of its existence. Indeed, the idea of a representative legislature meeting at regular intervals independently of the wishes of the king, developed in practice in Massachusetts before it developed in England. The representative body of freemen (first as a part of a single chamber and later as a lower house) was forced upon Winthrop and his clerical advisers. The General Court provided for in the Charter was thus developed in practice under political conditions existing "on the place." It had, and exercised, both legislative and judicial functions after the manner of the early parliaments, to which Professor McIlwain refers. These functions were fused, and continued to be fused, to a gradually lessening extent, after the Province Charter, down to the time when John Adams separated them in the Constitution of 1780. The Court of Assistants not only acted as a senate, but as a court, and its members were judges. Therefore, it was to this conception of a parliament (a meeting of councillors, according to the old notion) that Winthrop must have referred in his answer to the men of Watertown in 1633. The idea, as thus explained, fits exactly the idea of an independent "Bible Commonwealth" "without the realm" owing allegiance merely to the King in person, but not to any parliament other than that of the Commonwealth itself.

The old idea, explained by Professor McIlwain, of the Parliament as finding and declaring (rather than making) the law, seems to throw light also on the ambiguous language to be found at the beginning and end of the *Body of Liberties* of

²⁴ R. G. Adams, *Political Ideas of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1922), Chapters v and vi.

1641, which, as I see it, resembled the re-statements of the Common Law now in preparation by the American Law Institute, rather than a definite enactment. It all fits in with the policy of "protraction" as Winthrop called it, by which the common law of Massachusetts was allowed to develop in accordance with the demands of an isolated pioneer community. Independence (so far as they could afford to assert it) was not a theory but a fact, growing out of their isolation, as well as their conscious intentions. That they realized this fact before they emigrated seems to me the only intelligible explanation of the agreement of which the transfer of their Charter was a condition. Strictly speaking, from the legal point of view of that time, that transfer may, or may not, have had a legal effect. Practically speaking, it was a political fact of the first consequence in giving the colonists a sense of security and independent responsibility in their isolation as members of a "political corporation on the place."

It is said that the "free state" attitude of Winthrop "was primarily religious and not political in motive." But this view does not seem to me to describe fully the attitude of the men who reflected the general sentiment of the community during the colonial period. As somebody, I think Mr. George E. Ellis, former President of this Society, wrote:

It was the politics of the church,—its method of government, that the Puritans wished to control. So dominant was this idea, and so controlling as a direct source of law was the Old Testament, that the religious and political motives were identical. They can not be separated.²⁵

To refer again to Sumner:

. . . if this strong religious sympathy had not existed, what associative principle would they have had to hold them together and build up a civil society?

While I was preparing this paper, I received a copy of a book just published by Professor Richard B. Morris entitled, *Studies in the History of American Law*, the first chapter of which again emphasizes the supreme authority of the "law of

²⁵ Justin Winsor, Ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1884-1889), III. George Edward Ellis, "The Religious Element in the Settlement of New England," 219-256.

God," to which even a king must bow. This was expressed by the General Court in its reply in 1646 as follows:

Our allegiance binds us not to the laws of England any longer than while we live in England, for the laws of the parliament of England reach no further nor do the king's writs under the great seal go, any further.

As to the suggestion of repugnancy, the Court said:

. . . they have no cause to complain, for we have no laws . . . contrary to the law of God and of right reason, which the learned in those laws have anciently and still do hold forth as the fundamental basis of their laws, and that, if anything hath been otherwise established, it was an error, and not a law, being against the intent of the law-makers, however it may bear the form of a law (in regard of the stamp of authority set upon it) until it be revoked.²⁶

This view, which Milton also expressed, that anything contrary to the Law of God, of which they were the interpreters, was not law but error, is perhaps the most illuminating symptom of the kind of independence which was believed in, and expressed when necessary, by a government in which clergy-men were dominant and in which the lay leaders had read law.

By the middle of the next century, the same ideas had been nursed and handed down until a generation of fighting lawyers appeared upon the scene. They were revived and re-expressed under the guidance of John Adams in constitutional language, in order to avoid mob-violence, or what he described as "the recurrence to original power" — the apprehension of which led him to suggest the impeachment of Chief Justice Oliver as an alternative to a probable coat of tar and feathers.²⁷ Here again in this suggestion of the impeachment, which came as a surprise to every one, we have an example of the constructive character of his mind. He had the *State Trials* and read them.²⁸ He feared the effect on the whole colonial cause of popular violence to the person of the Chief

²⁶ Richard B. Morris, *Studies in the History of American Law* (New York, 1930), 19.

²⁷ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, II, 328-332.

²⁸ S. Emlyn, Ed., *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason, Etc.* (London, 1742), 6 volumes.

Justice; therefore, he produced a constitutional alternative the reason for which seems to have received less attention than it deserves.

Again, when Chancellor Wythe of Virginia asked for his advice as to the reconstruction of the colonial governments he sent him the paper called, "Thoughts on Government," at the end of which he quoted from Milton: ²⁹

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs
By the known rules of ancient liberty.

James Truslow Adams refers to the extraordinarily large sphere accorded to the Devil in Puritan theology.³⁰ Perhaps the state of mind of the governing group in Colonial Massachusetts may be described as one in which the primary consideration was to fight the Devil in the name of God, and that this absorbing contest required an independence in their minds which made the problems of allegiance to the King and their relations to Parliament of secondary importance, to be shrewdly solved by a policy of "protraction" which left them free to fight the Devil. Their whole civil government was planned with this view and was only gradually modified as the numbers of colonists increased and the local and individual demands for a share in the government increased. That the governors and the clergy yearned for power and clung to it, as usual, and that Mrs. Grundy was a dominant force, is undoubtedly true; it is also true that the governing body was shrewdly lenient toward vigorous local groups, like those in Marblehead, whom Morison quotes as saying, "Our ancestors came not here for religion. Their main end was to catch fish."³¹ But, since the Bible was a law book, sin and crime were synonymous and the "Divill" appeared even in their judicial procedure. In the cases before the Court of Assistants, all indictments charged that the defendant, "not having the fear of God before his eyes and being instigated by the Divill," did thus and so.

Professor McIlwain said that the earliest statement that he

²⁹ Adams, *Works of John Adams*, IV. 200.

³⁰ J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921), 82.

³¹ Morison, *Maritime History*, 13.

found after the Stamp Act of the idea that the colonists were free states not within the realm, was a statement by Franklin to a committee of the House of Commons in 1766; but this idea was fully explained by Jeremiah Dummer in his *Defence of the New-England Charters* early in the eighteenth century:

If the Words will receive any other Construction than what the Act of Parliament has put upon them, I think it must be suppos'd to be this; that the Patentees should not under colour of their particular Charters presume to make any Laws inconsistent with the great Charter and other Laws of *England*, by which the Lives, Liberties and Properties of *Englishmen* are secur'd. It seems reasonable enough to think that the Crown might intend by this Injunction to provide for all it's [*sic*] Subjects, that they might not be oppress'd by arbitrary Power; but in whatever distant Part of the World they were settled, being still Subjects, they should have the Usage of *Englishmen*, be protected by the same mild Laws, and enjoy the same happy Government, as if they continued within the Realm. Consider the Expression in this Light, and the Colonies (which I am defending) are still safe, having in no respect impair'd, but many Ways improv'd, the Liberty of the Subject, as I have before shown under another Head. If hereafter so unaccountable a Thing should happen, that those Privileges which were design'd as Fences against Oppression and Despotick Power, prove the means to introduce both, and the Body of the People should petition to be reliev'd from the Yoke of their Charters, for my part, I'll be no longer an Advocate for them.⁸²

While this passage was written long before the Stamp Act, yet it was one of the well-known pamphlets of the early eighteenth century which was, of course, familiar to Franklin, Otis, Adams, and all the rest. It was used by Otis in his arguments against the Writs of Assistance and was doubtless a source of information and suggestion to an omnivorous reader like Adams.

It fell to Otis and John Adams to formulate the opposition to parliamentary aggression on grounds of principle reflecting the practical sentiment of the colonies by some constructive policy of restraint which should govern the exercise of great power. They did this on constitutional grounds as loyal sub-

⁸² Jeremiah Dummer, *A Defence of the New-England Charters* (London and Boston, 1721), 35-36. Notice the words "if they continued within the Realm."

jects of the Crown before the colonies or they themselves contemplated revolution. When, in addition to parliamentary aggression, the abuses of the prerogative of the King became more threatening, John Adams, instead of "retreating from one strategic position to another," advanced on constitutional grounds to the position of defiance of the Prerogative.

Some wit has described law as, "that which is plausibly put forward and vigorously maintained." Such was the law asserted and finally established during the Revolutionary period as a result of this constitutional thinking. It was not bad law merely because the orthodox Englishmen, on and off the bench of that day, did not understand it. Governor Pownall saw the danger of the Prerogative, but he did not understand the English Constitution as Adams did. As Otis said, following Locke, "Although most governments are *de facto* arbitrary . . . none are *de jure* arbitrary." This was a lawyer's way of saying what the Puritans said in 1646 — that what was opposed to the Law of God, even if in the form of law, was not law, but error.³³

With broad, practical vision and a sense of perspective, Adams formulated the vague popular ideas into a system consistent with the early English traditions and sufficiently general and elastic to meet the demands of a big, ambitious, and vigorous society in its future development under changing economic conditions.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize again the important bearing of a clearer knowledge of the seventeenth-century life and details of government in Massachusetts as shown in court records. The influence of rural pioneer conditions, practices, and prejudices on our government, and especially on court procedure, which affects us more than most of us realize, has been great, but much of that influence has come from crudely-educated communities. The pioneer leaders of early New England, as Sumner points out in the passage already quoted, were among the best-educated men of their day, some of whom, as John Adams says in one of the papers

³³ Compare Otis, *The Rights of the British Colonies*, 47, cited in Samuel E. Morison, Ed., *Sources and Documents illustrating the American Revolution, 1764-1788* (Oxford, 1923), 7; and Hosmer, *Winthrop's Journal*, II. 301.

referred to, "left libraries still in being" of books "in languages which their great-grandsons can scarcely read." Even the rank and file had an education based on constant reading and familiarity with the Bible which was probably a better preparation for life than much of our higher education to-day. It is time that we varied the current tendency to damn the Puritans with charges of bigotry and other epithets, by studying more closely the details of their lives and government, as Mr. Matthews suggested.

In the preface to the first volume of his *History of the United States*, Professor Channing says:

I have considered the colonies as parts of the English Empire, as having sprung from that political fabric, and as having simply pursued a course of institutional evolution unlike that of the branch of the English race which remained behind in the old homeland across the Atlantic. I have also thought that the most important single fact in our development has been the victory of the forces of union over those of particularism. It is essential that the forces and institutions which have made for disunion should be treated at length and in a sympathetic spirit; but it is even more necessary that the forces and institutions which have made for union should be constantly borne in mind and brought to the attention of the reader, for it is the triumph of these which has determined the fate of the nation. . . .

I have tried to see in the annals of the past the story of living forces, always struggling onward and upward toward that which is better and higher in human conception. It is only in this way that justice can be done to the memories of those who have gone before and have left for us a splendid heritage.

The Massachusetts Puritans won a battle with nature and with the forces of disunion which are characteristic of any loosely-organized society. They won it because their leaders were highly-educated men of character and determination. John Adams knew this and based much of his thinking on this fact at a time when he was called upon to lead in a similar battle against the forces of disunion on a much larger scale.

We still have much to learn from a closer study of the seventeenth century and the ten volumes of the *Works of John Adams*.

In reading several chapters in Professor Schlesinger's *New Viewpoints in American History*, such as that on "Radicalism and Conservatism," it seems to me that while they are very interesting, they are somewhat superficial in that they seem to lack a discriminating appreciation of what may be called "the backbone" of peaceable evolution in government, *i.e.*, the balanced thinking of individuals perhaps generations or centuries apart — the suggestive minds which contribute continuously to what Professor Channing calls "the forces of union," or, in simpler language, the minds which plan the rules under which people in large communities can live together reasonably. These minds are rare. They are neither radical nor conservative, and they are both radical and conservative, because, when you use one of those terms as applied to an individual, before you know it you are describing the other term. Thus, Professor Schlesinger classes John Adams as a conservative as distinguished from Otis, Henry, Samuel Adams, and "Tom" Paine.³⁴

In a sense, he was, but in a larger sense he was the greatest radical of them all. He is acknowledged by Jefferson to be the man who put through the Declaration of Independence and, at the same time, he was the man who, more than any other, brought about the most radical contribution to the practical problem of government, the division of labor or distribution and balancing of functions as a safeguard against arbitrary power. Whatever its defects, this practical experiment in balancing powers which is the basis of modern government, is perhaps the most radical step in the history of government. He did not invent the idea, but he formulated it and preached it. When the people of this country found that it worked, they kept it. Probably no man in history was more profoundly convinced of the dangers of absolute sovereignty in any person, or group, or multitude of persons. He, in my opinion, was more dynamic in his ultimate influence than all the other so-called "radicals" of his day.

³⁴ But see Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints*, 114-115, where John Adams is characterized as a conservative only after he became a Federalist, the last four men, Otis, Henry, Samuel Adams, and Paine, having been discussed during the period of the Revolution, only. EDITOR.

In closing this discussion of the continuity of constitutional thought, I should like to supplement what Mr. Matthews urged upon this Society some years ago, with a plea for active and effective interest in the publication, under competent editing, of the Massachusetts Court Records of Suffolk, Middlesex, and possibly other counties where they are available. This Tercentenary Anniversary is a peculiarly fitting time for the undertaking of this work. We have multitudes of historical societies and generous gifts of money for preserving old houses, old furniture, old relics, old public buildings, as historical monuments of the Puritans and their descendants. People are reading more history than ever before, if we are to judge from the enormously-increased amount of historical writing; yet, with all our interest in American History, the most intimate historical sources which we have of the lives of the Colony and the Province are rotting in the files beyond reach of most historical students. There is a growing demand, of which the book by Professor Morris is an example, that these early court records should be made available. They constitute a far more important historical monument than all the old houses in New England. In saying this, I do not for a moment wish to be understood as disparaging the work of protecting those houses; but, I believe that the publication of these records and their consequent preservation for convenient study would be more important than all the other Tercentenary preparations put together!

And now, while I hope I have shown the conscious continuity of constitutional thought in New England, I think you will, at least, agree that, like our New England ancestors, I have passed the test of their fairy godmother, the "White Queen," by believing half-a-dozen impossible things before breakfast.

Mr. DANA spoke of certain phases of the taking of the Federal Census suggested by the discussion of Mr. O'BRIEN's paper in the January meeting.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of letters in his collection from three Presidents of the United States: Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan.

FRANKLIN PIERCE TO EDMUND BURKE¹

WASHINGTON January 17. 1838

DEAR SIR

The *Argus* and *Spectator* of the 13th instant reached me this morning and I was forcibly struck with the coincidence between the views expressed by you in the editorial, headed "abolitionism" and those which I took occasion to advance upon the same subject, in remarks submitted to the Senate on the ninth instant a copy of which I shall probably be able to send you tomorrow. — The truth is the opposition political press is out in full cry with the abolition press against the course of the democratic members here from New England. Federalism and abolitionism in them will be united unless the former shall immediately discontinue its present course. — And I thought the best way to prepare for such an event was to meet it at once, to proclaim it at the very out set, and I am glad to see, that you are of the same opinion —

The failure of the Commonwealth Bank at Boston has made a good deal of conversation here and today Mr. Webster introduced a resolution of enquiry which brought it before the Senate — I become more and more confirmed daily in the opinion that the sub-treasury scheme is the only true and safe policy for the Government. —

You will have a very animated contest in March but I think from all I can learn that the result must be a triumphant one for the democracy.

The expressions in relation to yourself at various meetings in your County must be flattering as they are well deserved

In haste your friend

FR[ANKLIN] PIERCE

Ed[mund] Burke Esq

Newport

[New Hampshire]

¹ In 1834 the *Argus* was moved from Claremont to Newport, New Hampshire, and was united with the *Spectator* in 1835, Edmund Burke, a lawyer, becoming sole editor until 1838, when the paper changed hands. Burke was elected Representative in Congress in 1838 and served three terms. In 1845 Polk made him Commissioner of Patents; in 1849 he became associate editor of the *Washington Union*, at that time the leading Democratic paper in the country. He was still living in 1878. Edmund Wheeler, *The History of Newport, New Hampshire* (Concord, New Hampshire, 1879), 61-63.

JAMES BUCHANAN TO ROBERT TYLER ²

WASHINGTON 25 December 1847

MY DEAR SIR

A merry Christmas and a happy and prosperous New Year to you and Mrs. Tyler! This I wish with all my heart and trust that my wish may become a reality.

Your speech at the great meeting has extended your reputation. I received several letters from Philadelphia written by individuals capable of appreciating its merits who say it was the best political speech they ever heard. Of this I informed the President and he voluntarily undertook to have the proceedings published in the Union. You may then judge of my disappointment when upon opening the paper this morning I discovered that the speeches were omitted whilst the letters were published. I will complain of this to the President.

Ritchie has, I think, no favorite candidate. His game is to be non-committal. He fears to offend any and thus displeases all. The present printers of Congress, it is supposed, will be compelled to abandon their contract and he is looking out for the printing of the Senate. Rives will be his competitor. I have been astonished, however, at the evident reluctance to publish the proceedings; although the President was delighted with them and anxious for their publication.

Things here remain pretty much as they were when you were with us. Prospects would be very fair, indeed almost certain, were it not for the divisions in Pennsylvania which are magnified into an importance they do not deserve. The State looks better and better.

With every feeling of grateful regard, I remain

Sincerely your friend

JAMES BUCHANAN

Robert Tyler Esquire

² Robert Tyler (1818-1877), one of the leading Democratic politicians and newspapermen in Philadelphia, was the son of President Tyler by his first wife. He settled in that city in 1843, practising law; his sympathy with the South led him to remove to Richmond at the outbreak of the Civil War. His influence on the policy of Buchanan, especially in Kansas, is discussed by George D. Harmon, "President James Buchanan's Betrayal of Governor Robert J. Walker of Kansas," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (January 1929), LIII, 51-91.

JAMES BUCHANAN TO SAMUEL ROBINSON

WHEATLAND, NEAR LANCASTER
7 January 1857

MY DEAR SIR

Incessant engagements have too long prevented me from answering your inquiry respecting Franklin and Marshall College.

I believe it to be a good institution, where an excellent education may be acquired at a moderate price. The professors are able, pious and conscientious men who attend diligently to their duty and [who *cancelled.*] are highly respected in this community. The country is remarkably health [*sic*]; and upon the whole I can [say *cancelled.*] recommended the College as a favorable place for the education of your sons. In haste,

Yours very respectfully

JAMES BUCHANAN

Samuel Robinson Esq

TWO LETTERS OF MILLARD FILLMORE

BUFFALO, March 6. 1861

B. HAMMATT NORTON,

SIR,

I have your favor of the 22nd. *ultimo* expressing a desire to retain your present position, and asking a letter of recommendation to the new administration, but I regret to say that a sense of propriety has compelled me to refuse any voluntary advice to my successors in office as to men or measures, and for this reason I must respectfully decline your request.

I am Respectfully yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

BUFFALO, July 24. 1861

MY DEAR MISS CLARA,

I write at the request of Mrs. Fillmore, who has met with an accident that for the present confines her to her bed, and I fear will deprive her of all her anticipated pleasure of going to Saratoga, and of doing something which she contemplated for the gratification of yourself and your Sister Amanda. What that something is she has not fully explained to me and therefore I will not attempt to describe it.

But I regret to add that on Monday evening she and I were riding out on horse back, when her horse became unmanageable and

ran with her and threw her off on the pavement, but she miraculously escaped with her life without any broken bones or dislocated joints, or internal injury, but somewhat bruised and her muscles strained, and her nervous system affected by the shock. But we think she has sustained no permanent injury and hope that she may be able to go out again in a short time. Her most serious injury is a bruise on the left temple which broke and abraded the skin and which swelled so much as nearly or quite to close her left eye and a sprain of her left ankle [*sic*]. The former, she fears will render her unpresentable for some time, and the latter prevents her from walking. This I feel is a terrible calamity, but under all the circumstances I am thankful that it is no worse.

The horse was a beautiful white Arabian poney [*sic*] which I had recently purchased expressly for her, and which had before proved so gentle, that she had no suspicion of his attempting to run, and had carelessly let the curb rein drop upon his neck, and after he started she could not recover it nor could she hold him with the others.

Mrs. F[illmore] joins me in love to all, and

I am as ever truly yours

MILLARD FILLMORE

Colonel BANKS presented to the Society photographic copies of seven letters and drafts of replies (1633-1660) which he obtained from the Archives at Leyden.

DRAFT OF A LETTER OF HUGH GOODYEAR¹ TO RALPH SMITH²

Loving and dear Sir I thank you for your kind remembring me with a second letter. I have received a former many yeares agoe, pardon my [former ne] vnthankful neclecting to answeare your love, for which I desire to make you some part of amends by

¹ A Presbyterian congregation was established at Leyden in 1609, the year John Robinson and the Separatists removed there from Amsterdam. "Hugo Goudgier" ministered to this congregation from 1616 until his death, in 1661. Henry Martyn Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years* (New York, 1880), 387, n. 98.

² Ralph Smith (1595(?)–1661) crossed in the *Talbot* with Francis Higginson, 1629, and settled at Plymouth, where he married (1634?) Mary, the widow of Richard Masterson, who died at Plymouth in 1633. In 1649, Mary Smith gave to her children, Nathaniel and his sister, Sarah [Masterson] Atwood, her right to "a house in Leyden, in Holland, sometime appertaining to my deceased husband Richard Masterson." James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England* (Boston, 1862), IV, 129.

doing my best, that your house here may be sold vnto your most advantage; but it seemeth this yeare litle wil be effected for your present comfort ³ As soon as I [had] received your letter I went vnto mrs. Robinson, and acquainted her with the whole contente of the letter; afterwarde I told william Jepson your desire, that he and John Keable would sel your house, expecting with all my forwardnesse to doe what in me lied to further the byssinesse. he went with me vnto one Ellies, who receiveth the rent of the house, vnto whom I manifested your desire to sel the said house, and that the rent behind may be sent vnto you, he answered, that the rent of the house being somewhat more then fourtie gilders (twoe English shillings make a gilder) and every yeare eighteen gilders *must* be payed for the vse of three hundred gilders, where-with the house is charged, also other expences, as reparation, and the majestrates impost amounting vnto twelve gilders, ten gilders a [year?] remaining vnto the owner [which he hath received for some yeares and] for which he hath sent cloth into new England as yei may see in his bil of accounts here inclosed [so that of the rent] he hath litle or nothing in his hand to send you; he manifested a willingnesse to buy the house as Richard masterson [of-fered] some yeares agoe offered to [let] sel it him, but is was answered him, that houses are now of more worth. I desired William Jepson to consult with John Keable about the sale of the house, which he promised to doe, and afterwards to comme vnto me; having [expecting] in vain expected his comming vnto me a whole week and more I went vnto [the] one of the Secretaries of the Citie, to ask counsel; manifesting vnto him what you had written vnto me his counsel was, that I should translate that part of your letter into latine or Dutch; and give it vnto the magistrates together with a petition for to intreat them to give power vnto w[illiam] Jepson and Jo[hn] Keable to sel the house; I went vnto w[illiam] Jepson to know whether he and John Keable would take vppon them to sel the house after the magistrates had authorissed them, then he manifested that John Keable had also a letter for to sel the house, I desired that his letter might be also translated for to shew the magistrates, since that time I have not heard of them. what should be the the reason I know not [vnlesse their desire be to effect the businesse without my knowledg, I mean if the mages-

³ The thirteen words preceding are written in the margin at the left. The four different ways of using brackets in the printed text of these letters will be easily distinguished, with care; brackets enclose: 1. letters added to abbreviated names; 2. editorial explanations, in italics; 3. doubtful readings, or possible omissions, followed by question marks; and 4. words and sentences crossed out in the manuscripts.

trate wil not give them authoritie to sel the house before further authoritie come from you, then] I cannot wait longer vpon their pleasure, but must write you my counsel is that you, your wife, and the guardians of your wifes children if there be any, are to give [ful pow] absolute ful power vnto some here [to sel] by a letter of atturnie made and sealed by your publike civile magestracie, and also the indenturs of the house are to be sent As [for] touching my present condicion, the Lord hath placed me over a congregation, which inioyeth the vse of the ordinances, but [we] want that power of godlinesse, which is in those rare christians in manchester and there about; Some willing the libertie of the English Churches here seek to bring vs vnder the command of the service book in England, and I feare that the Chiefe in England wil bring it in some congregation, but cannot so easily bring it in ours; our [worthie] famous Countriman Doctor Ames⁴ is departed this life at Roterodam after his good service done in answering D.[octor] Burges and the Arminians, [who] which pestilant sect begin in many places to flourish again and I feare wil be the sore scourge of God vpon the Dutch Churches for their great vnthankfulnesse. I pray you remember me in your prayers, I am not vn-mindful of you. Salute from me your wife, old master [Brester, Brewster?], your governour, mr. Aldersey, *etc.* [The Lord] our good God direct vs [to doe what] with his blessed Spirit sincerely and chearfully to doe what is approved in his sight without missing ether on the right or left hand. Amen.

HUGH GOODYEAR TO GOVERNOR BRADFORD

To the governour of new plimmoth in new England

Worthie Sir my thoughts are much distracted what [to doe] prudentlie according to the command of a good conscience to doe with the rents of the house committed vnto my care by a letter of atturnie made by a publike notarie authorised of the generale Court of the Massachusetts admitted and sworne; which I have received out of the hands of Christopher Ellis, who died the last yeare, [as] also Samuel Lee is departed out of this life, mr. Raph Smith and his wife mary the widow of Richard masterson have written earnestlie vnto me, presentlie to send them the rents which I have in my

⁴ William Ames (1576-1633), famous Calvinistic opponent of Arminianism, died at Rotterdam in November, 1633. Ames married, as his first wife, the daughter of Doctor Burgess (1563-1635), chaplain to Sir Horace Vere, the English governor of Brille in Holland.

hands, and I vnderstand by your worships letter, that the said mary hath given, vnder her owne hand the house and the rents thereof vnto her twoe children Nathaniel and Sarah, wherevpon mr. willet and his partners have given vnto the said children ten pound sterling as a part of a debt which thei owe vnto Henrie walis deceased for his service for to be paid here out of the rents of the [ho] said house, vnto his mother [Jaessice?] wallis, who is [in great want] verie poor, as also her children, Sir being perswaded that yei are men of conscience faithfullie to give the goods of the deceased vnto whom by right thei belong I am the more [emboldened] bold to desire your worships to make manifest by the first that the said children of Masterson have right to receive the ten pound sterling, if thei have not to take it from them and give it vnto the mother, and also [give her] be pleased to give her the other ten pound due vnto the heires of Henrie wales like as your letter manifesteth, and vpon [knowledg] certificate from you, that the said payment of twentie pound sterling is made, the widow wales and her children shal have so much presentlie [given] paid them out of the rents of the house, which house and rents (because I am wel stricken in yeeres,) I have delivered into the hands of the lords of Catherines hospitale, receiving vnder their hands an assurance to give them the rents, [who] vnto whom by right thei belong, so that after my death the widow of masterson and her children may there receive the house and rents, who are the surest keepers of it, and wil [pay] faithfullie pay the said 20 pound vnto the widow wales and her children, and take their acquittance for to be sent vnto you, and so I rest yours to command

HU[GH] GOOD[YEAR] English
preacher.

I have also written vnto mr. Smith.

HUGH GOODYEAR TO RALPH SMITH

To mr. Raph Smith in new england,

Reverend Sir I am [indeed] sorie that I cannot [presentlie supplie you] satisfie your desire and wants by sending presentlie vnto you according to your directions the rents of the house which I have received, being hindred by a letter written by the Governour of new plimmoth, vnto Christopher Ellis concerning a poor widow by name Jassie wales, whose Son Henrie Wales deceased a servant vnto [the] a companie of new plimmoth, vnto whom thei are indebted for his service twentie pound sterling which thei desire his

poor mother may receive therefore thei have paid of the said somme, ten pound sterling vnto your wifes children, Nathaniel and Sarah (for as much thei say that [your wife] their mother and your wife Mrs. Smith hath given vnder her hand the house and all the rents alreadie received), to be here paid vnto the said widow wales out of the rents of the house, I was summoned to appeare before the Lords of Catherines Hospitale in Leiden, to pay vnto the widow walice the said ten pound out of the rents of the house, [the monie being delivered vnto your wifes children for to be repaid here out of the rents vnto the said widow,] which I was vnwilling to doe, vntil I heard from you, who have given me a ful legale letter of attornie, to receive the rents and to send them vnto you, I desire you to signifie vnto me by the first whether your wife hath given any such writing vnder her hand vnto her children, if not, that then the children [returue] restore the said ten pound vnto your wife, and that you write vnto the Governour of plimmoth, to give your wife the other ten pound sterling, due vnto the said widow wallice, then vpon sight of your letter that you have received so much, twentie pound [shal] twentie pound shal be delivered vnto the said widow wales (who with her children is extreamelie poor,) out of the rents of the house, your wives cossen Christopher Ellis died the last and I my self being wel stricken in yeeres and knowing not the day of my death, have vpon deliberation given the house and all the rents into the hands of the Lords of Catherine Hospitale here in Leiden, [with assurance] receiving assurance from them vnder their hands to give them the rents vnto whom thei belong: the hospitale is a sure and faithful keeper, doeth not like as men doe, therefore when I die, you know where to have the house and rents, vnderstanding men say that the house is worth an hundred pound sterling: the good Lord keep vs vnblamable vnto the day of christ, farewel in the Lord, yours in Christ

H[UGH] GOOD[YEAR]

I have also written vnto them of new plimmoth, and have written vnto you a yeare agoe of this matter.

LETTER OF RALPH SMITH WITH DRAFT OF THE REPLY

Grace and peace be to you and all yours Amen.

Dear Sir I gladlie receiued your lettre blessed be God for your life and loue and care of our busines. Our God requite you abundantly, and bless all your labours in publike and private: wee

are bolder with you for old acquaintance, town and Countrie sake, and kinred also it seems by our cosen Aspinwals words. Knowing onelie you in those parts, and mr. Bamforth: we are therfore forced to be bolder with you than I wold, in this mercie and curtisie in our difficultie, and danger to lose much in our propertie by manie and great losses (in eremo) by fire, water and theeues 5 times, to intreat you to take our house into your care; bycaus Chr[istopher] Ellis hath so often and earnestlie written to be freed from it, and wold have boght it at a verie low rate, which we dare not for my wife is to have the rent of it during hir life being now 60 yeares old and but weaklie though healthie mostlie (by mercie) and though wee writt once to have it sold and the Governors and other hands to it, your being dead and gone farre of into severall parts eremi and our sonne Nath[aniel] Masterson I know not where or if he liue, and if trobles be renewed here or in England (as well may be in these daies) it may be in time he may (as manie haue done) desire to dwel in that house though I know not that, nor where he is if living. we might have roo good wittnesses of our plaine meaning and dealing herin: but (suppose) it needes not. letts craue your best care herin (dear Sir) a precious oppertunitie is in your hand to gratifie Chr[istopher] Ellis, further your own account and our joy.

Mr. Aspinwal and his wife our cosens being veri busie kindlie salut you.

I'm sorry the rent is not sent, as he promised, and conscience required, nor know I any reason of this delay nor may he urge vs to vnder-sell it, or to sell it (its better as it is) how our dear England is I long rather to hear from you being so neer. we conflict with manie sore trials in eremo, (as you may well think) our cosen Aspinwal (whom I acquainted with your loue) purposed to write to you.

2^o 8^{vi} 50^o I dwel in Ipswich but lodg at mr. Cottons in Boston I come now to send to you and you may please to send your letres to him (our dear frend) for vs. valete. were we known to Chr[istopher] Ellis he wold not be so jealous. But God is just.

Yours much bounden

RA[LPH] }
MARY } SMITH.

Deare Sir ⁵ you and your wife vpon the confidence, which yei [*sic*] have in my fidelitie are pleased to committe vnto my care your house here, and so disburden your Cousin Ellis, requiring in your name the rents which he hath in his hands; this service of love I dare not but willinglie take vpon me, many weightie reasons binding me therevnto. after [sight however?] of my ful commission from you he hath given me twoe dayes agoe this inclosed account of the rents of your house these eight yeeres last past, and of his disbursings, as also the remainder which is 150*g* — 18*st* — 4*d* which I send by a letter of exchange according to your appointment forthwith to be paid to mr. Richard Broomer brazier in Lottbury in London, yet because the merchant of whom I procured the letter of exchange required an even Summe, therefore the odde silver namelie 15*st* — 4*d* remain in my keeping vntil I can send it you with other rents hereafter [received] due which wil not [speedelie] sodainlie amount vnto any considerable summe to send you because of the disbursings, [because] out of the rents of the house which is 60 geld. yeerlie is to be paid vnto the Lord of this citie 6*g* 5*st* and for this interest of three hundred gelders wherewith the house is charged 18*g*. 15*st*. is to be paid, as also for needful reparations, vnto what summes of mony the same wil amount yeerlie vnto is vncertain: my indeavour shal be the house be kept in good reparation with as little charges as may be. I cannot satisfie your longing desire with a true relation of the present estate of our dear native land England, divers are the reports some say it goeth wel with religion, others say, exceeding bad: the good Lord God keep me from rash censuring and my heart close vnto the written word, for church communion and fellowship with all real saints, and the practise of the power of godlinesse, these are serching dayes of great trial truly love and faithfulnessse are rare, I am in great danger to lose an 140*ll* and by the vnfaithfulnessse of one, whose honestie formerlie I questioned not, but it is our God blessed be his name, who gavest vs hope of a treasure layed vp in Heaven, which theeves cannot rob us of. my humble due respects I pray you remember to [reverend] worthy mr Cotten, and mr Rogers whom I have formerlie knowne, and also vnto the other reaverend ministers whose thanks I reed in the writing sent with Mr. Wilson (I think of it not not [*sic*] [as] old mr wilson,⁶ I have heard that he is with God,) and mr Norton and mr Worcester.

⁵ Draft of a letter entered on the blank space at the end of the preceding letter.

⁶ Reverend John Wilson of the First Church, Boston, died August 7, 1667.

AFFIDAVIT OF RALPH AND MARY SMITH

the 14th of the 8 month commonlie called october 50th

Bee it known to all whome this may concern that wee do desire our house in Leyden in Holland vppon the vttermost graft neer the quakle brigge⁷ may be committed to our dear frend Mr. Hugh Goodyer minister there his hand and care (if it bee troblsom to our cosen Christofer Ellis, with whom it was left by our dear brother Richard M[aste]rson, who: left it for my wife Mary Smith to haue the rent of it during her life and then to goe to her children after her) and al the rent due for it sent speedili[e] to Mr. Richard Broomer brazier in Lathbury in London for vs, and this shalbe your discharge wittnes

wee testifye this to bee the deede
of Mr. Ralfe Smith and Mrs.
Mary Smith his wife and that
they are both liuing and in health
at the date heereof

Nath[aniel] Rogers John Norton
Elders of the Church in
Ipswich
N[ew] England.

Joh[n] Cotton, of Boston Teacher.

John wilson of Boston.

pastor in the church there,
who kindlie

saluts you with thanks for

your much loue and kindnes to him and his

Ralf Smith

Mary Smith hir marke

LETTER OF NATHANIEL MASTERSON⁸

Reauerent

Sir my Respects presented to your selfe and yours
this is to let yow vnderstand that wee thankfully [*sic*] accknowledg
your kindness in your kind Labours and faithfvll paines aboute the

⁷ "Quakle brigge" is a translation of the Dutch "kwakelbrug," a narrow, arched bridge common in Holland. "Graft" is a street along a canal bank. Professor Dr. D. Plooi.

⁸ Nathaniel Masterson was the son of Richard Masterson, a member of Robinson's church in Leyden and later a deacon of the church at Plymouth. Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims* (Boston, 1841), 73 n.

rent of the howse which my father Masterson let in Leyden: for the twenty pounds which is dew out of the said rent vnto the widdow wallas I am Sory it is not paide I haue giuen Mr. Willet power to order it to heer out of the rent aboue mencioned, but I vnderstand by your Letter it is not yet paide, wee haue received and except of the sum of twenty pounds thearfore I disier it may bee paide to heer theare out of the rent aforesaid. I vnderstand that my father Smith hath Received teen pounds of the rent which hee had noe rite vnto. I haue Impowered Mr. Willet to doe for mee in receiveing of the rent as alsoe to make Salle of the howse; I pray be pleased to further mee about the kinds of goods, which I haue want of, viz some beeding som brass and some peuter wee haue need of the money or monyes worth my Sister haueing many children, being lowe. Thus Comiting and comending yow to the Lord and the power of his grace I take leaue.

Plym[outh] this
17th June
1659

Your vnworthy
Friend,
Nathaniell Masterson.

HUGH GOODYEAR TO NATHANIEL MASTERSON ⁹

Loving friend Nathaniel Masterson, I have received your letter dated at new plymoth the 17th of June 1659 wherein you manifest your desire that the twentie pounds (which you have received) be forthwith paid out of the rent of the house, vnto widow wallas, and that the house be presentlie sold, you having given ful power vnto mr. willet to effect the same, for to supplie your present great want, wherewith I am thoroughlie affected, as also with the exceeding great wants of your dear mother mary masterson, now mary Smith, the wife of mr. Raph Smith, she testifieth before worthie ministers of Ipswich and Boston in new England (three of them are of my ancient acquaintance) that your Father Richard masterson, left the house, for his wife mary to have the rents during her life, and after her death to goe to her children. I have received ful authority by a publique act made by a publique notarie to take the house and rents out of the hands of christopher ellis, which I have accordinglie done thorough the great importunitie of my loving An-

⁹ This letter and the following are drafts written on a letter from Thomas Willet, dated September 15, 1659.

cient verie loving christian friend mr. Smith, he afterwards earnestlie wrote vnto me to send him all the rents which I had in my hands, the Lords of an Hospitale here in Leiden, having received the poor widow walles into their hospitale vpon a letter written by the governor of new plimoth, that her son Henry wallis deceased had left her twentie pound, sterling, ten whereof was already paid vnto the children of the said masterson and the other ten should afterwards be paid, and that mrs. Smith; the late widow of Richard masterson, had freely given her whole title and right vnder her hand in writing vnto her twoe children Nathaniel and Sarah masterson, of the said house with all the rents, which letter also required that the said monie be paid vnto widow walles, out of the rents of the house in Leiden, which according to your desire in your letter vnto me is already paid, ten pound yea twentie pound, out of the rents of the said house, hoping that you will returne it vnto your dear mother who is in great want if you have no right therevnto, my earnest desire is that you would send with the first, a copie of that which your mother hath given vnder her hand, of her absolute transferring her whole right of the house and of all the rents vnto you and your sister, and that it be copied out by a publique authorissed notarie, then you may receive the rent and presentlie sel the house, otherwise not before the death of your mother, who saith that the rents belong vnto her whilst she liveth, whereas you say that you have given power to mr. willet to receive the rents and sel the house and mr. willet hath given his power vnto one mr. John van Gottingens of Harlem, who hath been with me and hath shewed me his letter of Atturtrie, which in my iudgment is vnsufficient, for the house and rents belong vnto your sister as wel as vnto you, for you are not the sole heir of the house according to the Lawes of these Lands where the house is, you and your sister must give full power vnto your lawful attorney, before your governour, he setting toe his hand and confirming it with the common seale, like as full power in the yeare 1634: was given vnto me and others, of your mother and William Brewster as Guardians of Nathaniel and Sarah Masterson to sel the house, sealed with the common seal, and subscribed by the governour Thomas prince, which letter of atturtrie I have with me to shew, and which for special reason was not then put in execution, that you may see what great trouble I have had about this house these many yeares without the least profette, but with much dammage, mr. Smiths intier friendship inforcing me therevnto my desire is that the rents and house may be given vnto the right owners, which are in the hands of the Lords of the Hospitale like as my letter written vnto the governour of new plimouth about 3 yeares agoe relateth; cause

forthwith such a letter of an Atturnie to be made, and let a publique notarie copie out your mothers writing, and so I commend you vnto the rich grace of God in Christ Jesus

Your house has been mightilie burdened to pay interest for 300 gilders these many Yeares that the house yeeldeth smale rents vnto the owners, whilst I had it in my custodie I spared no charges to keep it in good reparation which wil advance the price of the house when it shal be sould.¹⁰

HUGH GOODYEAR TO THOMAS WILLETT ¹¹

Worthie Sir mr. willet, I am forward to further mr. John van Gottingens ¹² of Harlam what I can, vnto whom you (being impowred of nathaniel masterson), have given ful power to receive the rents and sel the house of Richard masterson once of Leiden, but his letter of Atturnie is not in my iudgment sufficient, for nathaniel is not sole heir, his sister is also heir with him according to the Lawes of these Lands where the house is, therefore thei both are to make a letter of atturnie, and that before the governour, subscribed by him, and sealed with the common seal, and whereas mrs. Smith saith that the rents belong vnto her as long as she liveth, and thei say that their mother hath given them vnder her hand the rents and house, then my desire is that the writing of the gifts be copied out by a publique notarie, and sent hither like as I have at larg signified in my letter vnto nathaniel masterson, concerning the house and the rents and the selling of it, which house being sold must be deliuered vp by your Atturnie before the [*one word illegible*] which will not accept of letters of atturnie as sufficient but what is made before the Governour, and confirmed by the common seal. I here send you inclosed your Sisters letter, as also a letter of fear [Robinson?] vnto her brother in new England, she presumeth of your favour safelie to conway it vnto him thus I commend you vnto the safe and graceous protection of God in Christ and rest yours to command.

November 19 1659.

¹⁰ The postscript is written in the margin at the left.

¹¹ Son of Thomas Willett of Norwich, Norfolk, England, and the first mayor (1665) of New York. See note by C. E. Banks, *N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record*, LX. (January, 1929), 7-8.

¹² Jan Van Gotings, a Dutch painter at Harlem.

LETTER OF NATHANIEL MASTERSON AND SARAH WOODE

Plym[outh] New England
this 12th of June [old]
(1660) Old Stille.

Reverent Sir After our Loueing Respects presented to yow

haueing this oppertunitie wee thought good to lett yow understand that wee haue Received your Letter wherein wee understand that the letter sent yow the last yeare was not soe full as to acc[*several letters omitted*] yow our disiers, not being acquainted with the lawe of the Cuntery wheare yow liue, but sence wee understand the rite herein (by your letter) we haue ateded [attended?] such wayes as youe haue directed us unto, that wee may obtaine our howse and rents dew from the time of our Coming into this Cuntery, all such payments being deducted which are Ritely dew to bee accompted theareunto, wee hope that theare will bee that com to your hands which will remoue what Impediments hath formerly hindered, for we haue giuen Mr. Willet as formerly [*two letters illegible*] for my father and Mothers being apprehended to bee pore and I indeuouring to Incroach all into my owne hands I shall Clearely make it out that I haue not but haue beene helpfull vnto them alalonge [to this time] till my mothers death: with which I should haue acquainted yow the last yeare; but had forgott it and as for the howse and rent it doth Clearely appeare to bee bee [*sic*] ours as being the Children of Richard Masterson our deseased father whose it was and nothing of Right dew to our father Smith, though hee hath had some of the rent and to take all doubts heerein I haue [had] it under my fathers hand namely a free Surrender of all that hee seemed to apprehend himselfe (any wayes) concerned in the premises, wee should haue beene glad to haue beene Informed by yow what the rent and principle Might amounte unto, [upon knowledg] wee hope the Lord will make up unto yow what wee may be shorte in respecting your kind Care in and about the premises: yet not withstanding shall bee willing to make such satisfaction as god in ables to your Selfe for your mencioned paines, wee presume (that, as hitherto yow haue beene a faithful friend unto us) yow will further us what you Can in our busines my father Smith [Remembers] kindly salutes yow thus wee tacke our leaues of yow Comiting yow to god and the Powre of his grace ever remaineing,

your Loving Friends

Nathaniell Masterson and
Sarah Woode:

MARCH MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 13, 1930, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT, in the chair.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM, Recording Secretary, not being present, Mr. WOLKINS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From the estate of Dr. Vincent Y. Bowditch, by bequest, the mahogany stand and desk used by Theodore Parker and later by Wendell Phillips; also the original plaster bust of John Brown, by Edward Augustus Brackett, sculptor, made while Brown was in jail in Charleston, Virginia, at the request of Mrs. George L. Stearns, who kept the marble bust made from it in her home, to whom Brown went often for pecuniary aid in his defence of Kansas. Dr. Bowditch, who received them by bequest of Mrs. Phillips, in his bequest to this Society added photographs of several portraits of anti-slavery leaders, and photographs and relics of John Brown, including two of his pikes used at Harper's Ferry; also two boarding pikes of the frigate *Constitution*.

From Nathaniel Bowditch, through his mother, Mrs. Henry I. Bowditch, of Jamaica Plain, by deposit, a collection of manuscript volumes, printed works, photographs, and relics, made by his great-grandfather, Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, in memory of his son, Lieutenant Nathaniel Bowditch, who was killed at Kelly's Ford, Virginia, in the Civil War.

From Thomas Warner Chesterton and Arthur Chesterton Jameson, their book-plates, by John H. Elwell.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Mrs. Lorin F. Deland, through Miss Alice Rollins, the matrix of the death mask of Bishop Phillips Brooks, by Truman H. Bartlett, used by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, and Bela Pratt.

From Mrs. Lucretia M. Chesterton, the Adèle Chesterton gold medal, established in memory of Adèle Chesterton Jameson,

awarded annually at the Commencement of Dean Academy, Franklin, Mass., to the young woman who best exemplifies the union of high scholarship and athletic ability. It bears the motto "Carry On."

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, the "Pine Tree Shilling" souvenir of the "Tercentenary of Massachusetts Bay Colony 1630-1930," struck for the Bourne Historical Society, showing on the obverse a pair of scales weighing Judith Hull and her weight in pine tree shillings to balance, the dowry said to have been given on her marriage to Samuel Sewall; also eight coins commemorating the year 1849, showing the mining of gold in California; four tokens with the motto "Keep your Temper," and four *jetons* commemorating Friedrich von Schiller.

From Captain THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, a photograph of Stuart's Athenaeum portrait of George Washington in the Museum of Fine Arts.

The President announced the death of Judge JONATHAN SMITH, of Clinton, a Resident Member, in his eighty-eighth year, on February 28, 1930.

The following Committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: CHARLES K. BOLTON, ROGER B. MERRIMAN, and FREDERIC WINTHROP.

To audit the Treasurer's Accounts: ALLAN FORBES and HENRY S. HOWE.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Colonel BANKS read a paper on

RELIGIOUS "PERSECUTION" AS A FACTOR IN EMIGRATION TO NEW ENGLAND, 1630-1640.

One of the numerous myths about the Puritans is the common belief, sponsored by the New England clergy, that our ancestors were "persecuted" for their faith, driven out of England by the catchpoles of Archbishop Laud, and suffered in mind, body, and estate at the hands of a cruel hierarchy. That this came to be generally and honestly believed by their

descendants is admitted, and that this belief exists to-day, even in an extreme form, came to my attention recently while reading an article in a journal published by one of the oldest and most respectable antiquarian societies in this Commonwealth. This article recited the conditions attendant on the settlement of Salem, and, in order to excite pity for the pioneers who had to endure the hardships of frontier life, said they were driven from their comfortable homes in England because they were subjected to "barbaric tortures" at the hands of the authorities of the Church of England; that they were glad to find relief and peace in this wilderness peopled with the usual savages and infested with the usual wild beasts.

It is difficult to deal calmly with such reckless statements that have no foundation in fact and only serve to paint our ancestors in false colors as bleeding martyrs and to cast undeserved reproach on the clergy of England from whose parishes our ancestors emigrated. The origin of these outrageous stories is easy to discover, and I expect to show that they are not only unjustified, but to explain how they fed the public vanity and grew in horror with each relation. In this paper I shall deal only with the English Puritans who came as settlers to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Nothing will be said about the Plymouth Pilgrims who had lived ten years and more in Leyden and came directly from there to our Plymouth. The orators of 1920 endowed them with their share of this reputed "persecution," and it need not be re-told.

The religious conditions existing in England in 1630, when Winthrop led his seven hundred emigrants hither in the eleven ships of his Great Fleet, were no different from those at the beginning of that century. The church "by law established" was functioning in the prescribed way. Bishops in the various dioceses were lenient or strict in matters of discipline. The Reverend John Warham was suspended in the diocese of Bath and Wells for contumacy, but he immediately obtained a new berth in the adjoining diocese of Exeter under a more liberal bishop. The Prayer Book of Edward VI was still the guide and rule of church worship. No new rubrics had been added to annoy the sensitive Puritan soul. One will hunt in vain in any writing of Winthrop to

find a complaint of "persecution" or even disciplinary annoyances before or after his emigration. The fact is that the village parishioners were not so much troubled by any new conditions as they were influenced by the Puritan clergy to rebel against the old established laws and ceremonies governing church ministrations. Their principal objection, engineered by the clerical remonstrants, was against the ritual, the surplices, stoles, and cassocks. They could not find these words in the Bible and maintained, therefore, that they were popish and essentially displeasing to God. They objected to standing during the *credo*, to kneeling at communion, to printed prayers, to bowing at the name of Jesus, to the churching of women, and to practically all the requirements of the Book of Common Prayer. The merits of these contentions are not under discussion, and I do not pretend to offer anything in justification of this contumacy or in condemnation of their attitude. The Book of Common Prayer was a law of the kingdom and binding on every English subject. In refusing to worship as it prescribed, the layman was violating a statutory law and committing a misdemeanor as much as if he had stolen or committed an assault. Non-attendance at church and failure to receive communion at least semi-annually, were subjects of parish discipline in exactly the same way as "absence from meeting" in New England subjected the offender to fine. It is disingenuous, if not dishonest, for us to complain of the English clergy in administering the same discipline in their own establishment. Yet that was the most common charge brought against our ancestors prior to emigration. The boot was then on the other leg.

Our ancestors generally ascribed their difficulties in these matters to the personal hostility of Archbishop Laud, who became Bishop of London in 1628 and was translated, in 1633, to the See of Canterbury, whence he was marched to the block twelve years later. As bishop of the diocese of London he had a limited jurisdiction covering the city and the counties of Essex and Herts. His dealings in matters of discipline were solely with the clergy, and he had no more to do with the laity than the governor of a state has in administering the functions of the police of one of its cities.

In England the dioceses were divided into archdeaconries, and the archdeacons held regular ecclesiastical court for the determination of a score of divers matters pertaining to the parish churches and their communicants. Everything from repairs to the church fabric, collection of tithes, probate of wills, licenses to teach, to practice medicine or midwifery, bastardy, slander, licenses to marry, and, of course, anything that was a violation of the laws relating to public worship. The archdeacons made quarterly visitations in every parish in their district, and then and there cases of religious contumacy were presented by the vicars or church-wardens, heard by the archdeacon with the evidence *pro* and *con*, decision rendered, and the penalty, if any, pronounced. Of the general character of these archidiaconal trials I shall give concrete examples, illustrating the charges, the decisions of the Lord's official, and the penalties imposed.

Before doing so, however, I wish to lay before you what, in reality, is the indictment I have to rebut, the specific charges made by the New England clergy and typical examples of those left on record by some of their flock. These allegations of "persecution" have been found in private letters, printed in the provincial press, used as the window-dressing of countless Puritan ministers relating their "sufferings" and even have been cut in enduring stone. Whether I can qualify as an expert in persecution, is another thing. If we are to use the term "persecution," we should give it its proper definition and not use it as a substitute for an entirely different word which is not so spectacular. "Persecution" is an act intended to injure, grieve, harass, annoy, especially to afflict or put to suffering others because of religion, or personal enmity, based on beliefs. That this was a common treatment accorded to our innocent ancestors, can be denied with reason. "Persecution" is a more inflammatory word than "prosecution" and for obvious reasons was employed by the suspended and unfrocked clergy who came to New England, in preference to "prosecution," which connoted violation of law and a legal trial therefor. This would not serve their purpose. I do not endeavor to deny that both clergy and laity were *prosecuted* for refusal to obey the law. In numerous cases both clergy and laity were multiple offenders. Attention will be drawn

separately to these two classes of alleged victims — the ministers and the laymen — for each class was dealt with by its separate court.

THE CLERGY

1. Samuel Smith, son of the Reverend Henry Smith of Wethersfield, Connecticut, in a sort of autobiographical letter written to his son in 1699, said:

My Revered Father was an ordained Minister of the Gospelle, educate at Cambridge in England, and came to this Land by reason of the Great Persecution by which the infamous Archbishop Laud and the Black Tom Tyrante (as Mr. Russell was always wont to call the Earl of Strafforde) did cause the reign of his Majestie, Charles the First, to loose favor in the sight of the people of England.¹

This general charge, without any specifications of individual suffering, requires no comment.

2. The Reverend Thomas Shepard of Cambridge has left for us the story of his conversion to Puritanism and Non-conformity, his difficulty in trying to carry water on both shoulders as an ordained minister of the Established Church, and his citation before the Archbishop for contumacy. He relates his interview with Laud, who called him a "prating coxcomb," forbade him to exercise any ministerial functions, and warned him that if he persisted in his course, "I will be upon your back." Shepard tells us that he changed his location, went up into Northumberland under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York, and thence, after preaching several years, "came in a disguised manner" under the name of John Shepard, husbandman, to New England.

3. I shall later refer to an incident in the case of the Reverend John Cotton, who was suspended for contumacy after preaching his famous sermon to the Winthrop party and his continued disobedience thereafter culminating in his emigration to New England. There is neither time nor need for mentioning the cases of Hooker, Ward, and other well-known clerical emigrants who fell under the displeasure of His Grace

¹ Sherman W. Adams and Henry R. Stiles, *The History of Ancient Wethersfield, Connecticut* (New York, 1904), I. 153-154.

of Canterbury. Their stories are well known and there is no reason to waste any sympathy on the results of their voluntary recalcitrancy. They were disloyal members of the Church and engaged in technical treasonable acts against the State. To say that they were prosecuted for their beliefs, is to ignore their violation of the statutes. As a result of these violations they were tried by their ordinaries and, unless giving evidence of their willingness to conform, were suspended, and if still recalcitrant, were deprived of their benefices. This naturally touched their pocket nerve, and yet if this measure failed, they had to face further punishment, quit preaching, or even go into exile. The Pilgrims did the decent thing and got out—in preference to baiting the authorities. Not so the Puritan. To be in the midst of religious turmoil was to be in his element. When he could no longer be so safely, he went to New England for action. Puritans came here not for freedom of worship as an abstract principle but for freedom to exercise their particular type of worship to the exclusion of any other. There is no doubt that in their encounters with Archbishop Laud or with the High Commission Court that they were subjected to more or less unrestrained criticisms of their conduct—language that we should not consider entirely becoming to a shepherd of his flock, but it was an age when robust epithets were used commonly by all classes.

If the language charged against the ecclesiastics by their New England complainants shocks us, we should remember the words used by the Reverend John Wilson when asked what should be done with the heresies of Anne Hutchinson—"Let them go to the devil of hell, from whence they came"—or his use of physical violence in court against a Baptist whom he punched in the face for claiming that he was a martyr to his belief in Jesus Christ.² It were well if the apologists for our Puritan clergy would maintain a discreet silence in charging "persecution" against the official clergy of the Church of England who were trying to uphold the laws and practices of the realm against its violators. It should not be forgotten that the Puritan clergy in New Eng-

² Charles Francis Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston and New York, 1892), I. 471-472; 4 *Collections*, II. 47.

land had drafted an entirely new set of theological crimes never existent in England. The humor of the Pot calling the Kettle black is entirely lost to the New England colonial historian. By 1640, about twenty thousand Englishmen had come to Massachusetts. If the population of England was then two million, at a guess, I do not hesitate to suggest that as much "persecution," in proportion, was practiced here in this little Colony as in England with a population a hundred times greater. If Prynne lost his ears in England, so did Ratcliff in Boston — and when less than one thousand people lived here.³ To maintain the proportion, two hundred earless English victims should have been produced in England for the year 1630.

Honest historians will agree that the officials of the English Church in Winthrop's time were dealing with an organized brigade of theological hornets, and they had to maintain discipline against these clerical disturbers or else lie down and let a minority trample on their sacred trusts. The last thing I should care to suggest, in this connection, is sympathy for the church officials of England in their handling of the trying situations which these persistent disturbers of civil and religious peace provoked. The militant Puritan clergy likewise need no sympathy, for they were called on the carpet for the violation of their oaths of ordination and the ecclesiastical and civil statutes of the realm. They violated these oaths and laws knowingly, voluntarily, and repeatedly. One might ask if the famous vicar of St. Botolph's was entirely ingenuous in his defense against the charge of administering the Holy Communion to persons standing (instead of kneeling, as was required) when he said that there was not sufficient room for them to observe the church law "all kneeling" when receiving it. To any one who has seen the spacious chancel of the enormous parish church of Boston — as large as some cathedrals — his excuse that there was not room to obey the rubric, makes us raise our eyebrows. Nevertheless, this excuse served him until his next citation for further violations, finally determined him to abandon technicalities and emigrate to New England. While we may not object to men of the

³ John Winthrop, *The History of New England* (1853), I. 67-68. *Records of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1853), I. 88.

type of Cotton and others in the ranks of the opposition, men of exemplary character, excellent intellectual equipment, and foemen worthy the steel of the hierarchy, the Puritan movement attracted to its ranks the usual proportion of clerical mountebanks who rushed into the limelight as self-anointed defenders of the down-trodden sectaries. Boldly these front-stage warriors flung their gauntlets into the religious cockpit and defied the spiritual lords to do their worst.

One example of this type is sufficient to furnish the complete picture. It was the privilege of the larger towns in their corporate capacity to employ a "lecturer," whose duty it was to deliver his harangues to the nonconforming element in that place and give them a legal outlet for their hatred of the Established Church. In the particular case to which I shall allude this "lecturer," a university graduate, was given the use of the church in Yarmouth, Norfolk, on Sunday afternoons, and according to the evidence set forth at his trial, his "services" were a sort of free show in which his hearers were entertained by criticism of the sermon delivered by the regular vicar in the morning and the perpetration of coarse lampoons on the doctrines and ceremonies of the Established Church. The quality of his lectures may be learned by these extracts heard by witnesses. Those who go to communion, he said (which, by the way, he refused to take), were "an unhallowed rout of whoremongers and drunkards." The name of Jesus, he informed his hearers, must not be revered by bowing or pulling off hats—a bit of evidence that the dissenters who came to profit by his doctrines were accustomed to sit reverently with their hats on in church. Describing certain mural paintings in churches as idolatrous, he said that one was thought to represent God as—"an old fool in Heaven with a white beard." When he was rounded up by the bishop of the diocese for scandalous and disreputable actions, he was found guilty, suspended, and fined the costs of trial.⁴ Rather than pay them, he abandoned his wife and children and fled to New England, where he enjoyed a certain notoriety as preacher and politician—for about seven

⁴ This refers to the Reverend George Burdett, of Yarmouth, England, who settled at Salem. See *Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series: 1634-1635* (1864), 537-539.

years as a preacher of the Word in this state and elsewhere. Hugh Peter was another one of the problems of the times — a man who may quite properly be called a “political parson” cast up in the religious throes of Puritanism. I doubt if any protagonist for the innocence and purity of the New England church would undertake the task of picturing Hugh Peter as an humble follower of his Master. From the hour of his landing in Massachusetts he was the vicious head and front of the heresy-hunters and loudest in his demands for the most extreme type of punishments. He was a “martyr,” if we accept current history, when after a turbulent career in England, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered for his political crimes there.

THE LAITY

The more interesting part of this subject, from my standpoint, is the effect of this situation in the Church on the ordinary emigrant and the relation it had, if any, to his decision to emigrate to New England. The clergy were the ringleaders of this rebellion against the authorities, and with some particular exceptions, the average man was merely led into opposition. Any refractory spirit shown by parishioners took one of two forms — either active or passive resistance. The man of mild temperament who had concluded that surplices were out of order and that there was no authority to make a man kneel to partake of the Lord's Supper, would stay away from church. The bolder (and, inferentially, the least religious minded) would attend church for the very purpose of creating disturbances. Such an one would come into church with his hat on and refuse to remove it; would heckle the minister during the service; would not conform to any of the rubrics relating to kneeling in prayer or standing during the creed, and generally indulge such instincts as tended to disrupt the orderly conduct of services. These men were doing the identical things that the Quakers did over here in their campaign for tolerance — making public nuisances of themselves in the churches in order to attract attention and, if possible, martyrdom. These disturbers of the peace in England would be cited before the archdeacon at his quarterly visitation.

During my historical researches in England covering nearly five years it was my privilege to consult the ecclesiastical records of half-a-dozen dioceses in those parts of England where Puritanism was prevalent. I shall not consume your time with giving cumulative testimony as to the routine practice of the archidiaconal courts in dealing with these cases of disturbers of church services. In practice, the common order of events was this: if the evidence was sufficient to justify a decision of guilt, the culprit was ordered to appear on a given Sunday next after the visitation and openly confess his wrong-doing, to express contrition therefor, and to promise not to repeat his offense. Three members of the parish were charged with seeing that this condition was fulfilled and directed to report at the next visitation. If the penance imposed were not performed, the offender was warned that if he continued obdurate, he would be excommunicated within a specified time. This official act followed automatically after the notice. One can hardly say that this was a hardship or rose to the proportions of "barbaric torture" — even of a mental kind — for these stubborn men had already divorced themselves from church associations and shown their contempt for it. Excommunication had no terrors for them, and it is doubtful if any of them attended the church service when it was proclaimed unless to create further disturbance. Being arrested and fined for disorderly conduct can not be called "persecution." Even the Established Church, in its own home, might be allowed to have some rights which Puritans were bound to observe.

Instances in which emigrants to New England were concerned came under my notice in my examination of these ecclesiastical records and would, therefore, be more interesting as concrete illustrations of the legend of "persecution." In the diocese of Chelmsford, Essex, I found a rather illuminating record of the contumacious actions of Thomas Sharpe and his family, who came over with the Winthrop Fleet and returned the next year to their English home.

SHARPE

1636

Diocesan Registry
Chelmsford
Essex

Churchwardens of Sandon presentment against
Thomas Sharpe and Tabitha his wife
Thomas Sharpe Junior
Anne Wittam

(I)

Have not been at service on any holiday Wednesday or Friday since Whitsuntyde (save that Sharpe the Elder hath been thrice at the most) though their howse is neerest to the church of any in the towne.

(II)

They refuse to bowe at the name of Jesus or to stand up at the creed according to the canon but doe scoffe at the minister and others that doe.

(III)

Tabitha Sharpe did not come to be churchd in a vaile nor did Kneele by the Communion Table according to the rubric.

(IV)

Thomas Sharpe senior is a common depraver of the government ecclesiastical and of the rites and ceremonies of this church *since his coming from New England*. He is a common sower of discord and contention in the parish that noe neighbour can live quietly by him. Threatneth the church wardens and sidesmen that they dare not performe their office.

Thomas Sharpe appeared in court 20 December 1636: Discharged.⁵

Since Thomas Sharpe, as can be seen, was discharged without penalty, his case furnishes no opportunity to consider that he suffered persecution. The archdeacon may have lectured him, but there is no such record. His emigration to New England had only exaggerated his disputatious character as a common "depraver" of the church services and a "sower of discord." The story of Michael Metcalfe of Norwich, who emigrated to Dedham, is incorporated in this paper as one

⁵ Diocesan Registry, Chelmsford, Essex.

of the documents relating to the experiences of a parish official. His story runs as follows:

You are not ignorant (I suppose) of the great trouble I sustained, in the Arch-Deacon's and Bishop's court at the hands of my enemies concerning the matter of *Bowing* as well as for other matters of like consequence. I alledged against them the scripture, the canons and the book of common prayers; but the chancellor replied he cared for none of them. I further alledged against them the authority of Arch-Bishops and Bishops, as also their great patrons of ceremonies the learned Hooker (so called by them) together with a book called the Regiment of the church allowed by authority. . . .

Notwithstanding these and more than these reasons alledged against them, their learned and invincible arguments to refute my assertions were these, "Blockhead — Old heritick, — the Devil made you — I will send you to the Devil," with such other trim stuff, unfitting terms, to be used by a judge in a court of judicature.⁶

He intimates that "blood hounds" were sent abroad to "smell out some new matter" against him, but "death took away one of my chiefest enemies." This suggests a pathological mentality involving the well-known "delusions of persecution," in modern parlance.

This is signed "your loving brother in exile," and dated at Plymouth, 13 January, 1636. He sailed for New England April 15, 1637, and arrived here in the following July.

This dramatic recital suggests some explanation, for Michael Metcalfe was not only the son of a faithful clergyman of the Established Church but was himself churchwarden of St. Benedict's parish in Norwich and, as such, was disloyal to his oath of office and therefore the more reprehensible. Thus he came under the jurisdiction of the bishop and because of his official position merited greater punishment than would have been accorded to the ordinary layman. He was an educated man of more than ordinary ability and knew the consequences of his acts.

The Act Book of the Commissary (of the Bishop) for London, Essex, and Hertfordshire gives the following example of a case of contumacy and its treatment. William

⁶ *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.* xvi. 280-281.

Ruskeu (Roscoe) of Billerica, Great Burstead, Essex, was cited to appear before the Lord's official September 3, 1634 "for not coming to church and not kneeling at prayers or standing up at the creed." He appeared November 18, following, and was ordered to acknowledge his fault at next Evening Prayers and have same certified before six parishioners. This he failed, or refused, to do, and on March 23, 1634/35 he was excommunicated for not obeying the order. Doubtless the act of excommunication was invited, and the fact that it was imposed was certainly not considered a punishment. He sailed for New England the next year in the *Increase*, settling at Cambridge, where the same punishment was being meted out to those who failed to attend the Puritan meetings.

The records of the court of the Archdeacon of Norwich recite the case of Thomas Scruggs and his wife of Yarmouth, Norfolk. They were charged, with others, "of walking abroad on the Sabbath Day," and cited to appear February 26, 1634/35 for trial. As Scruggs did not appear he was there-upon excommunicated, a sentence that did not have a particularly depressing effect on him because he had departed the realm. In the margin of the record is the notation "Att New England." He had sailed for the haven of religious toleration and arrived at Salem later in the same year. His wife was fined seven shillings to be paid "by the next court." He was received with approval here and at once elected a selectman of Salem; but Scruggs was evidently a religious litigant, for Savage informs us that he was deposed from his office the next year "for his heretical pravity." Later he was disarmed "as a dangerous man." It seems to be clear that most of these Separatists, like Scruggs, were not content with any religious formula and preferred to run amuck with any existing body of people assembled together in a church way. It would be interesting to compare his views as to the relative comfort of the "frying pan" in Yarmouth and the "fire" at Salem. He had changed the place but not the pain.

The famous head of the Adams family of Massachusetts, the second President of the United States, is next recognized to tell his story. When he erected a monument to his im-

migrant ancestor, he ordered to be cut on the granite tomb a statement to the effect that Henry Adams, the first of the American line, "took flight from the Dragon persecution in Devonshire in England." President Adams incorporated an error in this inscription, for his ancestor was born in Somersetshire and lived there until his emigration. My personal investigation of this matter covering a long period enables me to contradict conclusively by documentary evidence the statement that Henry Adams was ever punished by any authority for religious contumacy in the diocese in which he lived. To this I may add he lived unpunished for any other type of offense against the laws. This is based on the examination of hundreds of contemporary volumes of ecclesiastical records, and this negative refutation must stand as proof that no "dragon" ever chased Henry Adams out of England. The reasons for his emigration are reasonably established. Some of his near relatives were already here, and he followed them over — as hundreds did in like manner. Somerset was very little troubled by the religious unrest of the period. President Adams was plainly indulging in the clerical jargon of the period, and the idea probably originated with his ministerial father-in-law.

I shall summon one of my own ancestral lines, the Prince family of Boston, and its spokesman, the well-known and justly famous Reverend Thomas Prince, pastor of the Old South Church, author of *A Chronological History of New-England*, which began its story before the Flood and exhausted itself ere the author had given us even ten years of the history which he started to relate. When his father, Samuel Prince of Middleborough, Massachusetts, died, the Reverend Thomas wrote an obituary notice, which was printed July 15, 1728, in the *New England Weekly Journal*. In this notice he took occasion to relate the origin of the family in England and some particulars of the life of the immigrant, Elder John Prince of Hull. A part of this memorial essential to the purpose of this paper is as follows:

Mr. John Prince Ruling Elder of the Church of *Hull* in *New-England* . . . was the Eldest son of the Rev. Mr. *John Prince* Rector of *East Shefford* in *Barkshire* in *England*, in the Reign of K. *James I.* and K. *Charles I.* Of whom there was this Re-

markable — That tho' He was one of the Conforming Puritans of those Days, who greatly long'd for a farther Reformation, and had Married *Elizabeth* a Daughter of Dr. Tolderbury D.D. of *Oxford*, by whom He had 4 Sons and 7 Daughters that all grew up, yet every one of the Children proved Consciencious Nonconformists even while their Parents lived, but without any Breach of Amity or Affection. And thus they continued pretty near together till the furious and cruel Arch Bishop *Laud* dispers'd them and drove their eldest Son with so many others into this Country in the Early times of the *Massachusetts* Colony.

As his immigrant ancestor died in 1676 — twelve years before the chronologist was born — Thomas Prince could have had no first-hand information of the extraordinary statement that the Archbishop of Canterbury, "furious and cruel," reached down into this conforming clergyman's family, "dispersed" them and "drove" John Prince to New England. My answer to this is that no evidence appears in the records of the diocese of Oxford that my immigrant ancestor was presented for contumacy or punished therefor. The Old South pastor was indulging in the phraseology of the period a century after the arrival of Winthrop, simply because it was the custom to provide martyrdom for all "immigrant ancestors."

These positive and negative contradictions of the stories that have been fed to New England children in every generation (and of which I had my share) are not a complete denial of individual cases of "persecution" which may have actually occurred here and there by reason of over-zealous vicars and archdeacons—people an era of religious dissatisfaction might develop in any community. I did not get the impression from the examination of these ecclesiastical records that these cases of contumacy were frequent or existed in any great number, nor do I believe that it was a reason which moved twenty thousand people to emigrate to our shores. Neither is there evidence that after they arrived here they flocked to become church members and secure the privileges of freedom of worship which is so loudly proclaimed as their object. The exact proportion of church members to the adult male population can not be accurately stated, but it is the belief of reputable historians, both contemporary

and of modern times, that only about a quarter joined the Puritan Church in Massachusetts. This seems to me fairly conclusive evidence that religious difficulties in England had very little influence in motivating the laity to emigrate. I have likewise very serious doubt whether any of them suffered what we honestly understand as persecution.

The real reason behind the emigration of the vast proportion of those who came with and after Winthrop was economic. The average yeoman, artisan, and husbandman belonged to a class who had hopelessly slaved for generations as copyholders of lords of the manor. Their outlook for improvement or profit was hopeless. Few of them could become freeholders, and an opportunity had arisen over here for them to acquire large grants of land, even one hundred acres—a duke's ransom in their eyes—without other cost than that of emigration. This was their goal. One can not picture them as excited or even disturbed over surplices and cassocks. They had nothing against the Book of Common Prayer. All they really considered was the betterment of their material condition. As one of them expressed it, "I will be tenant to no man." Winthrop himself, in a letter to his wife just prior to his emigration, confesses that the compelling force of his decision to leave England was economic. The Book of Common Prayer was still the guide of his Sunday devotions. The records and the facts are all against the notion that a "furious and cruel" Archbishop, "Black Tom the Tyrant," and persecuting "dragons" harried the common people out of England, and it does not become any modern historian to perpetuate the gruesome legends of "barbaric tortures" and relentless persecution unless he has the evidence with which to sustain them.

Mr. MORISON made the following remarks:

I agree with Colonel Banks that the persecution of the Puritans was not one of the major persecutions of history, that the older New England historians tended to exaggerate, and that death, torture, and mutilation were rather conspicuously absent. But I think that he has overstated his case. There is no religious persecution in modern history, to my knowl-

edge, whether of Christians or by Christians, in which the persecutors did not justify themselves on the ground of upholding law and order. Naturally the dominant church or religious party manages to get itself well buttressed by the law, and dissenters must be lawbreakers if they have the courage of their convictions. Indeed, we have been hearing the same thing from Soviet Russia this very year—the Orthodox Church there is not being “persecuted”: only “prosecuted” for breaking Soviet law and Communist order. To people so positive and sure of themselves as the Puritans were, any interference with what they believed to be a godly way of life, and any enforcement of things they regarded as ungodly, was persecution. The charge that the Puritans were persecuted, in the ordinary and current sense of that word, is not a notion peculiar to those clerical historians of New England who arouse Colonel Banks’s scorn. It is sustained by the leading English historians such as Macaulay, Gardiner, Firth, and Trevelyan.

With a good deal of what Colonel Banks has said I can only agree to disagree, since he and I start from different premises—he apparently regarding Puritanism as a peculiarly odious form of hypocrisy, and I as a sincere, if mistaken, belief in a definite way of life. But there are certain points of fact on which I wish to take issue:

(1) The statement that John Winthrop never complained of persecution or annoyance before his emigration. The Winthrops, to be sure, suffered slight personal inconvenience from the Laudian innovations, since, having the presentation of the living at Groton, they chose a Puritan clergyman. But the reader may find plenty of complaints about general and specific conditions in the *Winthrop Papers* which the Society is publishing; the earliest that I recall being in a document of 1624 called “Common Greuances Groaning for Reformation.”⁷

(2) Of course John Cotton was disingenuous when he declared that there was no room to kneel in St. Botolph’s.

⁷ *Winthrop Papers*, I. 295–310; in particular, 303–307; see also the document discussing the reasons for his removal, to be printed in *Winthrop Papers*, II.

It was just these shifts and compromises to which circumstances compelled them, that made sincere Puritan parsons so disgusted with England. Radicals, time out of mind, have been in the same dilemma. Shall I stay in the organization, where I can at least do some good even though I have to compromise with evil; or secede and lose all opportunity for influence? For such men New England seemed a heaven-sent avenue of escape from the dilemma.

(3) Persons like Thomas Sharpe and Michael Metcalfe did not disturb church services out of mere wantonness or love of notoriety, as Colonel Banks appears to infer. All Englishmen were required to attend services of the Established Church, or pay a fine for recusancy. If the services of his parish church were ritualistic and therefore, from his point of view, ungodly, the sincere and zealous Puritan had a choice between paying his fine as the price of abstention, or attending and making a row. It depended largely on his temperament which line he took.

From what I have gathered on the founding of New England, I should say that much of the persecution of which the Puritans complained, and from which some of them fled, was of a social rather than a religious nature. One instance that occurs to me is in the autobiography of Michael Wigglesworth, who tells how he and his brothers, as obedient children of Puritan parents, were teased and laughed at by the other children in their town. New England would naturally appeal to his parents as a place where they could bring up their children in a congenial social atmosphere — just as a teetotal family nowadays might prefer Kansas to Boston or New York. But the ejection of Puritan ministers was a more serious thing for the laity than Colonel Banks appears to realize. We find instances such as that of the mother of President Leonard Hoar, a woman of property who preferred to emigrate with her family of young children, rather than remain in Gloucester after her parish minister had been ejected, and a “dumbe parson” substituted. Strange as it appears to us, life without sermons did not seem worth living for thousands of people in the England of 1630.

The plausible but fallacious argument to the effect that because only a minority of the New England population be-

came communicants, they were not Puritans at all, I have lately dealt with elsewhere,⁸ and so shall not allude to it here.

That the New England Puritans were quite as intolerant as Archbishop Laud, if not more so, I entirely agree.

Mr. MERRIMAN emphasized the change of pace which took place in the Church of England when the active and opinionated Laud succeeded the comparatively passive Abbot in the Primacy. So far as religious persecution, or prosecution, was concerned, Mr. Merriman thought that it ought to be remembered that Laud attained the important position of Bishop of London only in 1628, and became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 — after the Great Emigration had begun.

Mr. FRANCIS RUSSELL HART communicated a list of

SPANISH DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SCOTS SETTLEMENT AT DARIEN

INTRODUCTION

In 1904, there were privately printed in Edinburgh twenty copies of *A Bibliography of Printed Documents and Books Relating to the Darien Company* copied by permission from the publications of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society. The list was prepared by Mr. John Scott, C. B., President of the Society and a collector of Darien and other Scottish records. The list was revised after Mr. Scott's death by Mr. George P. Johnston. In 1906, a list of additions and corrections was printed. There are noteworthy collections of printed matter in English relating to the Darien Venture of the Scots, in the British Museum, the National (formerly Advocates) Library at Edinburgh, and the John Carter Brown Library at Providence. Since the Scott *Bibliography* was printed many new items have been added to these or other collections, and additions and corrections have been written into an interleaved copy of the *Bibliography* at the John Carter Brown Library, and presumably in the copies at other

⁸ *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), Appendix.

collections. Manuscript Letters and Documents, in English, relating to the subject are included in the collection at the National Library of Scotland, and are described or printed in full in *The Darien Papers* (The Bannatyne Club, Edinburgh, 1849) and *Darien Shipping Papers*, Dr. G. P. Insh, Ed., (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1924).

There are many other printed sources in which letters or documents relating to the unfortunate undertaking of the Scots can be found, to many of which references have been made in *The Disaster of Darien* (Boston, 1929, and London, 1930).

As an appropriate supplement to the lists of Mr. Scott and Mr. Johnston, and to those of the Bannatyne Club and of the Scottish History Society, I have prepared a list of the Spanish letters and documents which were uncovered in my search for records showing the activities of the Spaniards during the period of the Scots settlement at Darien (1698-1700), with brief notes as to their location and contents.

There are ninety-one items in the list, many of these covering more than one document. Of the ninety-one manuscripts, there are in my collection complete copies in Spanish, rough translations in English, or abstracts (in either Spanish or English) of forty-four. These I have deposited with the Massachusetts Historical Society. The official reports and correspondence have a much wider interest and importance than solely their connection with the Darien undertaking. They present an intimate picture of the state of the Spanish countries in the New World, the interdependence of the vice royalties, and the slowness of communications.

To Miss I. A. Wright, at Seville, I owe thanks for much searching in the archives and for the lion's share of the labor of translation.

Unless otherwise noted the manuscript originals, or copies, are in the General Archives of the Indies, at Seville. The location in the files is indicated approximately by the *Audien- cia*, by the *legajo* number, and by the date or document number. (It will not be found difficult to determine whether *legajo* numbers refer to the old or the new system in use in the Archives.)

The following abbreviations are used:

- A. G. I. General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain.
 A. DE P. *Audiencia de Panamá*.
 A. DE M. *Audiencia de México*.
 D. *The Disaster of Darien*, Hart. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1929; Constable and Company, London, 1930.) Roman numerals refer to appendix number giving translation in English of the whole or a part of the document.
 D. V. *The Darien Venture*, Cundall. (Hispanic Society, New York, 1926.) An English translation of the document appears on the given page number.
 M. H. S. A copy of the document described in items so marked is in the manuscript collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
 M. H. S. (E) A rough abstract or memorandum in English concerning items so marked is in the manuscript collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
 L. C. A copy of the document is in the Manuscript Room, Library of Congress, Washington.
 I. J. A copy of the document (from A. G. I.) is in the collection at the Institute of Jamaica, Kingston, B. W. I.

LIST OF DOCUMENTS

- (1) 15 November, 1698. Caracas. Francisco de Berroteran to Conde de Adanero. Scottish vessels leave St. Thomas. [M. H. S. (E)].
 A. DE P. — 163 (69-6-8).
 (2) [31] December, 1698. Account of measures taken to re-establish mining in Darien and plans for defense.
 A. DE P. — 161.
 (3) 7 January, 1699. Santiago de Cuba. Matheo de Palacio to Crown regarding the Scottish expedition, its strength, *etc.*, enclosing earlier reports and deposition.
 A. DE P. — 160.

- (4) 16 January, 1699, Portobello. Andrés de Pez to Conde de Canillas, concerning five Scottish vessels at Darien. Armament and condition described. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160.
- (5) 30 January, 1699. Havana. Diego de Córdoba Lasso de la Vega to the Crown.
A. DE P. — 160.
- (6) 31 January, 1699. Havana. Diego de Córdoba Lasso de la Vega to the Crown transmitting depositions concerning Scottish settlement and designs on Darien. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (2505) (69-6-5).
- (7) 12 February, 1699. Council for the Indies to the Crown. (D. XII., M. H. S.).
A. DE P. — 160 (2529).
- (8) 24 February, 1699, Cartagena. Diego de los Ríos y Quesada to the Crown. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (2536) (69-6-5).
- (9) 18 March, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty conveys information to General Zavala as to the sailing and intentions of the Scottish expedition and gives him instructions to effect a union of his ships with those under Peredo expected to be at Cartagena, and to dislodge the Scots from Darien. (D. XIV. M. H. S., L. C.).
A. DE M. — 61-6-22.
- (10) 28 March, 1699. Mexico. Dispatch from the Viceroy at Mexico to General Zavala at Veracruz directing the latter to make ready his fleet to carry out orders which will be given him to exterminate the Scottish pirates, with interesting suggestions as to the pernicious consequences which may follow a failure to do so. (D. VX., M. H. S., L. C.).
A. DE M. — 61-6-33.
- (11) 4 May, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies, report and recommendations to His Majesty concerning Darien. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (69-6-5).
- (12) 6 May, 1699. Panama. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. (D. XVI., M. H. S.).
A. DE P. — 162.

- (13) 9 May, 1699, Madrid. Council for the Indies to the Crown concerning military measures, Indians, naval reinforcements, *etc.* [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (2525) (69-6-5).
- (14) 13 May, 1699. Spain. His Majesty's order to General Zavala in reference to combining the latter's fleet with that of Peredo, also adding vessels from Mascaraú's fleet and dislodging the Scots who are already entrenched on Golden Island. Refers to Pensacola and to orders sent the Viceroy. (D. XVII., M. H. S., L. C.).
A. DE M. — 61-6-33 (No. 12).
- (15) 16 May, 1699, Madrid. Council for the Indies to the Crown. (D. XVIII., M. H. S.).
A. DE P. — 161 (2539).
- (16) 10 June, 1699. Portobello. Andrés de Pez to the Crown.
A. DE P. — 160.
- (17) 10 June, 1699. Portobello. Andrés de Pez to the Crown. (D. XIX., M. H. S.).
A. DE P. — 160 (2538).
- (18) 10 June, 1699, Portobello. Andrés de Pez to the Crown regarding communication with admiral of English squadron, news from Jamaica, *etc.* [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (69-6-5).
- (19) 11 June, 1699. Caracas. Francisco de Berroterán to Conde de Adanero, conveying copies of letters home from Scotsmen and other news.
A. DE P. — 163.
- (20) 17 June, 1699. Cartagena, Miguel Cordones to Martín de Sierralta.
A. DE P. — 160.
- (21) 20 June, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to the Crown recommending policy and His Majesty's decree. Concerns Papal subsidy, *etc.* [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 162 (2551).
- (22) 10 July, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to the Crown recommending orders to Zavala, Peredo, Viceroy, *etc.* [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 160 (2534) (69-6-5).
- (23) 12 July, 1699. Mexico. Viceroy at Mexico to the Crown. Relates to fortifying Santa María de Galve (Pensacola), the arrival at Veracruz of Zavala's fleet, prepara-

tions for attack on Darien, reports received from Havana and Caracas as to doings of the Scots. (D. short extract XX., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-22.

- (24) 14 July, 1699. Mexico. Viceroy at Mexico to the Crown. Gives details of information received concerning movements and intentions of Scots, and the plans in preparation to attack and oust them from Darien, orders given, *etc.* (D. XXI., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-33.

- (25) 24 July, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to the Crown concerning tenure of office of President of Audiencia de Panamá, Conde de Canillas, Joseph de la Rocha, *etc.*

A. DE P. — 160 (2519).

- (26) 26 July, 1699, Cartagena, Andrés de Pez to the Crown, concerning the news received as to Zavala's plans. Reports arrival Peredo. Refers to return to Cartagena of Spaniards held prisoners by Scots reporting evacuation by the latter. Sent an officer to reconnoitre whose affidavit is enclosed. (D. XXII., M. H. S.).

A. DE P. — 160.

- (27) 26 July, 1699. Mexico. Viceroy to General Zavala. Reviews events and orders concerning expedition against Scots and gives instructions in detail as to departure of Zavala's fleet, the course it is to take, and the conduct of the campaign against the Scots. (D. XXIII., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-33.

- (28) 28 July, 1699. Veracruz. General Zavala to the Crown. Relates in detail the communications exchanged with the Viceroy since Zavala's arrival 25 November, 1698, explains delays and reports information received from various sources. (D. XXIV., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-33.

- (29) 31 July, 1699, Veracruz. Francisco Lorenzo de Rada to Conde de Adanero, reporting clearance of General Zavala from Veracruz for Portobello 28 July to proceed against the Scots.

A. DE P. — 163.

- (30) 8 August, 1699. At sea. Andrés de Pez to the Crown. Sends information of arrival at Portobello of the new

President of the Audiencia de Panamá and of the arrival at Cartagena of the fleet under Perado with Don Juan Pimienta, Governor, on board.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (31) 8 August, 1699. At sea. Andrés de Pez to the Crown. Gives information in detail not contained in other letter of same date, concerning his quarrel with Peredo and Pimienta on account of which de Pez fails to give news that Scots have left Caledonia. With copies of correspondence.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (32) 9 August, 1699. Off Cape Corrientes. Andrés de Pez to Martín de Sierralta. Transmits copy of depositions, sent to him by the President of the Audiencia de Panamá, a Mestizo (Domingo Rada) and a Scotsman (George Drummond?) describing the conditions at the Scots Darien settlement. (Depositions dated May 1699) [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 160 (2535) (69-6-5).

- (33) 11 August, 1699. Cartagena. Don Juan Pimienta to Monsieur Ducas [*sic*]. Thanks the French commander for his letter of the 17 July offering his ships for the expedition against the Scots. (D. V. p. 75, I. J.).

Copy at Inst. of Jamaica from A. G. I.

- (34) 14 August, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits Spanish translation of orders issued by the Governor of Jamaica, forbidding trade with the Scots Colony at Darien.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (35) 14 August, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Communicates a suggestion about intercepting ships conveying supplies to the Scots at Darien.

A. DE P. — 160 (2526).

- (36) 18 August, 1699. Panama. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Transmits copies of dispatches from Pimienta (Governor of Cartagena) and Luis Carizoli reporting the evacuation of Darien by the Scots.

A. DE P. — 161 (2542).

- (37) August, 1699. Chiselworth, England. The Spanish Ambassador, Marqués de Canales to the Crown. Reports the news from Scotland that five vessels sailed 19 August

for Darien, with details of persons and equipment. Comments on arrival of a vessel from Darien bringing some gold and reporting Spanish fleet movements. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 161 (69-6-6).

- (38) 6 September, 1699. Cartagena. Don Juan Pimienta to Monsieur Ducas [*sic*]. Expresses thanks for the French commanders letter of the 26 July and for the offers made to him, *etc.* (D. V. p. 77, I. J.).

Copy at Inst. of Jamaica from A. G. I.

- (39) 8 September, 1699. Palace. Antonio de Ubilla y Medina to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits a dispatch from Marqués de Canales stating that the Duke of Hamilton has been made Governor of Darien, subject to Parliamentary and Royal approval.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (40) [9 September], 1699. One page memorandum of a dispatch from the Marqués de Canales London, 11 August, 1699, apparently prepared for the Council for the Indies. It is noted that the Duke of Hamilton has been made Governor, with ample powers, maps have been made (showing territory occupied and which can be occupied), and that stories have come that the Scots at Darien have "declared a republic and received relief daily from all the English plantations" (the exact meaning of the word "republic" as then used is open to question). [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 160 (69-6-5).

- (41) 9 September, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Expresses doubt as to accuracy of news sent by the Marqués de Canales (11 August) but nevertheless urges haste in departure of a fleet. Accompanied by Royal Decree of 15 September.

A. DE P. — 163 (69-6-8).

Also 160 (2518).

- (42) 17 September, 1699. Real (Darien). Don Luis Carrizoli reports that news has reached him that two ships filled with Scotsmen have arrived, seven more are expected, possession has been taken of Fort San Andrés, and that the Scottish plans include passing to the Southern Sea. (D. XXV., D. V. p. 65, M. H. S., I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (43) 19 September, 1699, Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Refers to the dispatch of Marqués de Canales of 31 August and urges haste in preparations for naval expedition.

A. DE P. — 161.

- (44) 22 September, 1699. Panama. Marqués de Villa Rocha (President of Audiencia de Panamá) to Don Juan Pimienta (Governor of Cartagena). Refers to information from Carrizoli as to danger of permitting Scots to return and urges necessary action, offering his own coöperation. (D. V. p. 62, I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (45) 24 September, 1699. London. Marqués de Canales to the Crown. Gives the news brought to London from Governor Beeston at Jamaica that the Scots had abandoned Caledonia. Reasons given are because of sickness and want of supplies.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (46) 24 September, 1699. Mexico. Viceroy at Mexico to the Crown. Acknowledges receipt of the orders sent directing General Zavala to proceed to Cartagena and informs His Majesty that the zeal of the Viceroy has been such that the orders have been given Zavala before His Majesty's instructions arrived. D. XXVI., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-33 (No. 2).

- (47) 25 September, 1699. Portobello. The Marqués de Romegoublenal [*sic*] (French) to the Governor of Cartagena. Conveys information about Scots and offers to coöperate against them. (D. V. p. 71, I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (48) 25 September, 1699. Havana. Diego de Córdoba Lasso de la Vega to the Crown. Transmits the deposition of Benjamin Spenser, a Scotsman left on shore at Matanzas by a vessel which had left Colony at Darien. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 161 (2540) (69-6-6).

- (49) 27 September, 1699. Portobello. Don Dionissio de Artunduaga, an officer at Portobello transmits report concerning the return of the Scots, *etc.* (D. V. p. 66, I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (50) 2 October, 1699, Cartagena. Reply of Governor of Cartagena to Marqués de Romegoublenal [*sic*] expressing thanks for kind expressions in latter's letter. (No. 47.) (D. V. p. 74, I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (51) 2 October, 1699, Cartagena. Reply of Governor of Cartagena to Don Dionissio de Artunduaga. Refers to forwarding dispatches and supply of troops and munitions. (D. V. p. 70, I. J.).

- (52) 2 October, 1699, Cartagena. Don Juan Pimienta (Governor of Cartagena) to Marqués de Villa Rocha (President Audiencia de Panamá). Informs that he is going in person to reconnoitre San Andrés. (D. V. p. 68, I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (53) 5 October, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Refers to reports received from the consul at Amsterdam and elsewhere that a vessel had arrived (in Scotland, presumably) with gold, *etc.*, and that it is reported that the settlement will be in a position to defend itself, when reënforcements arrive. Details of ship movements from Scotland and England off Cartagena are given. Letters and memoranda enclosed. Haste with naval expedition urged.

A. DE P. — 160 (2517).

- (54) 5 October, 1699. Cartagena. Don Juan Pimienta, Governor of Cartagena, to the Crown. Requests increase to his garrison and advises that the Scots settlement, now abandoned, be occupied in order to prevent their return. (D. XXVII., D. V. p. 57, M. H. S., I. J.).

A. G. I.

- (55) 10 October, 1699. Havana. Diego de Córdoba Lasso de la Vega to the Crown. States that when General Zavala arrived on 26 August the Governor informed him of the deposition made by Benjamin Spenser that the Scots had left Darien.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (56) 17 October, 1699, San Lorenzo. Vadillo y Velasco to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits the dispatch of the Marqués de Canales of 24 September advising that the Scots have left Darien. Notwithstanding this His Maj-

esty desires the preparations of the naval expedition ¹ to continue.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (57) 24 October, 1699. Chagre. Marqués de Villa Rocha to the Crown. Gives information received by him from Luis Carrisoli and from letters received from Portobello that the Scots have returned to Darien. Transmits copies of his letters to Pimienta (Governor of Cartagena) and to the Viceroy of Peru. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 161 (2543) (69-6-6).

- (58) 30 October, 1699. Madrid. Royal Memorandum, giving a narrative of the Spanish actions and policy towards the Scots from the earliest receipt of news of the attempt to found a settlement at Darien, with the orders issued, *etc.* (D. XXVIII., M. H. S.).

A. DE P. — 161.

- (59) 31 October, 1699. Cadiz. Pedro Fernández Navarrette to Martín de Sierralta. Conveys the news received from New England that the Scots because of hunger and sickness have left Darien, with copies of correspondence.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (60) 3 November, 1699. San Lorenzo. Ubilla y Medina to Martín de Sierralta. Relates to the receipt by His Majesty of the news contained in the dispatch of Andrés de Pez dated 26 July. (Item No. 26).

A. DE P. — 160.

- (61) 4 November, 1699, Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Gives the Council's recommendations as to future policy in view of the news that the Scots have left Darien. Royal Decree accompanies the letter. [M. H. S. (E)]).

A. DE P. — 161 (2547) (69-6-6).

- (62) 11 November, 1699, Portobello. Villa Rocha to the Crown. Transmits full information concerning Luis Carrisoli, his position, services, *etc.* [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 162 (69-6-7).

- (63) 15 November, 1699. Rome. Francisco, Cardinal Judice, to the Crown. Gives advice from His Most Christian Maj-

¹ Reference will not be made in this list to a large amount of correspondence and documents relating to this naval expedition, much of which is unimportant. Attention should be given however to item No. 75 following.

jesty that reliance should not be placed upon the withdrawal of the Scots from Darien, as they may return stronger than before. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 160 (69-6-5).

- (64) 16 November, 1699. Madrid. (Carpio) to Ubilla. Transmits dispatches from Pimienta and Cardones advising that the Scots have abandoned Darien, with suggestions as to a thanksgiving festival.

A. DE P. — 160 (2515).

- (65) 6 December, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits information received from the Spanish Ambassador in France that a former secretary of the English Embassy has had an audience with the French King, with suggestions as to probable reason therefor.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (66) 6 December, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits dispatch from Bernardo de Quirós with various enclosures relating to continued Scottish designs on Darien and a draft for Council *consulta* regarding measures. (See 2507 same *legajo*).

A. DE P. — 160 (2537).

- (67) 18 December, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits dispatch of Pimienta (30 August) concerning abandonment of Darien by the Scots.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (68) 18 December, 1699. Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Conveys the news received by way of Navarre that the Scots have returned to Darien.

A. DE P. — 161.

- (69) 24 December, 1699, Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits warning from Cardinal Judice. (See No. 62). Accompanied by memorandum of Council for the Indies concerning defense of Darien.

A. DE P. — 160.

- (70) 29 December, 1699. Madrid. His Majesty to Marqués del Carpio. Transmits communication from the Papal Nuncio. Has memorandum annexed. Spain is urged to defend Darien against heretics for religious, economic, and political reasons. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 160 (69-6-5).

- (71) January, 1700. The following of various dates, filed together: five-page draft of a *résumé* of eleven dispatches from the Conde de Canillas (from 14 January, 1700, on) three pages of a *résumé* of the *résumé* (No. 2561) and an accompanying dispatch of 20 October, 1700.

A. DE P. — 163.

- (72) 11 January, 1700. Off Cadiz. General Zavala to the Crown. Reports on the execution which had been given His Majesty's orders, the reasons of delays, and the news which met the fleet at Havana that the Scots had abandoned Darien. Gives fleet movements, list of ships, *etc.* (D. XXIX., M. H. S., L. C.).

A. DE M. — 61-6-33 (No. 15).

- (73) 14 January, 1700. Panama. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Reports news received 21 December from Portobello concerning fugitives from the Scots settlement, with copies of depositions and correspondence.

A. DE P. — 164.

- (74) 15 January, 1700, Panama. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Transmits the depositions of two Scotsmen captured by Luis Carrisoli, giving detailed information as to the Scots first expedition, and settlement, the reasons for abandonment, the second attempt, *etc.* (D. XXX., M. H. S.).

A. DE P. — 164.

- (75) 26 January, 1700. Madrid. Council for the Indies to His Majesty. Refers to dispatch of Canales dated 24 September (item No. 45) giving news of withdrawal of Scots and describes present state of naval expedition. The accompanying documents, about thirty pages, give full story of the naval expedition, preparations, raising of forces, *etc.* (See note following item No. 56).

A. DE P. — 166.

- (76) 12 February, 1700 — 30 April, 1700. Diary kept by Don Juan Pimienta on board of the flagship of the fleet operating against the Scots and forming a narrative of the events during the campaign, and of the correspondence preceding the capitulation, accompanied by rough map of the coast. (D. XXXI., M. H. S.).

A. DE P. — 164 (2566).

- (77) 12 April, 1700. Caledonia. Don Juan Pimienta to Conde de Canillas. Reports victory over the Scots and encloses copy of the articles of capitulation. (D. XXXII., M. H. S.).
A. DE P. — 164.
- (78) 14 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Communicates a full report of the campaign, with copies of orders and correspondence. (D. XXXIII., M. H. S.). Documents show time of arrival in Spain, transmission by the Council to His Majesty (3 September, 1700), *etc.*
A. DE P. — 164.
- (79) 20 April, 1700, Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Transmits letter of Pimienta dated 12 April. (No. 77).
A. DE P. — 164.
- (80) 21 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Gives information about cost of the campaign against the Scots and transmits statements of accounts, minutes of the councils of war, *etc.*
A. DE P. — 164.
- (81) 22 April, 1700. Portobello. Five pages of narrative of the final campaign against the Scots.
A. DE P. — 161 (2545).
- (82) 24 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Transmits statements of expenditures in the campaign, copy of the capitulations, *etc.*
A. DE P. — 164 (2569).
- (83) 25 April, 1700. Portobello. Official formal report to the Crown of victory over the Scots.
A. DE P. — 164.
- (84) 25 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Gives information about campaign and surrender brought by Peredo on the 18 April. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 164 (69-6-9).
- (85) 25 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to Don Martín de Sierralta. Concerns the thirty-seven days' campaign and surrender of the Scots. [M. H. S. (E)].
A. DE P. — 164 (2565) 69-6-9).
- (86) 26 April, 1700. Portobello. Conde de Canillas to the Crown. Reports that the Lord held back the rains until the Scots had surrendered; that since then it has rained

continuously and made the country impassable. Transmits letters from Peru.

A. DE P. — 164.

- (87) 14 May, 1700. Aranjuez. Instructions issued to Admiral Pedro Fernández Navarrette.

A. DE P. — 163 (2559).

- (88) 15 May, 1700. Cartagena. Don Juan Pimienta to the Crown. Reports victory over the Scots and sends copy of the articles of capitulation. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 164 (2567) (69-6-9).

- (89) 26 May — 3 August, 1700. Various Royal Decrees announcing or transmitting dispatches concerning the defeat of the Scots and relating to the Scots Darien Company.

A. DE P. — 164.

- (90) 3 — 17 September, 1700. Draft for communication of Council for the Indies to His Majesty concerning Scottish prisoners described as "pirates, invaders, devils," etc. [M. H. S. (E)].

A. DE P. — 164 (69-6-9).

- (91) 20 October, 1700. Madrid. Draft of *cedula* to Don Juan Pimienta, in response to the communication from him dated 15 May (No. 88).

A. DE P. — 163.

ANNUAL MEETING

APRIL, 1930

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 10, 1930, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair. The record of the March meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Eugene R. Shippen, a number of sermons of the Reverend Joseph Lathrop, of West Springfield, 1757 to 1817.

From Mr. F. L. Church, of Glendale, California, the Muster Roll of the Company of Captain Andrew Peters, April 27 to July 8, 1775.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From the heirs of Mrs. Mary Edson Cushing, of Lowell, through Mrs. Margaret D. Cushing Abbott, a library chair used by the Reverend Mather Byles; and an autotype copy of a conjectural drawing made about 1860 by William Dyce, R. A., of the consecration of Archbishop Parker in Lambeth Palace Chapel on December 17, 1559.

From John T. Morse, Jr., a framed sepia carbon transparency of President Rutherford B. Hayes and his Cabinet, made on glass and backed by satin, from a photograph copyrighted in 1880.

By purchase, a gold medal awarded by the Humane Society of Massachusetts to William Walker, mariner of the ship *Ocean Monarch*, who faithfully did his duty on the occasion of her destruction August 24, 1848.

The President announced the death of WINSLOW WARREN at his home in Dedham on April 3, 1930, in the ninety-third year of his age. The Society was honored by his membership for over fifty-seven years, the fourth longest in its history, Mr. Warren having been elected a Resident Member January 9, 1873. Josiah Quincy, who died in 1864, was sixty-eight years a Resident Member; James Savage, who died in 1873, sixty years; and Samuel Abbott Green, who died in 1918,

fifty-eight years. With Dr. Green's death, Mr. Warren became the Senior Member of the Society.

The Society then elected by ballot General Francis Henry Appleton, of Boston, a Resident Member of the Society, and Victor Hugo Paltsits, of Long Island, New York, a Corresponding Member.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Mr. BOLTON, Mr. TUTTLE read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

The past year of the Society closes with a continued good record of achievement, and with every prospect of a bright outlook ahead. Its publications and photostat reproductions are furnishing, as ever, a useful service to individuals and many public and private libraries, widely scattered. Its Library and collections are steadily increasing in number of pieces and in their importance for historical research.

The Society aims, first of all, to carry on efficiently its chief function of publishing material for history in the spirit of exhaustive and careful research, in works marked by accuracy and fine scholarship. It serves the community at large also, in opening its valuable materials to their best use and under the most helpful conditions.

An up-to-date expansion of this building is needed to serve well all the Society's purposes. The foundation of the proposed stack, if and when it is built, should run down about twenty-five feet to solid clay bottom. The recent decision of the Boston Medical Library to remain on its present site and raise its new stack on its vacant lot may influence this Society to do the same.

Stewart Mitchell entered upon his duties as Editor of the Society's publications, on October 1, 1929, succeeding Worthington Chauncey Ford, who resigned on June 30, 1929, and was appointed Editor Emeritus. After October 1, 1930, Mr. Mitchell will be giving his full time to the work of the Society.

Volume LXII of the *Proceedings*, October, 1928, to June,

1929, delayed beyond the natural time of its issue in October, 1929, will be published in June, 1930. About half of the volume will be devoted to material suited to the Tercentenary, the reproduction of the Royal Charter of March 4, 1628/29, in facsimile and in type, and similar contemporary material. This Tercentenary part of the *Proceedings* will be published in a separate form for general use.

Volume LXIII of the *Proceedings*, beginning October, 1929, to include meetings to June, 1930, is in preparation with the expectation of delivery by October, 1930. The reprinted Volume I of the *Winthrop Papers* was issued in July, 1929, edited by George Washington Robinson, of Cambridge, who has Volume II in preparation. Work has been begun on the *Biographical Sketches of Harvard Graduates*, in continuation of the three volumes published by the late John Langdon Sibley, whose generous legacy to the Society was left for the purpose. Mr. Mitchell's first completed work as Editor, is Volume XI of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay*, recently issued. Volume X, edited by Mr. Ford, was issued in June, 1929. Volume LXXVIII of the *Collections*, comprising the Logs of the Columbia, will be undertaken as soon as possible. The consolidated *Index* of Volumes XLI to LX of the *Proceedings*, the third such volume of the whole series, is in preparation by David M. Matteson.

The photostat machine has been in active operation during the year, and positives of the *Boston News-Letter* for 1768 and 1769, in continuation of the long series from the first issues in 1704, have been distributed. Photostats of the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon's), 1768 and 1769, will be delivered within a few months. The years 1766-1771, of the Rind issue of this *Gazette* were distributed in April, 1929. Twenty-four volumes of photostats of rare *Americana* have been sent to the usual ten subscribers during the year. There will be six more issues of this series delivered, the last one, Number 261, to be sent on July 1, 1930, closing a remarkable collection of reproductions of rare and unique early pieces begun by Mr. Ford on August 11, 1919.

CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON

For the Council

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Other than small gifts the Society received no benefactions in money during the year ended March 31, 1930. Funds principal accounts therefore were increased only by royalties added to the Adams Fund, by the usual apportionment of income for the cumulative funds, and by one gift of \$25 which was added to the General Fund.

Net operating expenses for the year were \$36,867.45, an increase of \$3,786.38 as compared with the year previous. Income was \$40,341.45, a decrease of \$290.57, and because the Society was obliged to allocate \$6,912.95 of income to cumulative accounts the net result was a deficit of \$3,438.95 that was charged to income unexpended in other years. The net cost of publications other than House Journals was \$8,070.89, comparing with \$3,934.29 for 1928-29, an increase of \$4,136.60. The outlay for House Journals was amply provided for through the generous fund given by our late associate, Mr. W. B. H. Dowse. The operation of the photostat showed a credit balance of \$692.10, but included in the account was a credit of \$1,613.10 for unused Americana negatives sold to the Library of Congress.

Investments in securities increased only \$21.77 within the year. It seemed desirable to sell bonds yielding 4 per cent or less and to replace them with investment stocks paying approximately 5 per cent. Maturities and calls reduced the Society's holdings of bonds yielding between 5 per cent and 6 per cent, and these it would be difficult to replace with due regard for prudent investing. The actual return was at the rate of 5.33 per cent, comparing with 5.37 per cent in 1928-29; the income credits were at the rate of 6.07 per cent, 0.15 per cent less than the year previous. 400 shares of Pacific Mills stock continue the only non-paying property carried in the investment account.

Market value, on the bid basis, as of March 31, 1930, showed appreciation over book value of \$14,733.05 on bonds, \$6,004.75 on preferred stocks, and \$64,975.74 on common stocks. The latter represent 29 per cent of the total investments.

The members of the Finance Committee have been most helpful and kind in advising what action should be taken.

G. G. WOLKINS

April 10, 1930

Treasurer

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS
AS OF MARCH 31, 1930

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	<i>Interest</i>		
	<i>Rate</i>	<i>Due</i>	<i>Book Value</i>
Government and Municipal			
Kingdom of Belgium Ext. S. F.	7½	1945	\$ 8,332.00
Kingdom of Denmark Ext.	6	1942	9,502.50
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,784.50
			<u>\$ 33,619.00</u>
Railroads			
Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	5	1938	\$ 10,179.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Registered . . .	4½	1944	6,000.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	4½	1946	10,007.50
Chesapeake Corporation	5	1947	5,003.75
Chicago & Northwestern Railroad Co. . .	4¾	1949	10,182.50
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co. . . .	4½	1961	9,525.00
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust . .	5	1935	4,807.87
New York Central Lines	5	1936	4,796.32
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.	6	1948	25,000.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad	5	1946	10,000.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Company	4¾	1963	8,779.25
Pere Marquette Railway Co.	5	1956	15,000.00
			<u>\$119,281.19</u>
Public Utilities			
American Telephone & Telegraph Co. . .	5	1960	\$ 9,807.50
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co. . . .	5	1939	9,975.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Central Georgia Power Co.	5	1938	9,950.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	8,640.00
Dedham Water Company	5	1935	5,050.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5	1933	9,500.00
Florida Power & Light Co.	5	1954	9,400.00
Great Western Power Co. of Calif. . . .	5½	1930	6,926.79
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	19,025.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp.	6	1953	5,225.00
International Tel. & Tel. Corp.	4½	1952	9,682.50
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,080.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.	5	1950	4,987.50
Old Colony Gas Company	5	1931	4,900.00
Pacific Gas & Electric Co., Ser. C. . . .	5½	1952	9,800.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company .	5	1937	9,565.00
Western Telephone & Telegraph Company	5	1932	8,912.50
Western Union Telegraph Company . . .	5	1938	8,716.53
			<u>\$168,143.32</u>

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS (*Continued*)

AS OF MARCH 31, 1930

SCHEDULE OF BONDS (continued)

Industrials	Interest		Book Value
	Rate	Due	
American Sugar Refining Co.	6	1937	\$ 9,815.00
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards . . .	5	1940	9,919.44
International Paper Co.	5	1947	9,770.00
Quincy Market Cold Storage & W. Co. . . .	5½	1946	10,000.00
Swift & Co.	5	1932	8,500.00
Warren Brothers Company	5½	1937	9,975.00
			<u>\$ 57,979.44</u>
Total Bonds			<u>\$379,022.95¹</u>

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

PREFERRED STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., pfd. . . .	158	\$ 15,800.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, prior pref.	90	9,000.00
Boston & Maine Railroad, 1st pfd. A	25	2,725.00
		<u>\$ 27,525.00</u>
Public Utilities		
Cincinnati Gas & Elec. Co., pfd.	10	\$ 880.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	300	31,900.00
Engineers Public Service Co., 5% pfd.	100	10,000.00
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd.	52	5,460.00
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	16,925.00
		<u>\$ 65,165.00</u>
Industrials		
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	\$ 7,800.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50	5,781.25
Chic. Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards, pfd.	150	15,450.00
Kansas City Stock Yards Company, pfd.	302	23,556.00
U. S. Steel Corp., pfd.	60	8,490.00
		<u>\$ 61,077.25</u>
Total Preferred Stocks		<u>\$153,767.25²</u>

COMMON STOCKS

Railroads	Shares	Book Value
Boston & Albany Railroad	35	\$ 7,315.00
Old Colony Railroad Company	25	4,200.00
Southern Pacific Company	375	46,494.38
		<u>\$ 58,009.38</u>
Public Utilities		
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	120	\$ 16,648.75
Western Massachusetts Companies	197	12,483.75
Western Union Telegraph Co.	40	4,657.50
		<u>\$ 33,790.00</u>

¹ The market value on March 31, 1930, was \$393,756.00.² The market value on March 31, 1930, was \$159,771.00.

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS (*Continued*)

AS OF MARCH 31, 1930

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS (continued)

Industrials

General Electric Company	400	\$ 8,056.88
General Electric Company, special	10	0
Pacific Mills	400	19,860.00
Pullman, Inc.	50	4,316.25
United Fruit Co.	263	10,858.25
		<u>\$ 43,091.38</u>

Real Estate

Boston Ground Rent Trust	100	\$ 11,775.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	60	6,720.00
Boston Wharf Company	125	13,800.00
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	410.00
Western Real Estate Trustees	100	18,370.00
		<u>\$ 51,075.00</u>

Banks

Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	\$ 24,332.50
Second National Bank of Boston	200	13,500.00
		<u>\$ 37,832.50</u>

Total Common Stocks \$223,798.26²Total Stocks (common and preferred) . . . \$377,565.51⁴

BALANCE SHEET, MARCH 31, 1930

Resources:

Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Co. . .	\$ 1,441.82	
Petty cash, on hand at 1154 Boylston Street . .	200.00	\$ 1,641.82
Investments—Bonds	\$379,022.95	
—Stocks	377,565.51	
Savings Bank Accounts	1,363.68	757,952.14
Real Estate		97,990.32
Gain and Loss		3,800.17
		<u>\$861,384.45</u>

Liabilities:

Funds—principal	\$672,231.60	
Funds—income	28,151.17	\$700,382.77
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston St. .		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve		63,011.36
		<u>\$861,384.45</u>

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1929 \$756,566.69

Acquired by purchase or exchange:

Bonds

\$ 2,000 American Tel. & Tel. Conv.

4½s \$ 2,126.50

Carry forward

\$756,566.69

² The market value on March 31, 1930, was \$288,744.00.⁴ The market value on March 31, 1930, was \$448,545.00.

Brought forward	\$2,126.50	\$756,566.69
10,000 Chic. & No. West. Ry. Conv.		
4 $\frac{3}{4}$ s, 1949	10,182.50	\$12,309.00

Stocks

1 38/100 sh. Engineers Pub. Ser.		
Co., com.	\$ 80.70	
1/2 sh. United Fruit Co.	68.25	
100 shs. Electric Bond & Share Co.,		
6% pfd.	10,600.00	
330 " Southern Pacific Co.	41,628.75	
60 " U. S. Steel Corp., pfd.	8,490.00	
20 " Am. Tel. & Tel. Co. (Conv.		
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ s and cash)	3,727.25	
90 " Boston & Maine R. R.,		
prior pref.	9,000.00	73,594.95
Book value of securities acquired 1929-30 . .		\$85,903.95

Sold, called, matured, or exchanged:

Bonds

\$ 3,000 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932 . . .	\$ 3,011.60	
5,000 Wilmington City Elec. Co.		
5s, 1951	4,900.00	
15,000 N. Y. Central & Hudson		
River 4s	15,000.00	
9,000 Atch. Topeka & Santa Fe		
4s, 1995	9,000.00	
3,000 Baltimore & Ohio R. R. 4s,		
1959	3,000.00	
10,000 Bangor & Aroostook R. R.		
4s, 1951	10,000.00	
6,000 Long Island R. R. Co. 4s,		
1949	6,000.00	
5,000 Rio Grande Western Ry.		
4s, 1939	5,000.00	
5,000 Seattle Elec. Co. 5s, 1929	4,925.00	
9,000 U. S. Steel Corp. 5s, 1963	8,818.75	
9,000 Boston & Maine R. R. 5s,		
1942	9,000.00	
2,000 American Tel. & Tel. Conv.		
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ s	2,126.50	
4,000 American Sugar Ref. Co.		
6s, 1937	3,926.00	
	<u>\$84,707.85</u>	

Stocks

25 sh. Engineers Pub. Ser.		
Co. com.	\$976.65	
3 " Engineers Pub. Ser.		
Co. \$5.50 pfd.	197.68	1,174.33
Book value of securities dis-		
posed of, 1929-30		85,882.18
Net increase in book value		
of securities		21.77
Balance, March 31, 1930		<u>\$756,588.46</u>

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES
FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1930

<i>Gains:</i>	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Sales</i>	<i>Gains</i>
Bonds			
\$3,000 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	\$ 3,011.60	\$ 3,030.00	\$ 18.40
5,000 Wilmington City			
Elec. 5s, 1951 . . .	4,900.00	5,500.00	600.00
5,000 Seattle Elec. Co. 5s,			
1929	4,925.00	5,000.00	75.00
9,000 U. S. Steel Corp. 5s,			
1963	8,818.75	9,900.00	1,081.25
4,000 Am. Sugar Refining			
Co. 6s, 1937 . . .	3,926.00	4,140.00	214.00
	<u>\$25,581.35</u>	<u>\$27,570.00</u>	<u>\$1,988.65</u>
Stocks			
Stock div. 12½ sh. United			
Fruit Co.	0		
Stock div. 62/100 sh.			
Engrs. Pub. Ser. Co.,			
com.	0		
25 shs. Engineers Pub. Ser.			
Co. com.	\$ 976.65	\$ 1,379.00	\$ 402.35
3 shs. Engineers Pub. Ser.			
Co. 5.50 pfd.	197.68	288.76	91.08
	<u>\$ 1,174.33</u>	<u>\$ 1,667.76</u>	<u>\$ 493.43</u>
Total Gains			\$2,482.08
<i>Losses:</i>	<i>Book Value</i>	<i>Sales</i>	<i>Losses</i>
Bonds			
\$ 9,000 Atch. Topeka &			
Santa Fe 4s, '95	\$ 9,000.00	\$ 7,485.75	\$1,514.25
3,000 Balt. & Ohio R.R.			
4s, 1934	3,000.00	2,450.25	549.75
10,000 Bangor & Aroos-			
took 4s, 1951 . . .	10,000.00	8,086.25	1,913.75
6,000 Long Island R. R.			
4s, 1949	6,000.00	5,290.50	709.50
15,000 N. Y. C. & Hudson			
River 4s, '34 . . .	15,000.00	14,115.00	885.00
5,000 Rio Grande West-			
ern 4s, 1939 . . .	5,000.00	4,290.00	710.00
	<u>\$48,000.00</u>	<u>\$41,717.75</u>	<u>\$6,282.25</u>
Balance, Gain and Loss,			
March 31, 1930 (<i>Net</i>			
<i>Loss</i>)			<u>\$3,800.17</u>

FUNDS PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR
ENDED MARCH 31, 1930

Added:	Royalties	Gift	Income	
Adams	\$937.37			\$ 937.37
Anonymous			\$ 798.48	798.48
Building Annex			2,608.92	2,608.92
General		\$25.00		25.00
Lodge			62.97	62.97
J. L. Sibley			3,442.58	3,442.58
	<u>\$937.37</u>	<u>\$25.00</u>	<u>\$6,912.95</u>	
Increase in Funds Principal balances				\$ 7,875.32
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1929				689,356.28
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1930				<u>\$697,231.60</u>

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR
ENDED MARCH 31, 1930

Receipts:

Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought			\$40,230.06	
Interest on bank balances, other than savings accounts			51.65	\$ 40,281.71
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal . . .	\$	937.37		
Gift of Henry D. Sleeper, added to General Fund Principal			25.00	
Securities sold, called or matured:	Bonds	\$84,707.85		
	Stocks	<u>1,174.33</u>	<u>85,882.18</u>	86,844.55
				\$127,126.26
Cash on hand March 31, 1929				887.13
				<u>\$128,013.39</u>

Disbursements:

Net Operating Expenses			\$36,867.45	
Securities acquired:	Bonds	\$12,309.00		
	Stocks	<u>73,594.95</u>	<u>85,903.95</u>	\$122,771.40
Net loss on securities disposed of:	Losses	\$ 6,282.25		
	Gains	<u>2,482.08</u>		3,800.17
				\$126,571.57
Cash on hand March 31, 1930				1,441.82
				<u>\$128,013.39</u>

INCOME SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1930

Receipts:

Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought	\$40,230.06	
Interest on bank balances	51.65	
Interest credited by Savings Banks	<u>59.74</u>	\$40,341.45
Carry forward		\$40,341.45

Brought forward		\$40,341.45
<i>Deduct income added to cumulative funds:</i>		
Anonymous	\$ 798.48	
Building Annex	2,608.92	
Lodge	62.97	
J. L. Sibley	3,442.58	6,912.95
Current Income available for Operating Expenses		\$33,428.50
Operating Expenses (net) charged against Funds		
Income		36,867.45
Excess Expenses over Current Income		<u>\$ 3,438.95</u>

NET OPERATING EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR
ENDED MARCH 31, 1930

Bindery:			
Salary	\$1,440.00		
Supplies	34.70	\$ 1,474.70	
Less Sales		155.00	\$ 1,319.70
Building:			
Cleaning	\$ 559.12		
Electricity for elevator and light	225.51		
Elevator	81.60		
Furnishings, care, replacement	58.55		
Grounds, care, etc.	99.60		
Hardware	4.09		
Heating, including salary of H. C. Fuller	2,639.98		
Insurance; boiler, compensation, liability	188.35		
Repairs, including boiler	849.75		
Telephone	209.40		
Water	24.38		4,940.33
Cabinet:			
Coins and medals	\$ 153.65		
Display case for Dawes collection	135.00		
Oak table	64.50	\$ 353.15	
Less Gift of Sara O. B. Holland for display case for Dawes collection		135.00	218.15
Editor Emeritus, Editor, and assistant			
			7,070.00
Engrossing: diplomas			
			1.50
Fares			
			7.30
Library:			
Binding	\$ 106.40		
Equipment	148.52		
Librarian and staff	10,540.08		
Purchases:			
Books, serials, etc.	\$1,350.08		
Credits	152.95	1,197.13	11,992.13
Meetings			
			352.28
Photostat:			
Binding	\$ 465.00		
Carry forward	\$465.00		\$25,901.39

Brought forward		\$465.00	\$25,901.39
Cleaning		92.50	
Collection charges		.55	
Electricity		216.46	
Gas for heater		103.19	
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,600.04	
Printing		18.50	
Purchases		2,665.29	
Repairs	\$ 315.78		
Less Gift of Francis R. Hart . . .	50.00	265.78	
Water		73.14	
		<u>\$ 6,500.45</u>	
Less receipts:			
Sales	\$5,546.91		
Unused negatives (<i>Americana</i>)			
sold to the Library of Congress	1,613.10	7,160.01	
Credit balance, deducted			659.56
			<u>\$25,241.83</u>
Postage			313.90
Publications:			
W. Gordon Letters (General Fund In-			
come)			
Composition, etc.	\$ 727.01		
Storage of type	22.24	\$ 749.25	
House Journals, Vol. 10 (W. B. H.			
Dowse Fund Income)			
Composition, etc.	\$2,112.03		
Less sales	847.60	1,264.43	
House Journals, Vol. 11 (W. B. H.			
Dowse Fund Income)			
Index	\$ 200.00		
Sundries	87.23	287.23	
Proceedings, Vol. 61 (Waterston No. 3			
Fund Income)			
Composition, etc.		890.90	
Proceedings, Vol. 62 (Peabody Fund			
Income)			
Composition, etc.	\$1,191.10		
Sundries	226.19	1,417.29	
Proceedings, Vol. 63 (Waterston No. 3			
Fund Income)			
Negative	\$ 7.50		
Stenographic report	28.80	36.30	
John L. Sibley's "Sketches of Harvard			
Graduates" continuation (J. L. Sibley			
Fund Income)			
Part-time compensation of G. W.			
Robinson		1,250.02	
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 1 (Waterston			
No. 2 Fund Income)			
Carry forward		<u>\$ 5,895.42</u>	<u>\$25,555.73</u>

Brought forward		\$ 5,895.42	\$25,555.73
Composition, plates, etc.	\$3,814.77		
G. W. Robinson, additional compensation	<u>230.00</u>	4,044.77	
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 2 (Robert Winthrop Fund Income)			
Negatives, transcripts	\$ 81.70		
G. W. Robinson, compensation . . .	<u>1,249.98</u>	1,331.68	
Sundries:			
Collection charges, negatives	\$ 9.13		
Trial index to Collections, Vols. 1-35	<u>50.00</u>	59.13	
		<u>\$11,331.00</u>	
Less sales, other than House Journals		<u>1,708.45</u>	9,622.55
Shipping:			
Express charges, paper, etc.	\$ 130.54		
Less refunds	<u>22.25</u>		108.29
Stationery			257.91
Subscriptions:			
Bay State Historical League	\$ 2.00		
<i>Writings on American History</i>	<u>50.00</u>		52.00
Treasurer:			
Accounting, audit, etc.	\$ 70.50		
Assistant, salary	800.04		
State Street Trust Company, agency fees	205.50		
Surety bond	25.00		
Other charges	<u>169.93</u>	1,270.97	
Total Net Operating Expenses			<u>\$36,867.45</u>

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME March 31, 1930					
	Balances Mar. 31, 1929	Funds Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1930	Principal of Funds
Adams	\$ 63.55	\$2,430.58	\$2,430.58		\$40,957.85
Amory		182.20	245.75		3,000.00
Appleton		741.12	741.12		12,203.00
Bigelow	-128.93	121.47	6.75	\$ -14.21	2,000.00
Billings		607.33		607.33	10,000.00
Boit	2,273.45	303.67		2,577.12	5,000.00
Brattle Street	75.73	8.42		84.15	100.00
Chamberlain		74.84	74.84		1,232.33
Dowse		607.33	607.33		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	2,678.48	1,518.33	1,551.66	2,645.15	25,000.00
Ellis	-1,824.83	1,923.22	98.39		31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Frothingham		182.20	182.20		3,000.00
General	-5,806.77	3,515.77	118.09	-2,409.09	57,913.66
Hunnewell	5,605.38	303.67		5,909.05	5,000.00
Lawrence	-83.89	182.20		98.31	3,000.00
Lodge		251.89	251.89		5,247.21
Lowell	-272.48	182.20		-90.28	3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs		121.47	121.47		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust		607.33	607.33		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross		607.33	607.33		10,000.00
Parker	128.21	51.32	47.75	131.78	1,000.00
Peabody	1,128.64	1,343.60	1,417.29	1,054.95	22,123.00
Salisbury	-422.11	303.67		-118.44	5,000.00
Savage		304.40	221.65	142.75	6,000.00
Schouler	977.86	173.09	23.79	1,127.16	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	-1,237.58	1,367.07	129.49		22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	19,583.83	10,327.74	18,762.83	11,148.74	230,177.00
Slafter		60.73	60.73		1,000.00
Charles Card Smith		911.00	911.00		15,000.00
Warren	3.11	60.73	63.84		1,000.00
Washburn		151.83	151.83		2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	2,562.00	303.67		2,865.67	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	3,109.61	607.33	4,082.63	-365.69	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	4,131.62	607.33	927.20	3,811.75	10,000.00
Waterston Library	-3,181.85	235.34	44.11	-2,990.62	3,875.14
Robert Winthrop	2,227.09	911.00	1,299.67	1,838.42	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop		728.80	728.80		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop		143.61	143.61		2,364.66
William Winthrop		303.67	206.50	97.17	5,000.00
	<u>\$31,590.12</u>	<u>\$33,428.50</u>	<u>\$36,867.45</u>	<u>\$28,151.17</u>	<u>\$637,719.99</u>
Anonymous		798.48*			13,945.81
Building Annex		2,608.92*			45,565.80
Lodge		62.97*			
J. L. Sibley		3,442.58*			
Total Funds Income		<u>\$40,341.45</u>			
Total Funds Principal					<u>\$697,231.60</u>

* Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE

The undersigned were appointed a Committee to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, and in accordance with the usual custom we employed Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, an officer of the State Street Trust Company, as Auditor. Mr. Jobling has made a report which we enclose herewith.

ALLAN FORBES
HENRY S. HOWE
Committee

May 7, 1930

AUDITOR'S STATEMENT

May 7, 1930

MESSRS. ALLAN FORBES AND HENRY S. HOWE,
Examining Committee

Dear Sirs:

I have checked up the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society and find that all payments have been properly accounted for, and receipts entered and deposited. I compared the list of investments with the list from the Trust Department of the State Street Trust Company and they agree.

Respectfully,
E. E. JOBLING
Auditor

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

During the year there have been added to the Library six hundred and fifty volumes, fifteen hundred and forty-seven pamphlets, one hundred and thirty broadsides and maps, and a large number of manuscripts, including seventy volumes. Many of these accessions, of special interest, have been described at the regular meetings; but the larger number added are in the main historical and biographical works of value and usefulness in the Library. Of all of these only about five hundred titles are included among the purchases. The gifts were received from many persons and societies. A few members have given liberally, and their thoughtful attention is very helpful. There should be on our shelves

all of the published works of members. Many of these are still wanting. It will always be a pleasure to receive any volumes or pamphlets suited to our collection, from our membership. It is much to be desired, too, that the Librarian should have all the aid possible in obtaining family collections of manuscript papers, by gift or deposit, before it is too late to have them in safe keeping here.

The manuscript treasures of the Society are its chief asset. These are increasing in numbers, in interest, and in richness, for publication and for historical source material. The great aim is to keep as good a catalogue of the collection as possible. The pressure of daily demands on the staff in other directions has made it impossible to keep up the index of additions as received. If the Society could see its way to add another assistant for this special work alone, it would be taking a most important step. The arrangement of the public papers of the late Governor John Davis Long, from 1875 to 1915, and the making of cases to hold them, is nearly completed. Progress is being made in the treatment of other manuscript files, and their final preparation for cataloguing.

The bindery continues to be of good service to the Library, in the care, repair, and treatment of manuscripts, lettering and repair work needed, and in numberless ways greatly improving conditions. Little general binding of serials and volumes has been sent to binders outside in order to help the Treasurer as much as possible to establish his budget system. A similar purpose has reduced the purchase of books.

Visitors, many of whom come from distant places, express their gratitude for the generous use of our material in the completion of their historical researches. Due to the prompt and cheerful helpfulness of the Library staff much praise is received for efficiency of service, the excellent working conditions, and a high measure of value in aid to higher scholarship in American history. The Colonial newspaper collection, alone, is spoken of as the best in the country, and our manuscript sources are equally praised.

The urgent need of an addition to the building, mentioned from year to year, becomes now more emphatic. It is hoped

that some generous plan to accomplish this end, perhaps a tender from one or more interested donors, may help to solve the problem.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE
Librarian

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions to the number of two hundred and ninety-nine, of which thirty-two were from Massachusetts: seventeen bills and fifteen coins.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS
Cabinet-Keeper

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet met on April 3 and made the usual survey. It noted with satisfaction the improved lighting facilities in the stacks, and found everything as shipshape as is possible in inadequate quarters. Each year the need of space for properly housing the Society's ever-increasing number of books and for hanging some of its valuable portraits becomes more acute and more obvious, but until an addition to the building is feasible our chief concern must be merely to have our possessions safe and accessible. That this is their present condition the Committee is entirely satisfied. A suggestion that the Garrison banners now hanging on the walls of the stack-room over the Dowse Library might be better preserved if taken down and put away in steel files met with favor and was adopted.

The indexing of manuscript material in the Library is a slow and somewhat expensive process, but the results are permanent and of great value to students of history. At present this important work is carried on only when time can be given to it by members of the regular staff. Two years ago an additional assistant was engaged for a few months with a view to making substantial progress in indexing the

more valuable collections. Convinced that the money appropriated for this purpose was well spent, the Committee recommends that provision be made in the next budget for an outlay of \$1500 to continue the work in the same manner.

LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO
ALBERT MATTHEWS
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM

The Committee to Nominate Officers for the ensuing year made its Report, presenting candidates, and a ballot being taken, the following were elected:

P R E S I D E N T

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

V I C E - P R E S I D E N T S

HENRY LEFAVOUR
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS

R E C O R D I N G S E C R E T A R Y

HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM

C O R R E S P O N D I N G S E C R E T A R Y

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN

T R E A S U R E R

GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS

L I B R A R I A N

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE

C A B I N E T - K E E P E R

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS

M E M B E R S - A T - L A R G E O F T H E C O U N C I L

FREDERIC WINTHROP

HENRY GREENLEAF PEARSON
EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN
FRANK WASHBURN GRINNELL
CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH

Mr. PHILIP HALE read an appreciation, to be published elsewhere, of the second volume of the memoirs of Yvette Guilbert, the famous French *diseuse*, whom the late Mr. T. Jefferson Coolidge, then American Minister to France, first heard in Paris as early as November, 1892 — and thought shocking. By far the greater part of the book, published in 1929, was devoted, according to Mr. Hale, to a not altogether complimentary description of the United States, where Mme. Guilbert spent some years during the World War, and immediately after, frequently performing in public, and traveling far and wide. Her comments on American character and conduct are often caustic, and her hostile criticism of the country is a sweeping complaint against its utter lack of civilization. Mr. Hale quoted Mme. Guilbert extensively on the subject of the vulgar manners of Americans, their worship of wealth, the childish women who refuse to “grow up,” and the greedy, grubbing men. The United States she found a land of bluff, the most popular form of it being philanthropy for the sake of self-advertisement — American charity, she concludes, always pays its way. To the familiar taunt of Americans that foreign artists come to this country only for its money, Mme. Guilbert’s retort is typical: “What else could they come for?”

Mr. Hale closed by quoting a paragraph of a description of New York City in a study of the United States by M. Paul Morand, who contends that its inhabitants live there only long enough to earn the money with which to get away, and thereupon proceeds to relieve his feelings in praise of the “unsinkable ship” of Paris — a city indestructible, it would seem, in the minds of its admirers.

W. CAMERON FORBES presented to the Society one of the four copies of his Journals, in five volumes, kept during his ten years’ residence in the Philippine Islands, with the following letter:

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS
April 10, 1930

GENTLEMEN:

I desire to make to the Massachusetts Historical Society a conditional gift of one set of my Philippine Journals.

Throughout my tour of service in the Philippine Islands, lasting nearly ten years, I adopted the practice of writing in a journal

an account of events as they occurred, instead of sending home to different members of my family long letters which would inevitably have become scattered and thus have lost the sequence which a journal carries. These journals were copied and passed around at home to those who cared to read them, I contenting myself with writing short individual letters to my family. The journals were carelessly jotted down — two or three weeks often elapsing with no entries being made — and are fullest in describing my journeys about the Islands. These journeys were perhaps less important than the daily routine in the office, but in the course of them there was more time for writing, and at other times I was too busy, or, perhaps better said, too unsystematic to be very regular. The journals were not written with the idea that they would ever be published, and I have expressed to my executors the hope that they will not be published. I make no stipulation, however, in regard to that matter, merely expressing the preference.

In the last few years I have re-read these journals correcting and copiously annotating them. There are only four copies of the corrected and annotated journals, one typewritten ribbon copy and three carbons. Two of them are retained in my family; one goes to Harvard University; and one to the Massachusetts Historical Society, if it cares to accept it.

The conditions I impose in making this gift are that these journals shall be kept private and confidential for a period of ten years after my death and, in any case, as long as twenty-five years from the date of this letter. The officers of the Society are authorized to read the volumes, and, in case requests are made for verification or elucidation of any historical fact, to give out such part of the text to responsible or authorized persons as may serve a useful purpose, care being taken to give out no passage that would be personally offensive or injurious to the reputation of individuals then living. With my assent or that of any of my brothers, or, after my death, with the assent of my nearest of kin or the executors of my estate, other persons may be permitted to read these journals or have access to them.

In making the gift of a set of the journals to Harvard University, I have imposed these same conditions.

Use was made of much of the material in the journals in writing my two-volume book, *The Philippine Islands*, published in 1928. Wherever such material has been quoted or referred to, a marginal note has been made on the journals, giving the manuscript page and printed page of the first edition of my book where the quotation or reference appears.

Very sincerely yours,

W. CAMERON FORBES

Mr. FORBES also presented a facsimile of the original parchment title deed to the Island of Naushon from John Winthrop of New London, son of Major-General Wait Winthrop, dated April 13, 1730; and a copy of the Report of the Commission, of which he was Chairman, appointed to investigate the state of affairs in Haiti.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be given Mr. FORBES for his generous gifts and that they be accepted with the conditions he stipulated in his letter.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated copies of three letters from his collection:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN TO ATTORNEY-GENERAL EDWARD BATES

EXECUTIVE MANSION

WASHINGTON

February 6, 1862

HON. ATTORNEY GENERAL

MY DEAR SIR

As you see, Gen. McClellan approves the finding of the Court-Martial in the case of which the accompanying is a copy of the Record. Please give me your opinion.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN

EX-PRESIDENT GRANT TO GENERAL McDOWELL

NEW YORK CITY

May 2, 1882

DEAR GENERAL:

I send you the letters requested in your letter which I found at my house this morning. I will try to think of it to bring the papers which you furnished me — except the pamphlet, your defence, which I want to keep. I do not know that I care for the return of any [of] the letters sent with this unless it may be the one from General McClellan.

Very truly yours

U. S. GRANT

EX-PRESIDENT HAYES TO BEN PERLEY POORE

SPIEGEL GROVE
FREMONT, OHIO
1 January 1886

MY DEAR SIR:

I thank you for the elegant copy of the Directory of the 49th Congress. As completely out of practical politics as a good American Citizen ever can be, I am nevertheless interested as a looker on and glad to be furnished with whatever enables one to keep abreast of the current of public affairs.

I am afraid I neglected to thank you for the kind mention of me in your capital book on that model gentleman my old Commander General Burnside. I now wish to do what ought to have been done long ago.

If ever you travel to this part of the United States please do not fail to be our guest. Mrs. Hayes and I will be glad to give you a warm welcome to our old fashioned home.

With the best wishes of the season

Sincerely
R. B. HAYES

MAJOR BEN PERLEY POORE
Washington
D. C.

MAY MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 8, 1930, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the April and annual meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, for the heirs of Hon. Edward Everett (1794-1865), his correspondence, letter-books, and journals, 1807-1865, also his papers on the preservation of the home of George Washington at Mount Vernon, 1857-8, letters of Macaulay, 1818-1859, letters of Prescott, 1827-58, and other volumes; and also several manuscript volumes of his brother, Alexander H. Everett.

From Henry W. Cunningham, a ledger (1754-1792), of Benjamin Goodwin (1732-1792), merchant of Boston, who lived at the corner of Lynn and Charter Streets till 1784, when late in that year he removed to Easton, Mass. The volume also contains entries by his son, Daniel Goodwin, his executor, relating to the settlement of his estate, 1792-1796.

From Mary Stuart Anthony, of Boston, a Bible, Brattleboro, Vermont, 1818, containing Daniel Brewster's Family Record.

By purchase, *A Treatise on Frauds*, by Causten Browne (Boston, 1857), given by the author to Rufus Choate, and bearing Mr. Choate's autograph. Letters of acknowledgment of the receipt of copies of the book from Mr. Choate, Theron Metcalf, and Roger B. Taney, are laid in this volume.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

By purchase, an open-faced gold watch, made by Arnold Adams and Company, London, with a westerly view of Harvard College cut on the back of the case, showing University Hall, built in 1815, in the centre background, with its portico, removed in 1842. The new Harvard Hall, before its enlargement, and Stoughton and Hollis Halls stand at the left, and a part of Massachusetts shows at the right. A fence runs through the center, and below four persons in the foreground is the legend "Cambridge Université near Baston." This view was cut by a French artist, perhaps as early as 1820.

From T. Julien Silsby, the bronze medal struck to commemorate the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Town of Watertown, 1630.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from General FRANCIS HENRY APPLETON accepting Resident Membership, and from VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS accepting Corresponding Membership.

Mr. Howe made the report of the Committee to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer for the past year, and it was voted that the report be accepted and placed on file.

It was *voted*, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

James Phinney Baxter, 3rd, of Cambridge, was then elected by ballot a Resident Member, and William Scott Ferguson, of the Department of History at Harvard but a legal resident of Prince Edward Island, a Corresponding Member.

The following committees were appointed for the year:

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, *Chairman*; FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and HENRY S. HOWE.

Library: LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, *Chairman*; ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

House: FREDERIC WINTHROP, *Chairman*; JOHN WOODBURY, and ALLEN FRENCH.

Publication: SAMUEL E. MORISON, *Chairman*; CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *Chairman*; WORTHINGTON C. FORD, and HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM.

Meetings: WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, *Chairman*; HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, and JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

Membership: FREDERIC WINTHROP, *Chairman*; JOHN T. MORSE, JR., and ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Building: CHARLES A. COOLIDGE, *Chairman*; DR. JOHN W. FARLOW, and HENRY S. HOWE.



A *W. Kennell.*

REPLY

TO A

CONFUTATION

of some grounds for

Infants Baptisme:

AS ALSO,

Concerning the form of a Church,

put forth against mee by one

THOMAS LAMB.

Hereunto is added,

A Discourse of the Verity and Validity of Infants

Baptisme, wherein I endeavour to clear it in it self: As also in the Ministry administring it, and the manner of administration, by Sprinkling, and not Dipping; with sundry other particulars handled herein.

By George Philips of Watertown in New England.

MATTH. 7. 15.

Beware of false Prophets, which come unto you in Sheeps-cloathing.

A parvulo recens nato, usque ad decrepitum senem, nullus prohibendus est a Baptismo, August. Enchirid. cap. 42.

Dic queso & omni me libera questione, quare infantiuli baptizentur? Orthodox: ut iis peccata in baptismo dimittantur, Hieron. advers. Pelagian. Dialog. ter.

LONDON,

Printed by Matthew Simmons, for Henry Overton, and are to be sold at his Shop in Popes-head-Alley. 1645.

MHS

Title-page of Phillips' "Reply"



Vice-President LEFAVOUR, being obliged to leave the meeting early, called Professor MERRIMAN to the chair.

The Reverend HENRY WILDER FOOTE read a paper on

GEORGE PHILLIPS, FIRST MINISTER OF WATERTOWN

Cotton Mather begins one of the brief biographical chapters in his *Magnalia*¹ with a reference to the mythical St. George of Christian legend as a stepping-stone to his statement that "there was one *George* who was indeed among the first *Saints* of *New-England*! And that *Excellent Man* of *our Land* was Mr. *George Philips*." Mather was born nineteen years after Phillips' death, and wrote the *Magnalia* a full half century after that event, but he must have talked with persons who had known Phillips well, and his general estimate of him is no doubt correct. For nearly two hundred and fifty years his account of Phillips, although less than two and a half pages in length, has remained the most complete which has appeared in print, but certain of his statements are incorrect, he does not actually tell a great deal, and he altogether passes over some of the most significant events of Phillips' life. It is somewhat surprising that no modern scholar has written an adequate account of Phillips, for he was a man of ability and of outstanding independence of character. On the voyage hither he was closely associated with the leaders of the colony, who evidently held him in esteem and honor, and, though he was not one of the small group in active control of the affairs of the colony in its earliest years, his less conspicuous part nevertheless had a noteworthy influence on the development both of the civil government and of the congregational polity of the churches. Furthermore, he was the progenitor of a family stock which for three centuries has maintained a high level of service in both church and state.

George Phillips was the son of one Christopher Phillips, who is described as a man "*mediocris fortunæ*" — of mod-

¹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia* (London, 1702), Book III. Part II, Chapter IV. 82; (Hartford, 1853), I. 376.

erate means, and of whom little else is known save that he was for a time church warden at South Rainham (Raynham) in Norfolk County, later moving to Rainham, two or three miles away. Both places are hamlets lying some ten miles east of King's Lynn, and three or four miles southwest of Fakenham. As no record of George Phillips' baptism has been found, the date and place of his birth remain uncertain, but it probably occurred at South Rainham in 1593. He entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, on April 20, 1610, when he was seventeen, and took his B.A. in 1613 and his M.A. in 1617. He is said to have made at an early age a reputation for uncommon talents, for love of learning and for piety. About the time he left Cambridge he took orders in the Church of England, and was for some years settled as vicar at Boxted in Essex, close to the Suffolk border.² He married a daughter of one Richard Sergeant. She was probably a half-sister of John Hayward, an early settler of Watertown, but was her father's only child. Two children were born to them at Boxted, his son Samuel, in 1625, and his daughter Elizabeth. His wife and these two children came with him to New England, and Samuel later became a distinguished minister at Rowley.

Mather says that his acquaintance with Nonconformists led him to views of church government which were unacceptable to those in authority and that some of his hearers

² Mather is in error in stating that Phillips was settled at *Boxford*. Dr. Samuel Fuller, in the letter quoted below, calls him "a Suffolk man," apparently thinking that he came from the other Boxted, which is in Suffolk, but there is no record of him whatever in the registers of that church. Unfortunately the registers of the more important parish of Boxted in Essex are missing for most of the first half of the seventeenth century. The letter of John Maidstone recommending Phillips to Governor Winthrop, quoted below, is, however, conclusive evidence of Phillips' ministry in that parish, since the Maidstone family was long resident there, and John Maidstone was buried in the chancel of the church in 1666. The same John Maidstone wrote his well-known letter describing Oliver Cromwell to John Winthrop, Jr., from Westminster, under date of March 24, 1659, and added in a postscript, "If you shall give yourself the trouble, at any time, of honouring me with a letter, you may please to direct it to Pond House, at Boxted in Essex, where my father lived. It is three miles from Colchester." (See 3 *Collections*, I. 198.) Boxted in Essex was a strong Puritan center, and had been one of the points of distribution for Tyndale's version of the Bible in the previous century. The church remains, practically unchanged since Phillips' day, but the ancient vicarage has been replaced by a modern structure.

took their complaints to "Old Mr. Rogers of Dedham," who, however, told them that

*He believed Mr. Philips would preach nothing without some good Evidence for it from the Word of God, and therefore they should be willing to regard whatever Mr. Philips might, from that Word, make evident unto them.*³

No doubt Phillips, being a man of unusually independent views, found himself uncomfortable at Boxted under the increasing pressure for Conformity, and was among the first to be interested in the project for establishing a Puritan colony in New England.

The first link connecting Phillips with the Massachusetts Bay Company appears in a letter written to Winthrop by John Maidstone, who was a nephew of Winthrop's second wife and afterwards an officer in Cromwell's household and a member of Parliament. Maidstone was one of Phillips' parishioners at Boxted, and on November 4, 1629, he wrote to his uncle:

vpon occation of your intended voyage into the plantation, in the behalfe of our minister, Mr. Philips, who is fully resolved to vnder-take the same with you, if God will.

He goes on to say that he writes privately, because of the opposition which would be aroused if it were known that he were encouraging Phillips to leave, and that, "noe man hath reason more unwillingly to parte with him than my selfe." But he commends him to Winthrop's attention, saying:

His exelency in matters of divinity is such . . . as that hee is inferiour to very few, if to any: for prooffe wheare of, I stande not vpon mine owne slender conceipte, but refer my selfe to the iudgemente of all the eminenteste Christians that ever haue exercised familiarity with him: of whome many are encouraged to goe for his sake, and others to follow, so soone as God shall so dispose: ⁴

Interviews between Winthrop and Phillips must have followed, and it is certain that Winthrop advanced the money to bring him and his family hither, for in "The Accompt of

³ *Magnalia* (1702), 82; (1853), I. 376.

⁴ 5 *Collections* I. 190-191.

John Winthrop, Esquire, late Gouvernor," which he rendered September 4, 1634, Winthrop writes:

I disbursed also for the transportacion of Mr. Phillips and his Family, which was to be borne by the generalitie, till hee should be chosen to some particular congregacion.⁵

Through the business arrangement with Winthrop, and no doubt by Winthrop's own choice, he appears as the minister selected to sail on the *Arbella*, the "Admiral" of Winthrop's little fleet. It will be recalled that Winthrop's *Journal* begins on "Easter Monday" (March 29, O.S., April 8, N.S.), with the *Arbella* "rydinge at the Cowes." After a conference that morning between Winthrop, Cradock, the preceding Governor of the Company, and the captains of the accompanying ships, the *Arbella* weighed anchor at ten o'clock and sailed as far as Yarmouth, near the western tip of the Isle of Wight, where she came to anchor and lay for more than a week waiting for favorable winds, actually putting out to sea on April 8, (April 18, N.S.). On April 5, Winthrop wrote to his son, John Winthrop Jr., "from Abord the *Arbella*, rydinge before yarmouthe":

Yesterday we kept a fast aboard our ship and in the Talbot. Mr. Phillips exercised with us the whole day, and gave very good content to all the company, as he doth in all his exercises, so as we have much cause to bless God for him.⁶

The day before sailing the leaders of the expedition signed and sent ashore, to be dispatched to the printer John Bellamie of London:

The | HUMBLE | REQUEST OF | HIS MAIESTIES | loyall Subjects,
the Governour | and the Company late gone for | New-England; |
To the rest of their Brethren, in and of the | Church of *England*. |
For the obtaining of their Prayers, | and the removall of suspitions,
and mis | constructions of their Intentions.

This noble document is dated "From Yarmouth, aboard the *Arbella*, April 7, 1630," and is signed by Winthrop, Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Dudley, Coddington, Charles Fines, and

⁵ *Records of Massachusetts* (1853), I, 131.

⁶ John Winthrop, *The History of New England* (James Savage, Ed., Boston, 1853), I. (Appendix A. 43), 446. See also the Winthrop Papers, 7a. 43, the Massachusetts Historical Society.

George Phillips. That Phillips was one of these seven signers is indicative of his standing.

Mr. Winship, in his preface to the reprint of *The Humble Request*,⁷ suggests that it had probably been prepared some time earlier, perhaps by the Reverend John White of Dorchester, and says:

It was the formal leave-taking of those who were about to establish a new England in America, and it represents, better than any other single document, the spirit in which the settlement of the Massachusetts Colony was undertaken.

The attribution to John White goes back to Hubbard's *History of New England*, written about 1680, in which he reports that "it is commonly said, that the Declaration was drawn up by Mr. White, that famous minister of Dorchester."⁸ Hubbard's statement has been repeated ever since, and is said to be supported by an entry made by a seventeenth-century hand in one of the five surviving copies of the original edition of *The Humble Request* giving White's name as author. The evidential value of such a note would depend entirely upon who made it, and unfortunately we have no idea who he was. The attribution of *The Humble Request* to White seems, therefore, to rest upon a surmise current nearly half a century after the document was written.

The surmise was natural enough in view of White's repute among the Puritans for his indefatigable labors on behalf of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and of his probable authorship of the anonymously-printed *Planters Plea*, written in 1630, soon after Winthrop sailed. The character of this latter work gives ground for attributing it to White, and Increase Mather noted in the copy which he owned that White was its author. Inasmuch as Increase Mather's father, Richard, was in a position to know the facts, this is perhaps as good evidence as we are ever likely to get. It is also true that *The Planters Plea* does contain an obvious reference to *The*

⁷ *The Puritans' Farewell to England* (Facsimile Edition, the New England Society in the City of New York, 1912). *The Humble Request* is also printed in full in Justin Winsor, Ed., *The Memorial History of Boston*, (Boston, 1880-1881), I. 108-109, and elsewhere.

⁸ William Hubbard, *A General History of New England* (Boston, 1848), 126.

Humble Request, but it is a purely impersonal one, proving nothing more than that the author was acquainted with it, and it does nothing to strengthen belief that both documents came from the same hand.

On the other hand, if John White had prepared *The Humble Request* two or three weeks in advance, and had sent it, perhaps by Cradock, to be signed by the leaders of the expedition, he displayed remarkable skill in entering into the emotions of those who were on the point of leaving home for ever. The moving note of deep personal feeling so colors the whole document that, as one reads it carefully, it is difficult to believe that it was written by one who was not himself sailing with them. And it does seem strange that, if *The Humble Request* had been prepared in advance by John White, it should not have been signed at Southampton, where presumably many of the company attended John Cotton's farewell sermon, or at the Cowes on the eve of sailing, when it could be sent up to London by Cradock. On the afternoon of April 6, while the *Arbella* still lay wind-bound at Yarmouth, Cradock again visited her, and returned to her consort ships, which had been delayed and did not reach Yarmouth until the next afternoon, the eve of the final departure. It is almost incredible that, if *The Humble Request* had been carefully planned in advance, it should have lain all that time unsigned in the cabin of the *Arbella*, for there is no apparent reason why it should have been held until the last day of the unforeseen delay at Yarmouth, and then signed only by a few persons on a single ship.⁹

⁹ In the *Dictionary of National Biography* article on "John White," Miss C. Fell Smith says, "John Winthrop sailed in the *Arbella*, White holding a service on board before she sailed," and she adds, "he is credited with having drawn up *The Humble Request*." She gives no authority for her statement that White held a farewell service on board, and I know of no evidence that he came to Southampton or Cowes to bid farewell to the expedition. Miss Smith does not mention his farewell sermon to the Dorchester party sailing from Plymouth on the *Mary and John* on March 20, nor John Cotton's farewell sermon to Winthrop's party at Southampton. While there was ample time between March 20, and 29, for White to have travelled from Plymouth to Southampton, I suspect that Miss Smith has confused the two occasions, and that White did not make the journey. Professor S. E. Morison, in his essay on "Master John White" in *Builders of the Bay Colony* (1930) also assumes that White was the author of *The Humble Request*, and interprets that document as an attempt on White's part to commit the leaders of the Colony against Separatism. He does not, however, advance any fresh proof that his basic assumption is correct, nor does he explain why those leaders should

These circumstances, and the date itself, at least give rise to the question whether *The Humble Request* may not have been an eleventh-hour inspiration, conceived as a stroke of sound policy while they lay waiting at Yarmouth for a favorable wind. In that case it would, of course, have been drafted on board ship, as the subscription implies. Winthrop might have written it, but Phillips, as the only minister on board, would have been the person to whom the task of drafting the letter would naturally have fallen, though he might well have had the collaboration of others.

To the argument that Phillips could not write in so noble a style it is sufficient to reply that his four brief and unstudied letters which have survived in manuscript are no fair criterion of what he might have been able to do when he wrote out of a full heart and with a view to publication. The covenant of the Watertown Church, written less than four months later, which White certainly did not write, but which Phillips presumably did, is cast in a very similar vein. And if it be alleged that his advocacy of what was in effect the Congregational polity soon after landing here contradicts the expressions of devotion to the Church of England in *The Humble Request*, it may be answered that he certainly was in sufficient sympathy with the Church of England to be willing to *sign* the letter, and that his idea of the church, as stated in his treatise published after his death, is one which fits in perfectly both with his independent attitude shown here, and with the sentiments expressed in *The Humble Request*. He does not deny, as so many Separatists did, that the Church of England was a true church. His treatise gives no evidence of antipathy to it, nor indeed, that he considered himself as separated from it, save by distance, though he refused to accept what he deemed its corruptions. What little we know of his literary skill and of his opinions certainly makes it very unsafe to assert dogmatically that he could not have written *The*

have held on the *Arbella* until the latest possible moment a paper which he supposes White had drafted, at the very least ten days or a fortnight earlier, and had "induced them to sign." The question of the authorship of *The Humble Request* is important not simply as a matter of giving credit to White or another, but as throwing light on the attitude of the leaders of Winthrop's expedition towards the Church of England. If it was their own spontaneous expression it is much more significant than if it was a cautious manifesto prepared for them which they were persuaded to sign.

Humble Request. It may be granted that the point is a highly debatable one, but the supposition that Phillips drafted the letter at least solves the puzzle presented by the subscription.

The document is so nobly phrased, and so admirably sets forth the light in which these devoted people wished to be regarded, that, whether he drafted it or only signed it, it is well worth quoting, very nearly entire:

Reverend Fathers and Brethren:

The generall rumour of this solemne Enterprise, wherein our selves with others, through the providence of the Almighty, are ingaged, as it may spare us the labour of imparting our occasion unto you, so it gives us the more incouragement to strengthen our selves by the procurement of the prayers and blessings of the Lords faithful Servants: For which end wee are bold to have recourse unto you, as those whom *God* hath placed nearest his throne of Mercy; which as it affords you the more opportunitie, so it imposeth the greater bond upon you to intercede for his people in all their straights, we beseech you therefore by the mercies of the LORD JESVS to consider us as your Brethren, standing in very great need of your helpe, and earnestly imploring it. And howsoever your charitie may have met with some occasion of discouragement through the misreport of our intentions, or through the disaffection, or indiscretion, of some of us, or rather, amongst us; for wee are not of those that dream of perfection in this world; yet we desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals, and body of our company, as those who esteeme it our honour, to call the *Church of England*, from whence wee rise, our deare Mother, and cannot part from our native Country, where she specially resideth, without much sadnes of heart, and many teares in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as wee have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breasts: wee leave it not therfore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body shall always rejoyce in her good, and unfaindly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her, and while we have breath, syncerely desire and indeavour the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdome of CHRIST IESVS. . . . It is an usuall and laudable exercise of your charity to commend to the prayers of your Congregations the necessities and straights of your private neighbours; Doe the like for a Church springing out of your owne bowels. We conceive much hope that this remembrance of us, if it be frequent and fervent, will bee a

most prosperous gale in our sailes, and prouide such a passage and welcome for us, from the God of the whole earth, as both we which shall finde it, and your selves, with the rest of our friends, who shall heare of it, shall be much enlarged to bring in such daily returnes of Thanks-givings, as the specialties of his Providence and Goodnes may justly challenge at all our hands. You are not ignorant, that the Spirit of God stirred up the Apostle *Paul* to make continuall mention of the Church of *Philippi* (which was a Colonie from *Rome*) let the same Spirit, we beseech you, put you in mind, that are the Lords remembrancers, to pray for us without ceasing (who are a weake Colony from your selves) making continuall request for us to God in all your prayers.

What we intreat of you that are the Ministers of God, that we also crave at the hands of all the rest of our Brethren, that they would at no time forget us in their private solicitations at the throne of Grace.

If any there be, who through want of cleare intelligence of our course, or tendernesse of affection towards us, cannot conceive so well of our way as we could desire, we would intreat such not to despise us, nor to desert us in their prayers and affections, but to consider rather, that they are so much the more bound to expresse the bowels of their compassion towards us, remembring alwaies that both Nature and Grace, doth ever binde us to relieve and rescue with our utmost and speediest power, such as are deare unto us, when wee conceive them to be running uncomfortable hazards.

What goodnes you shall extend to us in this or any other Christian kindnesse, wee your Brethren in CHRIST IESVS shall labour to repay in what dutie wee are or shall be able to performe, promising so farre as GOD shall enable us to give him no rest on your behalves, wishing our heads and hearts may be as fountaines of teares for your everlasting welfare, when wee shall be in our poore Cottages in the wilderness, over-shadowed with the spirit of supplication, through the manifold necessities and tribulations which may not altogether unexpectedly, nor, we hope, unprofitably befall us. And so commending you to the grace of GOD in CHRIST, wee shall ever rest

Your assured Friends
and Brethren,

From *Yarmouth*
aboord the *Arbella*
April 7. 1630.

Io: Winthrope Gov.
Charles Fines.

George Philipps.
Etc.

Rich: Saltonstall.
Isaac Iohnson.

Tho: Dudley.
William Coddington
Etc.

With this moving farewell upon their lips, they weighed anchor. The voyage of the *Arbella* was slow, cold, and tedious, lasting seventy-six days. On April 27, Winthrop notes that they have set aside Tuesdays and Wednesdays for catechizing, and that "mr. Philips began it" on that day, and on Sunday, May 2, though it was rough and stormy, yet they "had opportunity to keepe the Sabbath, and mr. Philipps preached twice that daye."¹⁰ They landed at Salem on June 12. Soon afterwards Phillips' wife died, worn out by the hardships of the passage. Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia*, says:

Here, quickly after his Landing, he lost the *Desire of his Eyes*, in the Death of his *Desirable Consort*, who, though an only Child, had cheerfully left her *Parents* to serve the Lord Jesus Christ, with her Husband, in a Terrible Wilderness. At *Salem* she died, entering into the Everlasting Peace; and was very solemnly interr'd near the Right Honorable the Lady *Arabella*; the Sister of the Earl of *Lincoln*, who also took *New England* in her Way to Heaven.¹¹

Probably while still at Salem Phillips had some conversation with Samuel Fuller, the beloved physician from Plymouth, who had sailed over to Salem a year earlier to care for the sick, and who had seized the opportunity to expound the Plymouth church polity. Fuller came again in 1630, and wrote to Bradford on June 28, about his conference with the Massachusetts Bay leaders:

Here [he says] is come over, with these gentlemen, one Mr. Phillips (a Suffolk man) who hath told me in private, that if they will have him stand minister, by that calling which he received from the prelates in England, he will leave them.¹²

That sentence is capable of two opposing interpretations. At first sight it seems to mean that Phillips privately told Fuller that, if his associates regarded him as a minister by virtue of his ordination in the Church of England, he would

¹⁰ Winthrop spells the name two ways in the original text: "Philips" (Tuesday, April 27) and "Philipps" (Sunday, May 2). *Proceedings*, LXII. 340-341. Phillips, in his five extant signatures, sometimes writes "Phillips" and sometimes "Philips."

¹¹ *Magnalia* (1702), 82; (1853), I. 376-377.

¹² I *Collections*, III. 74.

depart from them, presumably to join the Separatists at Plymouth. That would have been an item of news which Fuller might have been glad to report to Bradford. If Phillips really meant that, he must have been well on his way to Separatism before he left England. But it is difficult to believe that he could have contemplated the possibility of so prompt a desertion of the enterprise, when the passage of his family had been paid for on the assumption that he was to take charge of a congregation here, and such an attitude is difficult to reconcile with the sentiments of *The Humble Request*. Recognizing this, Mr. G. F. Robinson¹³ of Watertown has suggested that Fuller is using the word "leave" in the sense of "to allow." Taken thus, Fuller's statement would mean that Phillips told him that, should his associates desire him to stand minister by virtue of his Episcopal ordination in England, he would allow it. There are two objections to this interpretation. The first is that there seems no particular reason why Fuller should report to Bradford so obvious an attitude on the part of Phillips. The second is the linguistic one that such a use of "leave" seems too colloquial and modern to be probable, although examples are to be found.

Nevertheless this interpretation is in accord with the subsequent developments. There is no other intimation whatever either that Phillips contemplated deserting the Massachusetts Bay Colony or that he was re-ordained when, a few weeks later, he became minister of the Watertown congregation. The argument from silence may be a precarious one, but his views on the ministry, set forth clearly in his posthumous pamphlet, to which further reference will presently be made, throw light on the situation. That pamphlet was, indeed, written thirteen years after his arrival here, but he came as a mature man of thirty-seven, and there is other evidence that his convictions were already formed. He writes, regarding the ministry:

The ordination of a Pope, or Prelate, the presentation of a Patron, etc. give not the Minister a calling, nor are necessary at all to make a man a Minister, . . . but the essentiall of a calling is

¹³ G. F. Robinson, *Great Little Watertown* (Watertown, 1930), 25.

from some other power, which is necessarily required to make the practise good and authentically.¹⁴

And again:

The maner of calling is not the Bishops ordination, etc. that makes it not a calling, but marres the goodnesse of it, addes nothing unto it, but derogates from the purity of it. But the people receiving a man, sent unto them in a corrupt way, and joyning with him to worship God, though here also with much corruption; and not exercising their power in refusing him (though they doe not explicitly exercise their power in chusing) . . . they doe virtually and really give him all the just calling that he hath, which is a true Ministeriall calling.¹⁵

Have we not in these sentences a reflection of his own experiences? He had come to believe that neither his Episcopal ordination nor his presentation to the living at Boxted, though customary forms, were essential to give validity to his ministry. His real call was that the people there had received him, though he had been sent to them "in a corrupt way," and they had not of their own volition chosen him. Thus, by his own theory, he had "true Ministeriall calling" at Boxted, and as minister to the ship's company on the *Arbella*, and at Watertown. Nor did his theory call for re-ordination.¹⁶ We may surmise that he disclosed his views to Fuller, but the reader must decide for himself what interpretation to put on Fuller's report of them to Bradford. One

¹⁴ George Philips, *A Reply to a Confutation of some grounds for Infants Baptisme: etc.* (London, 1645), 142.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

¹⁶ It is interesting to note the proceedings at Charlestown on Aug. 27, 1630, when Mr. Wilson was chosen teacher of the First Church in Boston. Winthrop writes (*History* I. 36-39.) "We, of the congregation, kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall, deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation, not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."

It is probable that Phillips was present on this occasion, and I think we may assume that a like action, similarly understood, was the only ceremony confirming him as minister of the Watertown congregation. It will be observed that the action of the Boston congregation in regard to Mr. Wilson is closely analogous to modern Congregational usage when a minister, previously ordained, is installed over another parish.

thing is clear, that Phillips found opportunity within the Massachusetts Bay Colony to put into practice his Congregational polity.

From Fuller's letter it is clear that it was at least the end of June before Phillips left Salem for Charlestown. Very soon afterward he joined Sir Richard Saltonstall in the settlement of Watertown, and after Saltonstall's departure not many months later, Phillips was the leading man of that town. Because the covenant of the Watertown Church is dated July 30, 1630, it has generally been assumed that the settlement was then already established on the banks of the Charles, as the result of an expedition up the river earlier in the month. Cotton Mather says, regarding the organization of the church:

they resolved that they would combine into a *Church-Fellowship* there, as their *first Work*; and build the *House* of God before they could build many *Houses* for themselves. . . . And indeed, Mr. *Philips*, being better acquainted with the True *Church-Discipline*, [he means the Congregational polity] than most of the Ministers that came with him into the Country, their Proceedings about the gathering and ordering of their *Church*, were *Methodical* enough, though not made in all things a *Pattern* for all the rest.¹⁷

This statement implies that the company of about forty men who signed the covenant had agreed upon a church organization before the settlement was actually made, and the implication is clearly corroborated in the letter which Samuel Fuller and Edward Winslow wrote from Salem on July 26. In it they report to Bradford that a letter just received from Charlestown announced that the people there have set apart

the sixth day (being Friday) of this present week . . . that they may humble themselves before God, and seek him in his ordinances; and that then also such godly persons that are amongst them and known each to other, publicly at the end of their exercise, make known their godly desire, and practice the same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in his ways; and since they are so disposed of in their outward estates, as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them, there [*i.e.* at Charlestown] to observe the day, and become three dis-

¹⁷ *Magnalia* (1702), 82; (1853), I. 377.

tinct bodies; not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers, or the admitting of any other into their society than a few, to wit, such as are well known unto them, promising after to receive in such, by confession, as shall appear to be fitly qualified for that estate.¹⁸

Fuller and Winslow conclude by saying that the Charlestown group desires that Plymouth join with them in also observing that Friday as a fast.

Now the Friday in question was the July 30 on which the first four members of what presently became the First Church in Boston signed their brief and simple covenant, and on which also the much longer and more elaborate covenant of the Watertown Church was signed. And the latter covenant has a clear reference to the proceedings outlined in the letter of Fuller and Winslow. It recites that the signers

have undertaken . . . a long and hazardous Voyage from *East to West*, from *Old England in Europe*, to *New-England in America*; that we may walk before him [God], and *serve him without Fear in Holiness and Righteousness, all the Days of our Lives*: And being safely arrived here, and thus far onwards peaceably preserved by his special *Providence*, that we may bring forth our Intentions into *Actions*, and perfect our *Resolutions*, in the Beginnings of some Just and Meet *Executions*; We have *separated* the *Day* above written [July 30] from all other Services, and *Dedicated* it wholly to the Lord in Divine Employments, for a Day of *Afflicting our Souls*, and humbling ourselves before the Lord, to seek *him*, and at his Hands, a Way to walk in, by *Fasting and Prayer*, that we *might know what was Good in his Sight*: . . .

For in the End of that Day, after the finishing of our publick Duties, we do all, before we depart, solemnly and with all our Hearts, *personally*, Man by Man, for ourselves and ours . . . promise, and *enter into a sure Covenant* with the Lord our God, and before him with one another, by *Oath* and serious *Protestation* made, to Renounce all *Idolatry* and *Superstition*, *Will-Worship*, all *Humane Traditions* and *Inventions* whatsoever, in the Worship of God; and forsaking all *Evil Ways*, do give ourselves wholly unto the Lord Jesus, to do him faithful Service, observing and keeping all his Statutes, Commands and Ordinances, in all Matters concerning our *Reformation*; his Worship, Administrations, Ministry, and Government; and in the Carriage of our selves among our selves, and one

¹⁸ I *Collections*, III. 75.

towards another, as he hath prescribed in his Holy *Word*. Further swearing to cleave unto *that* alone, and the true Sense and meaning thereof to the utmost of our Power, as unto the most clear *Light* and infallible *Rule*, and All-sufficient *Canon*, in all things that concern us in this our Way.¹⁹

That is an admirable statement of their purposes, not dissimilar in tone to *The Humble Request*, as already noted. It fits in perfectly with the plans made for the observance of the day at Charlestown. This statement might, indeed, have served for any or all of the three groups that had already agreed to live in "three distinct places" — namely Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown. As a matter of fact it was signed only by the Watertown group, and it seems a fair assumption that it was drafted for them by Phillips as their appointed minister, and signed at Charlestown before the Watertown settlement was actually begun.

Two other items bear out this conclusion. Captain Roger Clap, in his *Memoirs*, writing of the summer of 1630 at Charlestown, says:

But in the mean time, before they could build at *Boston*, they lived many of them in Tents and Wigwams at *Charlestown*; their *Meeting-Place* being abroad under a *Tree*; where I have heard Mr. *Wilson* and Mr. *Phillips* Preach many a good Sermon.²⁰

Since Phillips could hardly have reached Charlestown before July first, Clap could not have heard many sermons from him there had Phillips not remained in Charlestown most of the summer. The second item is Saltonstall's agreement on August 23 to build a house for Phillips at Watertown — clear proof that the house had not yet been begun. And on the same date it was ordered that Phillips' "maintenance" as minister of the Watertown church was to begin on September first.

The fact seems to be that the Watertown settlement was not foreseen or intended until Charlestown proved unsatisfactory on account of its inadequate water supply. It was that condition, and the prevailing illness, according to Prince, which

¹⁹ *Magnalia* (1702), 83; (1853), I. 377.

²⁰ *Memoirs of Roger Clap* (1844), 41-42; Alexander Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1846), 351.

led the new arrivals at Charlestown to send out exploring parties to search for better sites:

Some go without *Charlestown-Neck* and travel up *into the Main* till they came to a *Place well watered*: whether Sir R. Saltonstall with Mr. *Phillips* and several Others went and settled a Plantation, and call'd it WATERTOWN.²¹

If he correctly reported tradition, they did not go up the river by boat, but took the Indian trail from Charlestown Neck which ran along the line now followed by Washington Street in Somerville, Kirkland, Mason and Brattle Streets and Elmwood Avenue, in Cambridge, a matter of only four miles, until they came out on the river at what we now call Gerry's Landing. It was only a mile or two beyond this point that an exploring party from the Dorchester group had already planted a field of corn, intending to settle until they were recalled, and the Dorchester men may well have told Saltonstall about their expedition thither.

The site was a very eligible one for settlement. There were wide marshes and open meadows, backed by low, rounded hills for the most part free from forest, and the navigable river at that point swept close enough to high ground to afford an easy landing. It would have taken several weeks to build houses, and to send supplies up the river when wind and tide favored, and it may well have been late in the autumn before the settlement was actually occupied.²² Johnson, describing the place as "watered with many pleasant Springs, and small Rivulets, running like veines throughout her Body," adds, "this Towne began by occasion of Sir *Richard Saltingstall*, who at his arrivall, having some store of Cattell and servants, they wintered in those parts."²³

The settlement was made on the north bank of the river, between the place where the Stillman Infirmary now stands and the foot of Sparks Street, within the present limits of Cambridge. Saltonstall's lot ran back from the river (about

²¹ Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New-England* (Boston, 1736), I. Part II. 244; (Boston, 1826), 311.

²² This conclusion is also stated more briefly by G. F. Robinson in *Great Little Watertown*, 20.

²³ Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence* (W. F. Poole, Ed., Andover, Mass., 1867), 46.

on the line of Channing Street), and a house for Phillips was built a little farther up, on a triangular lot approximately the same as that now bounded by Mt. Auburn and Brattle Streets and Elmwood Avenue, the area of the Lowell estate of "Elmwood." The first rude meeting-house stood at the northeast corner of the lot, near the present junction of Brattle Street and Elmwood Avenue, and the house built for Phillips stood near the western corner of the lot. Presumably it was merely a cabin with thatched roof, and it is said to have burned down before the year was out.

The Massachusetts Bay Company was prompt and generous in providing for the ministry. In its early records in England, in the second list of necessities for the colony, the first item is "Ministers." And at "The first Court of Assistants, holden att Charlton, August 23th, Anno Domini. 1630." again the first item is as follows:

Imprimis, it was propounded howe the ministers should be mayntayned, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips onely propounded.

It was ordered, that houses should be built for them with convenient speede, att the publique charge. Sir Rich: Saltonstall vndertooke to see it done att his plantacion for Mr. Phillips. . . .

It was propounded what should be their present maynetenance.

Ordered, that Mr. Phillips should haue allowed him 3 hogsheads of meale, 1 hogshead of malte, 4 bushells of Indean corne, 1 bushell of oatemeale, halfe an hundred of salte fishe; for apparell, and other provisions, XXI, or els to have XLl giuen him in money per annum, to make his owne prouisions if hee chuse it the rather, the yeare to begin the first of September nexte. . . .

All this to be att the common charge, those of Mattapan and Salem onely exempted.²⁴

In addition he had various grants of land. One such grant, found in the *Records* under date of November 7, 1632, is delightfully vague in its boundaries:

Mr. Phillips hath 30 acres of land graunted him vpp Charles Ryver, on the south side, begininge att a creeke a lyttle higher than the first pynes, and soe vpwards towards the ware.²⁵

There were other grants as well, though their number and extent can not easily be determined, because, being tax exempt,

²⁴ *Records of Massachusetts* (1853), I. 73.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 102.

his holdings are not shown in the list of possessions compiled in 1642 for the purpose of making assessments. He did have, however, a grant of forty acres of the Beaver Brook plowlands in September, 1636. It was this lot, presumably, which was inherited by his children Samuel and Elizabeth, who sold their halves of it to Edward Garfield in 1649 and 1651, respectively. In the inventory of Garfield's property, 1672, this lot is described as "on the Little Plain, near Sudbury Road." It is the piece of land on which, more than a century ago, Christopher Gore built the stately mansion which is now owned by the Waltham Country Club.²⁶

After the burning of his first house Phillips either built or was given a new house, in which he presumably lived for the rest of his life, and which was probably occupied by his widow till her death. Neither the date when it was built nor the precise site are known, but it would seem to have been about a mile to the west, somewhere near the second meeting-house, which was built in 1635 and paid for by a tax of £80 laid upon the town. Bond and Drake both erroneously place the site of this second meeting-house on the corner of what are now known as Mt. Auburn and Arlington Streets, opposite the early burying-ground. Its actual situation, however, was about a quarter of a mile farther up the hill, now marked by an inscribed stone on Hillside Road between Rangeley and Upland Roads. Phillips was later granted a homestall more than a mile still farther to the westward, but it seems quite unlikely that he lived so far from the meeting-house. Drake is also in error in thinking that the old parsonage which he described as still standing in 1880, opposite the old burying ground, was built for Phillips. The town records show that it was erected for the Reverend John Bailey in 1686. And the legend which Drake repeats that Saltonstall imported the oak timbers for this house from England must be dismissed as romance.

Phillips was one earliest to be admitted freeman, his being the fourth name on the list of those who took the oath on May 18, 1631. His second wife was named Elizabeth,²⁷ but

²⁶ Henry Bond, *Genealogies of Watertown* (Boston, 1860), II. 1024.

²⁷ The date of this marriage is not known, but the oldest child was born on April 6, 1632.

her parentage has not been traced. She was probably the widow of Captain Robert Welden. She survived Phillips more than thirty-six years, dying January 27, 1681. They had several children, who have left numerous descendants, but the most distinguished of his posterity are those who have sprung from his oldest son, Samuel.

Phillips had a ministry of nearly fourteen years at Watertown. Those years, busy though they must have been with domestic and parish cares, were not without significant public incidents. The December following settlement at Watertown he and Richard Brown, the teaching elder of his congregation, stirred up an excitement by publicly declaring "that the churches of Rome were true churches." That seems to-day like an admissible opinion, but it ran counter to the strong prejudices of the Puritans, and the discussion grew so vehement that on July 21, 1631, the Governor (Winthrop), the Deputy-Governor (Dudley), Mr. Nowell, and the elders of the congregation at Boston, went to Watertown for an all-day debate "before many of both congregations." The opinion expressed by Phillips and Brown "by the approbation of all the assembly, except three, was concluded an error."²⁸ Presumably Phillips and Brown were two of the three! Considering the fact that there were then no Roman Catholic churches nearer than those of the French settlement at Acadia and the Spanish settlement in Florida, it strikes us as curious that the issue seemed important enough to warrant so much attention.

There is no evidence that Phillips withdrew from his position, or that he was questioned further in the matter. Presumably his standing and character were such that his unwonted liberality of view was tolerated. Richard Brown, the teaching elder, however, was a troublesome person, as appears from three more entries in Winthrop's *Journal* a few months later, as follows:

[November 23, 1631]

The congregation at Watertown (whereof Mr. George Phillips was pastor) had chosen one Richard Brown for their elder, before named, who, persisting in his opinion of the truth of the Romish church, and maintaining other errors withal, and being a man of

²⁸ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 70.

very violent spirit, the court wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren, to advise them to take into consideration, whether Mr. Brown were fit to be continued their elder or not; to which, after some weeks, they returned answer to this effect: That if we would take the pains to prove such things as were objected against him, they would endeavour to redress them.

[December 8, 1631]

The said congregation being much divided about their elder, both parties repaired to the governour for assistance, etc.; whereupon he went to Watertown, with the deputy governour and Mr. Nowell, and the congregation being assembled, the governour told them, that being come to settle peace, etc., they might proceed in three distinct respects: 1. As the magistrates, (their assistance being desired). 2. As members of a neighbouring congregation. 3. Upon the answer which we received of our letter, which did no way satisfy us. But the pastor, Mr. Phillips, desired us to sit with them as members of a neighbouring congregation only, whereto the governour, etc. consented.

Then the one side, which had first complained, were moved to open their grievances; which they did to this effect; That they could not communicate with their elder, being guilty of errors, both in judgment and conversation. After much debate of these things, at length they were reconciled, and agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so to have a solemn uniting; each party promising to reform what hath been amiss, etc.; and the pastor gave thanks to God, and the assembly brake up.²⁹

But a year later, in November, 1632, Winthrop records that

The congregation of Watertown discharged their elder, Richard Brown, of his office, for his unfitness in regard of his passion and distemper in speech, having been oft admonished and declared his repentance for it.³⁰

²⁹ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 81.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 113-114. Brown had been an officer in a Separatist church in London. It is only fair to add that he continued to live in Watertown and was a respected citizen. In 1634 he was sent as commissioner to settle the disagreements of the Watertown people who had migrated to Wethersfield, and in the same year and later he represented the town in the General Court. It was his "complaint to the assistants that caused them to write to England in disapproval of Endicott's act in cutting the cross from the king's colors, which he argued would be regarded in England as an act of rebellion that would draw down the royal displeasure upon the colony." Samuel A. Drake, *History of Middlesex County* (Boston, 1880), II. 449.

In this parish controversy there are two points to be noted: first, that Brown was not dismissed from his church office for his errors of opinion but for "his passion and distemper of speech"; and second, that Phillips was not willing to have Winthrop and Dudley sit on the case as magistrates, but only as friendly advisers from a neighboring congregation. In a word, Phillips was already an exponent of the right of a church to consider the case of its own teaching elder without outside interference.

He took the same position, viewed from another angle, when the church at Newtowne was gathered on February 5, 1636, and settled Thomas Shepard as its minister. The neighboring churches were invited "to send their elders and messengers [delegates] to assist; and all did so except Watertown, where Master Phillips insisted that every church was competent to act alone."³¹ The same theory of independent church rights was again strongly asserted at Watertown on December 9, 1640, when Winthrop reports:

The church of Watertown ordained Mr. Knolles [the Reverend John Knowles] a godly man and a prime scholar, pastor, and so they had now two pastors and no teacher, differing from the practice of the other churches, as also they did in their privacy, not giving notice thereof to the neighboring churches, nor to the magistrates, as the common practice was.³²

This action of the church, unsupported by a council from the other churches, was in accord with Phillips' theory of the ministry. It was, no doubt, with the tradition of these episodes in mind that Hubbard later wrote:

It is said that Mr. Phillips of Watertown was, at the first, more acquainted with the way of church discipline, since owned by Congregational churches; but being then without any to stand by him, (for wo to him that is alone,) he met with much opposition from some of the magistrates, till the time that Mr. Cotton came into the country, who, by his preaching and practice, did by degrees mould all their church administrations into the very same form which Mr. Phillips labored to have introduced into the churches before.³³

³¹ S. E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 112.

³² Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 21-22.

³³ Hubbard, *General History of New England*, 186.

Meanwhile an episode had occurred which caused Phillips to manifest his independence of spirit in civil matters. This was the famous tax episode of 1632. Although the Charter provided that the freemen should assemble annually and elect the Governor and assistants [magistrates], Winthrop and the assistants who had been elected in England in 1629 continued to hold the administration closely in their own hands. No doubt they reasoned that the Colony was not sufficiently settled to hold an election, and there seems to have been no opposition to their course until early in 1632, when they levied a tax of £8 on Watertown, as its share of the £60 ordered for the palisade to protect Newtowne [Cambridge]. Thereupon Phillips and Brown "assembled the people and delivered their opinions, that it was not safe to pay moneys after that sort, for fear of bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." For this, on February 17, 1632, they were summoned before the court in Boston:

after much debate, they acknowledged their fault, confessing freely, that they were in an error, and made a retraction and submission under their hands, and were enjoined to read it in the assembly the next Lord's day. The ground of their error was, for that they took this government to be no other but as of a mayor and aldermen, who have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people; but understanding that this government was rather in the nature of a parliament, and that no assistant could be chosen but by the freemen, who had power likewise to remove the assistants and put in others, and therefore at every general court (which was to be held once every year) they had free liberty to consider and propound anything concerning the same, and to declare their grievances, without being subject to question, or, etc., they were fully satisfied; and so their submission was accepted, and their offence pardoned.³⁴

Such is Winthrop's report of the episode, but probably Phillips viewed it somewhat differently. It may be doubted that he admitted the right of taxation without representation, but only that he had not understood the terms of the Charter. For Winthrop makes it clear that even a man so trusted and so close to him as was Phillips had not seen the Charter, and that the Governor and assistants were really governing *ultra*

³⁴ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 84.

vires because they had not yet permitted an election by the freemen in accordance with the provisions of the Charter. And one may surmise that when Phillips made his submission it was with the understanding that the freemen should be consulted in future, because less than three months later (May 8) at a court in Boston it was agreed that

Every town [should choose] two men to be at the next court, to advise with the governour and assistants about the raising of a public stock, so as what they should agree upon should bind all, etc.³⁵

To this protest by Phillips and Brown is rightly traced the beginning of representative government in Massachusetts, although the election of deputies was not instituted regularly until 1634. They were thus the first in this Colony to assert the principle of "no taxation without representation," though presumably they did not use that precise phrase.

Phillips' concern with civil affairs is also to be seen in his letter of March 29, 1636, to John Winthrop, Jr., who had been appointed governor of plantation at "Quinticuke," as Phillips spells Connecticut. It will be recalled that groups of people had before that date set out for the Connecticut Valley, those from Cambridge settling Hartford, those from Dorchester settling Windsor, and those from Watertown settling Wethersfield. Reports had come from these settlers of disorders and dissensions due to lack of an established government, and Phillips writes, with a courtesy which seems almost obsequious, but also with frankness, to urge young Winthrop to go to his post:

The summe is that you would be pleased to sett downe with that plantation begonne there by Watertowne. The necessity of it is, the weaknes of a company without a head cannot well sway and guide it selfe, but is subiect to many errors, distractions, confusions, and what not, which in our vndertakings in this part of the world, cannot but proue dangerous to the cause of religion, dismal to the common state, both in generall and particular, and disturbance, if not destruction, to the church estate. . . . Were I not conscious of mine owne weaknes, I shold be exceedingly importunate, if not impudent, in pressing my request in this case, but mine owne in-

³⁵ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 91.

firmity makes mee (though *litterae non erubescunt*) ashamed, and therefore to say little, but leaue this to your louing consideration and the blessing of God. All I will say is that you wold take this in good part, and beleeeue mee it proceedes from a free and sincere heart.³⁶

This letter shows sagacity and courtesy as well as independence of spirit.

That his willingness thus to act was not resented by those in authority is clear from his appointment as one of those to bring in a report on the proposed codification of laws for the Colony. At a General Court at Newtowne, held on May 6, 1635, it had been

agreed that some men should be appointed to frame a body of grounds of laws, in resemblance to a Magna Charta, which, being allowed by some of the ministers, and the general court, should be received for fundamental laws.³⁷

Nothing seems to have been accomplished at that time, nor again in May, 1636, when a number of men were "entreated to make a draught of laws agreeable to the word of God." At the General Court held on March 12, 1637/38, it was ordered that the freemen of every town should assemble "and collect the heads of such necessary and fundamentall lawes as may be suitable to the times and places whear God in his providence hath cast us." These lists of proposed subjects for legislation were to be submitted on June 5 to the Governor, to be considered by the standing council and a committee of eight persons, of whom Phillips was one, all of whom, save Bellingham, were ministers. The same persons were to consider complaints regarding wages and prices, which many persons thought were too high. The work went forward very slowly, though eventually it resulted in the "Body of Libertyes" of 1641, which is said to be the earliest compilation of law in the English-speaking world. The earlier of the two letters from Phillips to Governor Winthrop, preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society, deals with this matter. Winthrop had written asking Phillips for the notes which he had heard Phillips had gathered "concerning the body of lawes" intended. Phillips replies under date of January 13, 1639/40:

³⁶ 5 *Collections*, I. 123-124.

³⁷ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), I. 191.

I confesse I had done a little, as good as nothing, against the last generall court in September, and brought them downe with mee to a meeting of the Elders at Mr. Cotton's, thinking others had done the like, but none were produced but mine, which with much importunity (in regard of my backwardnes) they gott out of my handes and there I left them. And not thinking them worthy the looking after (beeing soe suddayne and vnpolished a transcript) I neuer enquired after them, nor know where they are.

After further apologies he signs himself "Yours in all obseruance and vn faynd loue."³⁸ We have no information as to what further part he took in the proposed legislation, but he clearly had some influence in the matter.

In the Antinomian Controversy, leading up to the trial and expulsion of Mistress Anne Hutchinson, he played but a small part. He was, however, present at her examination in Newtowne in November, 1637. He apparently took no part in questioning her, but testified to what was said at the interview which the ministers had had with Mrs. Hutchinson in Boston.

For my own part [he is reported as saying] I have had little to do in these things only at that time I was there and yet not being privy to the ground of that which our brother Peters had mentioned but they procuring me to go along with them . . . she said there was a great deal of difference between Mr. Cotton and we [*sic!*]. . . . Being asked of particulars she did instance in Mr. Shepherd that he did not preach a covenant of grace clearly, and she instanced our brother Weld. Then I asked her of myself (being she spake rashly of them all) because she never heard me at all. She likewise said that we were not able ministers of the new testament and her reason was because we were not sealed.³⁹

Phillips naturally shared the dislike of the other ministers at being told that they preached "a covenant of works" and were "not able ministers of the New Testament," but I think we may believe that the proceedings were distasteful to his peaceable and tolerant disposition.

Phillips must have been a member of the first Board of Overseers of Harvard College, in his capacity as minister

³⁸ 5 *Collections*, I, 124-125.

³⁹ C. F. Adams, Ed., *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638* (Boston, 1894), 248-249.

of the Watertown Church. Unfortunately the early records of the Board do not give the names of those attending the meetings, so that we have no means of knowing what part he may have taken in the opening days of the College. In view of his love of learning, his interest in the ministry, and of his nearness to the College — within easy walking distance — we are perhaps justified in the surmise that he was not indifferent to its welfare.

Phillips' second letter to Winthrop, dated April 24, 1640, deals with a matter of parish discipline. A youth named Smith married the daughter of his parishioner Hammond, but afterwards regretted his act and endeavored to put her away, alleging a previous misdemeanor on her part. Phillips cited *Deuteronomy* 22:13-20 to him, as covering his case, and referred the matter to the Governor. Winthrop notes on the letter that Smith confessed his fault before him and agreed with his wife's father upon a portion for her.⁴⁰

Two years later Phillips was one of the ministers invited to go to Virginia. Winthrop⁴¹ reports the arrival of letters from that colony asking that ministers be sent from New England. The letters were "openly read in Boston upon a lecture day," and the elders held a consultation, agreeing to ask three ministers to go, one from each of the three churches which had two ministers. Phillips was unwilling to make the change, but his associate Knowles went, and Mr. Thompson of Braintree. It is interesting to note that the next year a similar request came from the governor of Barbados to the governor of Massachusetts "earnestly desiring him to send them some godly ministers . . . that the island might be planted with men of better principles," but none were found willing to exchange Massachusetts for Barbados.⁴²

The closing episode of his life is introduced by the following passage in Winthrop's *Journal*:

[Mar. 5, 1643.] The churches held a different course [*i.e.* used various methods] in raising the ministers' maintenance. Some did it by way of taxation, which was very offensive to some. Amongst others, one Briscoe of Watertown . . . being grieved with that

⁴⁰ 5 *Collections*, I. 125-126.

⁴¹ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 93-94.

⁴² Hubbard, *General History of New England*, 346.

course in their town, the rather because himself and others, who were no members, were taxed, wrote a book against it, wherein, besides his arguments, which were naught, he cast reproach upon the elders and officers. This book he published underhand, which occasioned much stir in the town. At length, he and two more were convented before the court, where he acknowledged his fault in those reproachful speeches, and in publishing it, whereas it had been his duty to have acquainted the court or magistrates with his grievance etc. (but for the arguments in the point, there was nothing required of him,) and was fined 10 pounds for that, and some slighting of the court, and one of the publishers, 40 shillings.⁴³

The court record says "Mr. Nathaniel Briscoe for certeine mutinous speeches, and writings was fined 10 lb."⁴⁴ It is clear that Briscoe shared the views of the Anabaptists, whose two chief points of protest were the support of the churches by taxation and the validity of infant baptism, but it should be noted that he was not fined for his opinions, but for his manner of expressing them.

The two others "convented" before the court were one John Pescot [Prescott], who was dismissed with an admonition, and John Stowers, who belonged to the church in Watertown, and who, according to the court record "for reading to divers offensive passages (before company) out of a booke, against the Officers, and Church of Watertowne, and for making a disturbance there, was fined forty shillings."⁴⁵

Now Stowers appears not to have been a bad fellow, though indiscreet. In 1636-37, and again two years later, he had been one of the "11 freemen to order the civill affaires of the town for the year," — that is, a selectman. In his distress he appealed to his pastor for help, and Phillips wrote a frank and manly petition to the court on his behalf, the original of which is still in the State Archives.⁴⁶ It reads as follows:

To the Worshipful the Gouvernour and the rest of the honored
Court

Honoured and worshipful

Wheras John Stowers was hertofore by the honoured court fined for some miscarriage of his appearing to the court vpon his earnest

⁴³ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 112-113.

⁴⁴ *Records of the Court of Assistants* (Boston, 1904), II. 120.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 121.

⁴⁶ Archives, X. 200.

request I make bold to entreat this fauour for him at your handes, that whatsoeuer was layd vpon him in respect of that booke of Mr. Biscoes iustly censured then in the court may be remitted him, because he fetcht the booke at my request who sent him to Charles-towne for it where I heard it was, but it was returned to the Smith of our towne from thence againe. before from whom he brought it me and I by him returned it againe, aduising him to take witnes of his deliury of it to Prescod againe that he might be forced to find out the author if neede shold require The man hath beene a member with vs a long time and though he be not free from humane frailties yet I am perswaded he is free from all Ana-baptisticall opinions neither haue I euer obserued in him any carriage towards Gods ordinances but such as well becommeth his place Humbly crauing acceptance of my respect thus farre vnto him I shal not cease to pray for you and your affayres to God for his blessing to his glory and your owne honor and good account

Watertowne 9:8: — 43.

Yours in all due obseruance
GEORG: PHILIPS

On the back of this letter is a note "wee thinke this Peticon may be graunted vnles there may be more alleadged against him then wee knowe of." And on October 17 it is recorded, "Mr. Biscoe his petition [*sic*] is remmitted to 50 shs., and that to bee taken.

John Stowers fine of 40 shs. upon Mr. Philips his petition is remitted."⁴⁷

This ended the episode so far as John Stowers was concerned. Briscoe, however, had probably already started a train of events which was to cause further annoyance to Phillips. The only writings of George Phillips which have ever appeared in print were published in London, 1645, the year after his death, with a preface by Thomas Shepard of Cambridge. They include three little treatises, running to more than one hundred and fifty pages, printed as one pamphlet, with a very detailed title-page beginning:

A | REPLY | TO A | CONFUTATION | of some grounds for | In-
fants Baptisme: | AS ALSO, | Concerning the form of a Church, | put
forth against mee by one | Thomas Lamb. . . . By *George Philips*
of *Watertown* in *New England*.

⁴⁷ *Records of Massachusetts* (1853), II. 52.



To the Hon^{ble} the Governor and Officers of the Honoured
Court

209

Whereas John Stowers was heretofore by the Honoured Court
fined for some miscarriage of his appearing to the Court upon
his earnest request & make bold to entreat this favour for
him at your hands, that whatsoever was laid upon him in re-
spect of that booke of Mr. Bishop might be remitted him in
the Court may be remitted him, because he sent the booke
at my request who sent him to Charlestowne for it where
I heard it was, but it was returned to the Smith of our
towne from thence againe, before I saw whom he brought it
me and I by him returned it againe, desiring him to take wit-
nes of his delivery of it to Pyleod againe that he might
be forced to find out the author if neede should require
the man hath bene a member with us a long time & though
he be not free from humane frailties yet I am perswaded
he is free from all scandalous opinions neither have
I ever observed in him any carriage towards Gods ordina-
ces but such as well becommeth his place & humbly
craving acceptance of my respect shew forre unto him
I shall not reple to pray for you & your affaires to God
for his blessing in his glory & your own honor & good account

Wth Charlestowne 9: 8: 1643.

Yours in all due observance
Georg: Phillips

It is my desire that Stowers may be
granted publick liberty may be given
aloud & as often as you shall know of

MHS

Phillips' Letter of Intercession for John Stowers

Shepard's preface, after deploring divisions of opinion, says:

The Authour . . . of this Reply . . . well knowne in the gates of his people, and among the Churches of Christ in this Western world, for his learning, godlinesse, and peaceableness of disposition, cannot bee justly blamed as any Fire-brand of contention . . . nor would he have made any resistance, had he not been assaulted on that ground where himself with Gods truth, have had just and quiet possession so long.

In the introduction, addressed by "The Author to the Christian Reader," Phillips says:

If it were in my choyce, I would not trouble you with reading any thing of mine, being privie to mine own insufficiencie to doe any thing in this kind, that may bee worth your pains; yet . . . I cannot avoid it, being provoked by one who hath made himselfe my adversary without a cause.

After enumerating various types of opponents to religion, he goes on:

And last of all (not to go beyond mine own observation) there is a generation, who questioning all former practices (as they justly may) fall flatly to deny all ministry, and the use of it; Baptisme, the Lords Supper, etc. as but for a time, and not now required: speaking contemptibly of the Ministry, as Sorcerers and Magitians, and of all the ordinances of the Gospel, as shadowes, Idols, and not to be regarded, (*horrescens refero*).

Then he goes on to tell us how he came to write his treatise:

Having met with a Book, entituled, *A Confutation of Infants Baptisme*, or, an *Answer to a Treatise written by George Philips of Watertown in New England*, in defence of Infants Baptisme, etc. it put me into a kinde of wonderment, to see my name put forth in print, and as Author of a Treatise, who never writ any such Treatise, nor ever desired or intended the publication of any Discourse upon that, or any other subject . . . I never writ one word to him (being altogether unknown to me) nor to any other in *England* about this matter.

And he explains how it happened:

One *Nathaniel Biscoe* coming from *England*, and sitting down with us at *Watertown*, upon a time desired some conference with me, and

especially about these two things: The Churches constitution, and Infants Baptisme: I judging he did intend no more than he pretended (a private conference about those particulars for further light . . .) yeelded to his request, and in my chamber with him alone, agitated those two points. . . . he desired that I would pen down those arguments that had passed betwixt us.⁴⁸

Phillips did pen down his arguments, which Briscoe copied and surreptitiously sent to his Anabaptist friends in England, perhaps inviting one of them to write a refutation. Phillips complains that the author of the attack upon him

is not able to forbear my person and calling, as that I am not worthy the name of a Pastor, and it doth very ill agree to mee. . . . I freely acknowledge my self not worthy the name of a Pastor.⁴⁹

but he goes on to seventy-four pages of an involved debate about baptism.

Presumably this rather contemptible proceeding on the part of Briscoe preceded the court episode already recited, because there can not have been time for Lamb's attack to have been written, printed, and brought to New England, and for Phillips to have written his detailed *Reply* in the eight short months between the date that Briscoe was fined in court and Phillips' death. All our sympathies are with the modest and peaceable Phillips, yet we may be grateful that Briscoe called forth this pamphlet, because in the second and third parts Phillips briefly sets forth his idea of a church.

A Church becomes a Church, or a company of men and women become a Church, not by usurping the things of God of themselves, nor by imitating others in their Church practices, . . . but by Gods dispensation, and that performed by these two acts: First, on Gods part, sending the word of his grace, offering it unto a people, thereby opening their eyes and turning them from darknesse to light, . . . Secondly, from that act he produceth another . . . whereby such people takes hold on Gods offer, and taking him and his Christ to be theirs, and submitting themselves unto Christ, as their Lord and King, yeeld themselves up together in joynt and publike visible profession, according to his lawes and ordinances.

A church is such by "Gods dispensation," and

such a church or churches, so remain still true churches, so long as God continues his dispensation towards them, and no longer. . . .

⁴⁸ *Reply*, 1-2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5.

This church . . . may much degenerate, and be defiled, in their doctrine and government, desperately corrupted with error and sinfull practices . . . yet, till Christ . . . come himself, and unchurch them, they still abide churches of Christ, and are so to be acknowledged of all. . . . *Ergo*, there is a lawfull ministry there, and authentick administration [of the sacraments].

Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth "did not constitute new churches, but reformed the churches."

Such a church thus constituted is a true church, and a reall Ecclesiastical body, polity or corporation in it self, and so many companies as thus joyn together, are so many churches of equall power, rights, priviledges, and jurisdictions; nor is any one a mother church unto others, but all are sister churches: . . . they remain entirely equall among themselves, and all equally subordinate unto Jesus Christ. . . . It is the true being of a church that giveth being to the truth of ministry and ordinances, and not the ordinances that give being to a church.⁵⁰

And he goes on:

Every company, meeting in one place for worship successively from the first constitution, remained a true Church, though much corrupted. . . . The calling of Ministry in each church, though greatly corrupted, is essentially a true calling, as the church is essentially a true church, consisting of Saints fœderally though they be not such Saints as they should bee. . . . The maner of calling is not the Bishops ordination, etc. that makes it not a calling, but marres the goodnesse of it, addes nothing unto it, but derogates from the purity of it. But the people receiving a man, sent unto them in a corrupt way, and joyning with him to worship God, though here also with much corruption; and not exercising their power in refusing him (though they do not explicitly exercise their power in chusing) they do implicitly chuse him. I say, by these three acts of receiving, joyning with, and not refusing, they doe virtually and really give him all the just calling that he hath, which is a true Ministeriall calling, and so all the ordinances, administred by him there, which God hath prescribed, . . . are really Gods ordinances, and of divine authority, and validity.⁵¹

And again, elsewhere in the *Reply*:

The ordination of a Pope, or Prelate, the presentation of a Patron, etc. give not the Minister a calling, nor are necessary at all to make

⁵⁰ *Reply*, 142-147.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 153-154.

a man a Minister, they corrupt the calling and the purity of it, but the essentiall of a calling is from some other power, which is necessarily required to make the practise good and authentically.⁵²

Now we see why he was uncomfortable in his parish at Boxborough, yet was willing at least to subscribe to, if he did not actually write, *The Humble Request*; why it is possible to interpret in either way his statement to Samuel Fuller regarding the ordination he had received in England; why he maintained that "the churches of Rome were true churches"; why he would not allow Winthrop and the others from Boston to sit on Richard Brown's case in any other capacity than neighborly advisers; why the church at Watertown ordained John Knowles without a council and without notifying the magistrates. Phillips had formulated for himself a theory of pure Congregationalism, which he followed consistently. He and his church were the first in the colony to adopt a definitely Congregational polity. His *Reply* must have had considerable circulation here because of his reputation and that of Shepard. Cotton Mather knew of it, and the story of its origin, and says:

This Book was honourably received and mentioned, by the Eminent Assembly of *London-Ministers*; and a Preface full of Honour was thereto prefixed by the famous Mr. *Thomas Shepard*; notwithstanding the Difference between him and Mr. *Phillips*, upon one or two Points, whereabouts those two Learned Neighbours managed a Controversy with so much *Reason*, and yet Candor and Kindness, that if all *Theological Controversies*, had been so handled, we need not so much wish *Liberari ab Implacabilibus Theologorum Odiis*.⁵³

The liberality of Phillips' character, thus noted by Mather, is shown also in two further passages from the *Reply*, in which he is discussing the validity of infant baptism. In the first he says:

⁵² *Reply*, 142.

⁵³ *Magnalia* (1702), 84; (1853), I. 379. Johnson, in his *Wonder-Working Providence*, 46-47, also clearly refers to the *Reply* in his rough verses celebrating Phillips, who, he says,

"Cleer'd baptimes light from error broch'd by some.
As by thy worke in Print appeares this day,
Though thou thy days hast ended on this Earth,"

Only three or four copies of the *Reply* are now known to exist. Even Prince did not have a copy of it in his New England Library.

As I would have no man to yeeld to humane apprehensions without Gods Word; so, unlesse it can be proved from Scriptures, I desire I may have the same leave I give others, to reserve my faith for divine authority, to captivate my faith hereto.⁵⁴

And in the second he grants that "dipping" may be valid as "sprinkling" in baptism, though commonly less convenient.

Onely this I shall acknowledge, that I see not but dipping (*consideratis considerandis*) may be lawfull, nor can I say, that they that use it, doe worse then they that use it not. But that it is absolutely necessary, or the omission of it maketh baptisme null. That sprinkling is unlawfull, Antichristian, of humane invention, etc. . . . [that] I cannot yeeld. . . . I am well perswaded, that though dipping may be lawfull, yet sprinkling is not unlawfull, and question not but the ordinance administred by sprinkling, is as valid, as the administring of it by dipping.⁵⁵

These passages are clearly the writing of a man of tolerant spirit.

Bond rightly says of him:

It is evident, from the brief records of his life, that he brought with him less of the ecclesiastical leaven of the old world than the rest of his brethren, and that he and his people, especially Sir Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Richard Browne, entertained more enlightened views of civil and religious liberty, or had a more just appreciation of it, than then belonged to other planters of Massachusetts Bay. He was the earliest advocate of the Congregational order and discipline, in which he was, says Hubbard, deeply versed, and very skilful. His views were, for a time, regarded as novel, suspicious, and extreme; and he, with his ruling elder, Mr. Richard Browne, stood almost unaided and alone, until the arrival of Mr. John Cotton, in firmly maintaining what was, and still is, the Congregationalism of New England.⁵⁶

Phillips died at Watertown on July 1, 1644, before the publication of his *Reply*. Mather says:

He laboured under many Bodily Infirmities: But was especially liable unto the *Cholick*; the Extremity of one Fit whereof, was the *Wind* which carried him afore it, into the *Haven* of Eternal Rest.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ *Reply*, 137-138.

⁵⁶ Bond, *Genealogies of Watertown*, II. 873.

⁵⁵ *Reply*, 139-140.

⁵⁷ *Magnalia* (1702), 84; (1853), I. 379.

Perhaps we are warranted in diagnosing his malady as appendicitis. He was buried in the early graveyard at Watertown, but no stone marks the spot where he lies.

As he lay dying Phillips gave directions about the disposition of his property, which were taken down in the presence of witnesses. He gave to his wife "the Thirds of all mine estate. . . . The remainder to be divided amongst my Children. *Samuel* the Eldest to haue a double portion, and the rest to haue equally alike."⁵⁸ The inventory shows an estate of £553.02.09, of which "the study of bookes" came to £71.09.09. When his wife made her will, thirty years later, she left to Samuel "all the Latin, Greek and Hebrew books now in the house." Evidently Phillips had a good professional library, and there is ample testimony to his learning. On one of the pages in his *Reply* he quotes for authority chapter and verse in the Latin editions of Justin, Tertullian, Origen, Dionysius Areopagiticus, Cyprian, Cyril, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory Nazianzus, Ambrose, Athanasius, and the Apostolical Constitutions. Phillips is reported by Mather to have "*read over the whole Bible six times every Year: Nevertheless he did use to say, That every time he read the Bible, he observed or collected something, which he never did before.*"⁵⁹

It is not improbable that some of his books are still in existence in the hands of his descendants. The Harvard Library has a copy of Bullinger's *Hundred Sermons on the Apocalypse* of which Professor Kittredge has made an interesting note.⁶⁰ It had belonged to Adam Winthrop and then to Robert Feake, one of Phillips' parishioners, who evidently loaned it to Phillips but never reclaimed it. Phillips, however, wrote in it, "This is Mr. Feake his booke, 1634, G.P." And the Massachusetts Historical Society has a manuscript volume bound in vellum, given to it many years ago as having been his property. It was then listed in the library as a "Latin Theological Treatise." It is rather a note-book, crammed with memoranda in Greek, Latin, and English, such as a preacher might put down. It is more than one hand, but the writing of the greater part certainly resembles that of Phillips.

⁵⁸ *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* III. 78; VIII. 55-56.

⁵⁹ *Magnalia* (1702), 83; (1853), I. 378.

⁶⁰ *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XXVII.

One entry may serve as a sample. "God did not decree that we should not fulfill the law, or that any should sin for we have his will revealed that we should kepe it."

Such was the first minister of Watertown. Johnson says of him that he was "mighty in the Scriptures, and very dilligent to search out the minde of Christ therein."⁶¹ Bond says that he was "independent and conscientious in forming and maintaining his opinions. He had repeated theological controversies, in which he was characterized by candor and Christian urbanity."⁶² Winthrop, noting his death, says he was "a godly man, specially gifted, and very peaceful in his place, much lamented of his own people and others."⁶³ It is clear that he was learned but modest, courageous, and courteous, independent in spirit but peaceable and tolerant; a worthy representative of the Puritan ministers who came to this colony to mould its thought and character through its early years.⁶⁴

Remarks on the paper were made by EDWIN D. MEAD and STEPHEN W. PHILLIPS.

Mr. W. CAMERON FORBES presented photostat copies of parchment indentures between Wait Winthrop and Caleb Ray, housewright, and Joseph Fuller, shipwright, both of Boston, leasing a part of the island of Naushon, called there "Tarpolin Cove Island."

Mr. GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS communicated copies of letters from his collection of letters of the Presidents of the United States:

⁶¹ Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence* (1867), 46.

⁶² Bond, *Genealogies of Watertown*, II. 873.

⁶³ Winthrop, *History of New England* (1853), II. 209.

⁶⁴ One of the books from the library of Phillips, a folio edition of John Calvin's *Opera Omnia* (Geneva, 1617) with Phillips's autograph and the date 1630 on the title, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society. Mr. Robert W. G. Vail, the Librarian, owns the original document containing the directions which Phillips gave for the disposition of his property.

STATE OF NEW YORK
QUARTERMASTER GENERAL'S DEPARTMENT

New York August 15, 1862

BRIGADIER-GENERAL THOMAS HILLHOUSE
ADJUTANT-GENERAL
ALBANY
N. Y.

GENERAL.

Mr. Coles left with me to hand to you in Albany, the letter of *Col. Mansfield Davies 7th Cavalry*, nominating and recommending *Butler Coles* as quartermaster in place of Vallance promoted — I have lost or mislaid it — I have no doubt it will be found but I trust, General, that the appointment of Mr Coles will not be delayed a moment on account of MY carelessness. I am General

Very respectfully Your Obedient Servant

C A ARTHUR

QUARTERMASTER GENERAL

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

January 11, 1877

H. STEELE

DEAR FRIEND,

Your second letter came duly to hand — I find on examination, that the Collector of the Port of Cleveland receives a salary of \$2500 and has a force of 12 or 15 clerks and deputies under him. That position would be much more desirable than the other, to which I supposed you referred in your first letter — Let us keep the subject in in [*sic*] mind, and if the appointment can be secured, you may be sure I shall do all I can to bring it about —

I am very much gratified at what you say of my standing in the District. My position as leader of our party in the House is a very difficult one — for every form of troublesome question that arises comes upon me — I am sure the people cannot appreciate how great the tangle is in which the Presidential question is involved — the Democrats are very fierce and determined — but if the Senate stand firm, I have no fear of the result. Our policy is to be patient, cautious, and firm — Allow no intemperate or threatening language on our side, and [*strike*] rebuke the Democrats whenever they talk of violence —

As Ever Your Friend

J. A. GARFIELD

HORACE STEELE
Painesville, O.

COLONEL NORTON —

MY DEAR SIR —

Yours of the 22nd January and the accompanying papers came duly to hand. I am very glad to hear of your success in establishing yourself in so beautiful a locality in Paris and that you are taking so lively an interest in American Finance. It will give me great pleasure to recommend all my friends who should visit Europe to transact their business through your House. We have long needed a young enterprising live American by whom our travellers might be induced to Europe. I am glad to tell that our Financial prospects are brightening every day though we have greatly reduced taxation within the last two years, our Revenues will exceed our Expenditures during the current year by not less than \$50,000,000. This will enable us to make a steady reduction of our debt and of course will steadily appreciate the value of our credit and securities. There is a steady growth of healthy sentiment on financial subjects. The discussions on the Stump and by the Press during the Presidential Campaign were of great value. The people were everywhere instructed and the national conscience enlightened by that instruction has made a response in favor of national honesty which is worthy of the Republic.

I have not yet seen your Report on the Materiel of War but will try to get it as soon as possible. You were kind enough to say when I saw you in Paris that, I might ask you to send me any books I should need. There are pamphlets on financial subjects frequently issued from the French Press which would be of great value to us — I have read one by M. [Norn?] entitled *Le Bilan de L'Empire* which is very valuable and I have made a translation of it. I wish you would pick up any such books you may think valuable and send them to me with the bill and I am now Chairman of a Committee to report a law for taking the next Census. If you find anything in small compass on the Science of Statistics please send it to me, also something brief on the French Army. Mrs. Garfield joins me in Kind regards to Mrs Norton and yourself —

Very Truly Yours —

J. A. GARFIELD

COLONEL CHARLES B. NORTON

6 Rue Scribe

Grand Hotel Paris France

B. HARRISON

C. C. HINES

W. H. H. MILLER

LAW OFFICE OF
HARRISON, HINES & MILLER

NO. 3, 4 & 6 WRIGHTS BLOCK, MARKET ST.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA
January 3, 1884

HON GEO F. EDMUNDS
U. S. SENATE

Dear Senator, I am a necessary guest at the marriage of my son in Omaha on the ninth instant and must be absent from my seat in the Senate for a little more than a week after the re-assembling.

I wanted to ask you to have the nomination of Judge Woods to be U. S. District Judge for this District reported favorably and confirmed as soon after the Senate meets as is convenient.

I have supposed that the Danville resolutions might come in soon after the recess and would have been glad to be there to see the fun. But as you have more than once said to me in substance, the family was before the Senate.

Sincerely Yours

BENJ[AMIN] HARRISON

EXECUTIVE MANSION

ALBANY

OCTOBER 22 — 1884

MR HEMAN W. CHAPLIN

DEAR SIR:

Will you and Mr. Leveret dine with me quite informally, at the Executive Mansion at six o'clock this evening?

My two Buffalo friends will complete the party.

Very truly Yours
GROVER CLEVELAND

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 12, 1930, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

The record of the May meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Virginia Stockwell, of Boston, a "breeches" Bible, printed by Robert Barker, London, 1616, which descended to her from her ancestor, Timothy Tileston, who owned the book in 1754, and who received it from his grandmother, Elizabeth Rand, formerly the wife of Nathaniel Leeds, and daughter of Timothy Foster, of Dorchester, the first owner of the volume. It contains his family record, and that of Mr. Tileston (1728-1819), as well as the child-like autograph of Elizabeth Foster, 1694, in printed letters.

From Mrs. Sarah Noyes Hardy, of Morrisville, Vt., through Mrs. G. F. Burnap, of Waterbury, Conn., maps and plans of Coventry, Hyde Park, Newport, Sterling, and Wolcott, Vt., 1810 to 1828, and a manuscript relating to Bennington, 1790.

From Miss Susan E. Smith, some papers, 1804-1881, of her grandfather, Edmund Munroe, of Boston and Cambridge, and his book of school examples, February 10, 1794.

From Miss Florence A. G. Davidson, of Southsea, Hants, England, through the Museum of Fine Arts, a contemporary scrap-book of poems relating to our Civil War.

From the daughters of the late Edward W. Hooper, on deposit, through Roger S. Warner, four log-books kept on voyages between Boston and the "North-West coast of America," the Sandwich Islands, and China, 1798 to 1816. The two earliest, August 16, 1798, to May, 1799, were kept by William Sturgis, their great-grandfather, who added an account of his experiences in 1799 when his ship, the *Eliza*, James Rowan, Commander, stopped at points along the coast toward Russian America (Alaska), noting the latitude and longitude of various places visited, giving a tally of furs bought, and a short list of native words in "Caiganee" and "Sheetkah," and their equivalents in English. The other two volumes, kept from September 2, 1804, include the Sandwich Is-

lands and China, on the ship *Pearl*, John Ebbets, Commander, to January 9, 1808, then under John Suter, Commander, October 1, 1811, to October 15, 1816, and under him on the ship *Atahualpa*, also on the ships *Mercurio*, and *Behring*, and the *Isabella*, Captain Tyler; also three manuscript lectures, prepared by Mr. Sturgis, dealing with his voyages.

By purchase, a deed of Adam "Wintropp," father of Governor John Winthrop, to Philip Gostling, of Groton, England, July 10, 1585.

From HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, a photostat copy of the commission given to Lemuel Hayward by the Congress of the Colony of the Massachusetts-Bay as surgeon of the Hospital established at Roxbury, "for the sick and wounded of the Colony Army," dated June 30, 1775.

From THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, his map of the Battle of Bunker Hill issued by the Bunker Hill Monument Association as its contribution to the celebration of the Tercentenary.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Mr. and Mrs. John Livingston Grandin, of Boston, a linen handkerchief, 21½ by 19½ inches, commemorating the death of George Washington on December 15, 1799, with a printed death-bed scene in the centre surrounded by various legends printed on the cloth; also one of the numerous facsimiles of the *Ulster County Gazette*, January 4, 1800, on Washington's death.

From Miss Susan E. Smith, donor of the Edmund Munroe Papers, an engraved sheet by the New England Bank Note Company of Boston, perhaps as early as the 1840's of four bills, two \$1, a \$3, and a \$5, issued by the Munroe Falls Manufacturing Company, Ohio, and secured by real estate, capital \$100,000, and signed by Edmund Munroe, President, and the name cancelled in ink.

From S. W. Jackson, of New York City, a reproduction of the ticket to the ball in honor of General Lafayette, given at Orange Spring, October 19, 1824.

From GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, a bronze souvenir of the Tercentenary, and a bronze medal of the American Medical Association, Boston, 1906; also an engraving of John P. Healy, for many years City Solicitor of Boston.

From the Whitehead-Hoag Company, the Tercentenary medal of the town of Winthrop, of the Roslindale Pageant, June 5-6, 1930, and of the Massachusetts Bay Tercentenary, and button of the Tercentenary of Beverly, June 16-18, 1930.

From Harvard College Library, a photostat negative of an en-





ELSON C. 24

Powrall

1722 - 1805

graving of the "Université de Cambridge près Baston," by Chavannes, after a drawing by Fleury, from which the view cut on the case of the gold watch, recently bought by the Society, was probably taken.

From the estate of the late Major Frank H. Briggs, the chair in which the Prince of Wales, afterward Edward VII, sat at the Children's Festival in old Music Hall, Winter Street, in 1860.

From Mrs. Lorin F. Deland, the death mask of Bishop Phillips Brooks, by Truman H. Bartlett, to accompany the matrix previously given by her and reported at the March meeting.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that letters had been received from Professor JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, 3rd., accepting Resident Membership and from Professor WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON accepting Corresponding Membership.

The Chair announced that Volume 62 of the Society's *Proceedings* had been published and was now being distributed to members.

WILLIAM OTIS SAWTELLE read a paper on

THOMAS POWNALL COLONIAL GOVERNOR
AND SOME OF HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES

INTRODUCTION

The "Critical Period" of American history is usually considered to extend from the termination of the War of Independence to the time of adoption of the Federal Constitution. To limit such a period to the United States alone is not sufficiently comprehensive. From the colonial point of view the most critical period of North American history was ushered in when a youthful Virginian was selected by Governor Robert Dinwiddie in October, 1753, to warn the French away from the newly-established posts in western Pennsylvania. It was brought to a close when the Marquis de Vaudreuil surrendered to General Jeffery Amherst at Montreal in 1760.

In the same month of October, 1753, when the Governor of Virginia ordered George Washington to deliver an ultimatum to the French on the Ohio, a young man but ten or twelve years Washington's senior, arrived at New York. He was Thomas Pownall, secretary to the newly-appointed Gov-

ernor Sir Danvers Osborne; he was also an unofficial observer of the British Board of Trade, in the office of which he had been employed since receiving his degree, about ten years before, from Trinity College, Cambridge.

Pownall's stay in America exactly coincides with the critical period which begins with a shot fired on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, forcing the hands of statesmen in London and Paris, and ends with the British arms triumphant, forcing France from a continent upon which she had maintained a foothold since the year 1604.

It is no exaggeration to say that Pownall was the pivotal point, during his seven years' stay in the colonies, about which revolved civil and military affairs of gravest importance and concern. He was the first Englishman of education and understanding to visit America for the express purpose of studying her economic and political conditions.

His official connection with the Board of Trade, of which his elder brother, John Pownall, was secretary, and his patron, George Dunk, Earl of Halifax, was president, enabled Thomas Pownall to obtain first-hand knowledge in England of the difficulties which confronted a colonial administration. Another powerful patron was the Duke of Cumberland, of whom it has been said that whatever his limitations as a commander, and whatever his faults as a man, he was a keen military reformer.

In America Pownall was given opportunities to glean a clear understanding, also at first hand, of conditions in the various provinces. He served on important commissions; he attended the Albany Convention; he was present at the conference at Alexandria with General Braddock; he served as Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey, and Governor of Massachusetts. He was recommended for Governor of Pennsylvania, an office which did not interest him, and though appointed Governor of South Carolina, he never assumed the office, but returned to England, where he was later elected to Parliament. Here his voice was raised in behalf of the colonies, but his repeated warnings and urgent pleas for conciliation fell on very deaf ears.

In America Pownall made many friends, among whom were Benjamin Franklin, Sir William Johnson, James De Lancey,

and James Bowdoin. Like some other men of parts he had the faculty of making enemies. Friends of Governor Shirley, whom Pownall succeeded in Massachusetts, were bitterly antagonistic. The vituperative abuse heaped upon him in a pamphlet by William Livingston, whose one end and aim seems to have been an attempted vindication of Shirley's military record, fairly bristles with invectives. There was no love lost between Pownall and Hutchinson — as numerous entries in the latter's diary testify. He was lampooned and ridiculed.

The frank manners and liberal politics of Thomas Pownall were a bit too free to suit New England standards. Even his personal appearance in the council chamber came in for adverse criticism, for he offended by wearing a scratch wig, a short jacket, and by carrying a light stick. To some of the stern Puritan type he was just "that fribble." But of "that fribble" Charles Sumner could say: "Clearly Pownall was not understood in his time; but it is evident that he understood our country as few Englishmen since have been able to understand it."

Before relating some of the activities of Thomas Pownall during his seven years' stay in the English American colonies, a few references to the actual conditions which confronted him upon his arrival ought to be noted. In a pamphlet of the day there is given a summary of the situation, which tells much in few words. Of the several colonies it is said:

. . . Jealous are they of each other — some ill-constituted — others shaken with intestine divisions — and if I may be allowed the expression, parsimonious even to prodigality. Our assemblies are diffident of their governors — governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other at the Court of Great Britain. Military measures demand secrecy and dispatch, but while the colonies remain undivided, and nothing can be transacted but with their universal assent, 'tis impossible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other . . . we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common interest, and must have a common council, *one head, and one purse*.¹

¹ *A Review of the Military Operations in North-America, from the commencement of the French Hostilities, on the Frontiers of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756 etc.* (London, 1757), 142. The American Edition adds: "New-England, Re-printed, in the Year.

The remarkable thing about such a seemingly hopeless situation, contrasted with the solidarity of the enemy, New France, is that even a semblance of a fighting machine could emerge therefrom. But, as Colonel Wood has said:

Pitt, overcoming the many delays caused by the obstinacy of red tape officialdom, at length found his opportunity, and, using Pownall as a sort of Intelligence Department, adapted the plan of campaign for 1759 to actual American conditions.²

The ultimate result was that the original scheme of old Peter Schuyler "was at last successfully taken in hand by De Lancey, formulated by Pownall, vindicated by the statesmanship of Pitt, and confirmed by the splendid victory of Sanders and Wolfe."

A recent American writer³ speaks of Pownall as a "man of daring intelligence, now seldom heard of and yet the keenest political Englishman in America." It is true that the name of Thomas Pownall is but little known in Canada and in the States. The part he played in American affairs during a most critical period in the history of what was ultimately to be the United States and the Dominion of Canada is rarely appreciated — in fact, scarcely sensed.

Documents relating to Pownall are to be found in the colonial archives of Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. To these the Reverend C. A. W. Pownall⁴ did not have access when he wrote a book about his kinsman. Therefore, it will be of interest to examine some of this material in the hope that a better acquaintance may be formed with an English gentleman and a scholar, using the phrase in its ancient meaning, of whom John Adams said, "Pownall was the most constitutional and national Governor, in my opinion, who ever represented the crown in this province."⁵

1758"; see 97. This pamphlet was reprinted in 1801, in I *Collections* vii. 67-163; see 161-62. The copy of this rare pamphlet which I have used is in the Gilpin Collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The author probably was William Livingston. It will be referred to as *Military Operations*.

² Colonel William Wood, *The Fight for Canada* (Boston, 1906), 45.

³ Arthur Pound, *Johnson of the Mohawks* (New York, 1930), 167.

⁴ C. A. W. Pownall, *Thomas Pownall, M. P.* (London, 1908).

⁵ Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *The Life and Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), x. 243.

POWNALL ATTENDS THE ALBANY CONVENTION

Soon after Thomas Pownall's arrival in New York as secretary to Sir Danvers Osborne, he was obliged to transmit the sad intelligence of the Governor's suicide. This he did in a communication to the Board of Trade⁶ under date of October 30, 1753, and sent to England by Captain Lloyd of the ship *Arundel*. Sir Danvers, brother-in-law of the Earl of Halifax, had become so melancholy after the death of his wife that his relatives decided that an entire change of scene and occupation might restore his health. Hence his appointment to America, which proved so tragic and threw considerable responsibility upon his secretary.

Pownall refused to deliver Osborne's instructions to the New York Council; as he explained, in the letter sent by the *Arundel*, the Council was "not required to put them in execution and would therefore not be at all answerable for their execution." That Pownall was cautious in a situation brought about by Osborne's death, is shown by the disposition made of certain documents relating to colonial trade. These instructions, he wrote,

I have sealed up and put into the Custody of Mr. Murry under my Seal. I do not know whether there are any Instructions of a more private import, if there were I have not met with them, but suspect they are some way or other destroyed, as His Excellency burnt almost all his papers the night before his death. If there do prove to be any such that ought not to be delivered up Your Lordships may depend upon me that they shall not — .

Of the political factions then in New York a passing mention should be made, because Pownall was soon to become involved with them. The Livingstons headed the Dutch congregation and De Lancey was the leader of the Episcopalians and was prominent in the Legislature. Governor William Shirley, of Massachusetts, holder of a high military command, was obnoxious to the De Lancey faction in New York, a faction which was soon to include Thomas Pownall as well as Sir William Johnson. It is interesting to note that here

⁶ MS. Collections, New York Historical Society, v. 802.

were the germs of the Tory and Whig parties of the Revolution.

As is well known, the first Provincial Congress convened at Albany in 1754. The purpose of this assembly, known as the Albany Convention, was the discussion of Indian affairs and the proposed union of New England with the southern colonies. Thomas Pownall was present as unofficial observer for the Board of Trade and there submitted a plan of union which brought him to the immediate attention of Benjamin Franklin, delegate from Pennsylvania, who also had a plan. The meeting of Franklin and Pownall developed into a life-long friendship. The Albany Convention is history; the plan of union fell through because it was too autocratic for the colonies and too democratic for the British Board of Trade. But an incident there occurred which involved Pownall's integrity and is set forth in a pamphlet of the time. William Livingston is supposed to be the author of this pamphlet — if not the actual author, he was, at least, the instigator. The pamphlet contains a "Character of Mr. Thomas Pownal" [*sic*]:

. . . Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, he can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. . . . He has acquired some knowledge of American affairs; but so keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement . . . so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur as to lose all patience in earning it . . . wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others . . . a remarkable instance of which I shall give your Lordship in the following anecdote.⁷

The writer then tells how a scheme for a naval armament on Lake Ontario had been projected some time previously and was now recommended to the Albany Convention but "by some means or other happened to be hinted without-doors. . . . [Mr. Pownall] drew up some loose indigested proposals with respect to American affairs . . . he urged this scheme as a new unthought-of measure, absolutely necessary to secure the command, and preserve the furr trade of those inland

⁷ *Military Operations* (London, 1757), 30; (New England, 1758), 25; *I Collections* VII. 87.

seas." The proposals under discussion had been submitted to the convention by Lieutenant-Governor Clark of New York. The author of the above quotation would have it that Pownall was eavesdropping and surreptitiously made use of another's scheme as his own.

But Livingston, or William Smith, or whoever wrote the pamphlet, reckoned without the Massachusetts commissioners who attended the Albany Convention. They have left a document to the effect that

we well remember the Proposals in Writing were offered to the Board by the Lieut: Governor of N. York which he acquainted the Board he had receiv'd from Mr. Pownall who was then at Albany, that the said Proposals were judged by the Board to be of such Importance as to deserve the Thanks of the Board, which were accordingly voted to be given him. [The Massachusetts commissioners then conclude:] That we do not remember to have heard it suggested either at said Congress, where the said Lieut: Governor and some of the Council of N. York were present, nor at any time since, except from the above recited Paragraph, that Mr. Pownall had borrowed the said Scheme from any person or persons whatsoever.⁸

One direct result of the Albany Convention was the formulation of a plan for a confederated attack upon Crown Point. Representations were also made to the Ministry in regard to the dangerous situation of the Colonies from a military standpoint, and the absolute necessity of powerful assistance from Great Britain was stressed. Massachusetts seemed to be the only province which sensed the terrible reality of the French menace, for she had learned her lesson in previous wars. Yet there were men in the southern provinces who thought they saw in the contemplated military activity nothing but an attempt on the part of the governments to protect the interests of the newly-organized Ohio Company.

When the General Court of Massachusetts convened, it was sworn to secrecy as Governor Shirley outlined the plans of the campaign to be undertaken in the Spring. The military

⁸ *Proceedings*, XLIV. 687: "Savage Papers." The date of the document is Boston, February 4, 1760. The Massachusetts commissioners were Samuel Welles, Thomas Hutchinson, John Chandler, Oliver Partridge, and John Worthington.

schemes were approved in Council and commissioners were chosen to visit the various provinces to solicit their concurrence and aid. Pownall was then in Boston, planning to sail soon for England; but as Shirley desired that he and Josiah Quincy should undertake this mission, he soon went to New York, there to solicit help and explain the seriousness of the situation that confronted all of the provinces. Pownall's prospects of securing coöperation in New York were not encouraging at first. Details are unnecessary, but finally the legislature concurred, and Pownall was free to visit New Jersey and Pennsylvania on a similar errand.

In April, 1755, soon after the arrival of General Edward Braddock and his troops at Alexandria, Virginia, the famous conference of provincial governors took place at the Carlisle house, which is still standing. Pownall was present at this meeting and there came into close contact with the leading men of the colonies, who laid military plans which called for Braddock's attack on Fort Duquesne, Shirley's expedition against Niagara, Johnson's movement against Crown Point, and Winslow's operations against Acadia. It will be recalled that all these plans, with the exception of the Acadian enterprise, miscarried. That Pownall was treated with deference at Alexandria is evident from a letter dated March 10, 1756, which Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent to John Pownall in London. After expressing felicitations to the Secretary of the Board of Trade, Dinwiddie hopes that "your Brother" [has arrived safely in England,] "to whom pray Present my kind Respects. I saw him at Alexandria, so great a Distance from Home that I had not the Opportunity of shewing him the respect due."⁹

POWNALL RECEIVES AN OFFICIAL APPOINTMENT

Rumors of Pownall's appointment to an official position in America were current in London in February of 1755, for on May 1, of that year the *Pennsylvania Gazette* published

⁹ *Virginia Historical Collections*, iv. New Series: R. A. Brock, Ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie* (Richmond, 1884), II. 376-377. Further reference to Pownall's visit to England, mentioned by Dinwiddie, will be made later.

an item to the effect that in a "London letter to a gentleman in New York" it was stated: "We hear that His Majesty has been pleased to appoint — Pownall Esq. Secretary to the late Sir Danvers Osborne deceased, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Jersey."

It is evident that the gentleman in New York was a bit premature. He had reported what was merely a rumor of Pownall's appointment to New Jersey. It was not until late in April that the Lords of Trade and Plantations petitioned King George as follows:

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

Jonathan Belcher Esquire Governor of Your Majesty's Province of New Jersey being very Old and infirm, and there being no Person upon the Spot appointed by your Majesty to be Lieutenant Governor of that Province, or any Person properly qualified to take the Administration of the Government in case of the Death of your Majesty's said Governor, we humbly beg leave to propose that Thomas Pownall Esquire may be appointed Lieutenant Governor of your Majesty's said Province of New Jersey, he appearing to Us to be a person every way qualified to serve your Majesty in that Station.

Which is most humbly submitted.

DUNK HALIFAX

FRA: FANE

J: PITT

R: EDGCUMBE

J: GRENVILLE

JA: OSWALD

WHITEHALL April 22nd. 1755.¹⁰

Pownall's task was difficult, but he was not the type of man to be discouraged in the face of disaster. That he could inspire confidence in others and spur them to action is shown by an extract from one of Governor Belcher's letters to him dated July 21, 1755. Braddock's defeat had been a staggering blow, details and comments in reference to which Pownall had sent to the Governor from Philadelphia. Belcher replies:

The first Account of General Braddocks defeat *etc.* was very shocking but what you write me alleviates and in Part dissipates

¹⁰ *Archives of the State of New Jersey, First Series*: William A. Whithead, Ed., *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New Jersey* (Newark, 1885), VIII. Part II. 102.

the Gloomy Prospect which came by the first Account. . . . I have ordered the Assembly of this Province to meet me next Week when I shall earnestly press them to the raising of their Proportion of men and money for the occasion I have mentioned. [The occasion mentioned was the undertaking of a vigorous campaign against the French.] . . . for as the matter is begun [Belcher writes,] it seems to be now or never to make a strong Push that we may know whether King George or the French King is to be finally Master of this Continent. [That Pownall keenly appreciated his responsibilities and was ever ready to discharge them is indicated in the same letter, for Belcher continues,] I very readily take a just notice of the Honour you do yourself in cheerfully offering your duty to the King in any Services you may be capable of on these extraordinarily Occasions and I shall be glad to see you here and to find out anything that I may be able to do for your Service and Interest.¹¹

In a letter dated at New York, September 7, 1755, Pownall writes to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations as follows:

My Lords

I have received by Sir Charles Hardy, His Majestys Commission appointing me Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey, to which Post and Honor it has pleased Your Lordships to recommend me to His Majesty.

Permitt me, My Lords, to make Acknowledgments and return my most gratefull Thanks for so high and so undeserved a Favor; And to assure Your Lordships that what is not in my power, Abilities equal to so great a Trust, I will endeavor to supply by a faithful Attention to His Majestys Service with Assiduity and Industry. I have the honor to be, My Lords,

Your Lordships most Obligd most Gratefull and Obedient Servant,

T. POWNALL ¹²

Belcher was convinced that "Canada must be rooted out"; and on November 20, 1755, he wrote Shirley to the effect that "Things look to me as if the coming year will be the Criterion whereby we shall be able to conclude whether the French shall drive us into the Sea, or whether King George shall be Emperour of North America. . . ." The following December

¹¹ *New Jersey Archives, First Series*, VIII. Part II. 118.

¹² *Ibid.*, 134.

Governor Shirley assembled a congress of governors in New York and laid the military plans for the next year before them. Belcher wrote Shirley from Elizabeth Town December 4, 1755: "As to this little Province I am taking all possible Care for the Defence and Protection of the Inhabitants of which Lieutenant Governor Pownall who was here with the Governour and Council Yesterday will give your Excellency the Particulars with my Compliments to the several Governours at the Congress."¹³

This letter from Belcher to Shirley, just quoted, puts at variance statements made by Livingston regarding the matter of Pownall's attendance at the conference called by the Governor of Massachusetts. Livingston states that:

Mr. Pownal, who has often distinguished himself for pushing a bold point, repaired to New Jersey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable, on account of his age, to attend the congress in person, to depute him in his stead. His Excellency very wisely answered, that the invitation he had received from the general was merely a personal compliment: nor could he, with the least decency, insist upon an appearance by proxy. His lieutenant, impatient of a denial, called in a menacing tone for pen, ink, and paper, thinking to operate on the infirmities of age by commination and outrage. The council were astonished at this indecent attack upon an antient and faithful servant of the Crown, and withheld their advice. But the governor, conscious of the propriety of his refusal, firmly adhered to his first resolution; and Mr. Pownal abruptly quitting the board, returned with disappointment to New York.¹⁴

The quotation is here given to show to what lengths an enemy of Pownall's could go. Incidentally, Mr. Pownall returned to New York expressly in order to attend that very conference of governors. He later brought copies of the minutes of the conference to Governor Belcher, as will be seen in a letter to Shirley of date December 26, 1755.¹⁵ Too much space cannot be given to Pownall's connection with the Province of New Jersey; but in view of the story set forth in the Livingston pamphlet the following part of a letter from Belcher to

¹³ *New Jersey Archives, First Series* VIII. Part II. 168 and 183.

¹⁴ *Military Operations* (New England, 1758), 74.

¹⁵ *New Jersey Archives, First Series*, VIII. II. 203.

Shirley under date of November 20, 1755, is too good to remain buried in colonial archives:

. . . When David, [writes Belcher] invited old Barzillai to his Court he excused himself and desired him to accept of his Son Chimham in his stead. And I hope your Excellency will be pleased to let Mr. Pownall Lieutenant Governor of this Province represent me at the said meeting and I now write him agreeably thereunto.¹⁶

POWNALL DECLINES THE GOVERNMENT OF PENNSYLVANIA

Pownall's next important move was his return to Europe to report in person in regard to conditions in the American colonies. His movements are easily traced by means of newspaper accounts, and the *New York Mercury* of February 9, 1756, prints this: "Saturday last his Majesty's Ship the Nightingale, Dudley Digges Esq. Commander sailed from Sandy Hook for England; with whom Hon. Thomas Pownall Esq. Lieutenant-Governor of the Jerseys went Passenger." Comments upon Pownall's visit to London at this time must be withheld until later, and attention may be now called to a brief item in the same New York paper for June 7, 1756. The despatch reads: "Philadelphia, June 3; On Tuesday last the Ship London, Captain Reeve arrived here from London. By him there is Advice that the Honourable Thomas Pownall Esq; is appointed Governor of this Province: and that he was to set out for this Place with Lord Loudon. . . ." But Captain Reeve did not have the story quite straight. Pownall was not appointed to the government of Pennsylvania, under Thomas Penn, the Proprietor; he was recommended for the position of Lieutenant-Governor by the Duke of Cumberland, but declined to serve. From the Peters Papers among the Penn Manuscripts in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one learns that Pownall was *persona non grata* to Thomas Penn because of his intimacy with Benjamin Franklin, Speaker Isaac Norris II, and others opposed to the Proprietors.

But although Pownall had good reasons, as will be seen,

¹⁶ *New Jersey Archives*, First Series, VIII. II. 169.

for not accepting the Pennsylvania appointment, there was a show of hostile feeling toward him in certain quarters of the Province. "You don't know Mr. Pownall," said a member of the Assembly, "he will be apt to pry into everyone's business: he is a great stickler for certain formalities, communicates secrets readily, if to his advantage. His veracity is called in question by many and he is artful and insinuating in working into the favor of the ministry." The fact that Pownall was counsellor to Lord Loudon at the time the Pennsylvania appointment was under discussion and that he was slated to succeed Shirley eventually as Governor of Massachusetts, had something to do with his rejection, if such a term can be used in regard to an office which the candidate himself refused to accept. In Pownall's "Reasons for declining the Government of Pennsylvania given to the Right Honourable Mr. Fox for his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland," he displays an emphatic dislike towards the government of colonies by proprietors. He put his finger upon the evils and defects of such a form of government, but has no suggestion to offer in the way of remedy. Especially obnoxious to him was the necessary posting of a heavy bond and "his own insecurity under such Bonds and high Penalties."¹⁷

Pownall's first visit to Philadelphia was made in 1754, after he had, as Governor Shirley's commissioner, succeeded in starting something in New York toward the development of common defense. He spent some time in the city at the time of Braddock's defeat. In a journal,¹⁸ kept in 1754, Pownall makes some very interesting observations in regard to Philadelphia itself as well as important comments on the environs. He compares the aspect of the town houses with those of Cheapside, London, and notes the similarity. He makes the trip to Lancaster and records the various taverns along the post road, some of which still stand, while of others there is no record except that found in the journal. Throughout,

¹⁷ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* (Philadelphia, 1889-1890), XIII. (January, 1890), 441-446. See also, W. R. Shepherd, *History of Proprietary Government in Pennsylvania* (New York, 1896), 479, *et seq.*

¹⁸ *Pennsylvania Magazine* XVIII. (July, 1894), 211-218. Governor Pownall's Journal was printed in *The Remembrancer, or Impartial Repository of Public Events for the Year 1777* (London, 1778).

there is a running comment upon the situation and appearance of towns, descriptions of landscapes, and careful notes on distances. The work reads like a modern guide book: other roads leading out of Philadelphia are described, as well as a journey to Alexandria, Virginia.

POWNALL SUBMITS A MEMORIAL TO THE DUKE OF
CUMBERLAND

Turning again to newspaper files, we learn from the *New-York Mercury* of May 31, 1756, in a London Intelligence of April 6, that "Thomas Pownall Esq: Lieutenant-Governor of New Jersey is appointed to succeed Gen. Shirley in the Government of Boston, New England and will set out immediately for America to accompany the Earl of Loudon in the ensuing Campaign." This bit of news appeared in the *Mercury* about a week before the information was imparted in the same paper that Pownall was to be Governor of Pennsylvania; which goes to show that, then as now, unconfirmed rumors easily found their way into print. It was nearly a year before the following authentic despatch from London, dated February 11, 1757, was given out and was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 5, 1757. "London, St. James's. The King has appointed Thomas Pownal Esq; (Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New Jersey) to be Governor of his Majesty's Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, in the room of William Shirley." According to the Privy Council record, Pownall was appointed Governor of Massachusetts "on a Board of Trade representation of 9 February. His commission and a warrant for passing it, already prepared by the Board of Trade, are also approved."

Before considering some of Pownall's activities as Royal Governor of the Province of Massachusetts, mention should be made of certain results of his visit to London in 1756. No man could have given a more accurate description of conditions as they then existed in the American colonies than Thomas Pownall. The Lords of Trade were supplied with information which no other source could have yielded. His memorial "drawn up by Order of and presented to his Royal

Highness, the Duke of Cumberland," is especially worthy of comment.¹⁹

The details of this report are remarkable; not only is much information about the enemy transmitted together with descriptions and locations of fortified posts, topography of the country, and other matters of military importance, but the methods of Indian warfare are stressed as well as the dangerous difficulties which European troops must expect to encounter in America.

The English American provinces, [writes Pownall] are as fine *settlements* as any in the world; but can scarce be called possessions because they are so settled as to have no possession of the country: They are settled as farmers, millers, fishermen upon bays and rivers and have no communication or connection of interest. Consequently, the settlers belonging to these rivers, bays *etc.* have no natural connection.

After further comment upon these scattered settlements, isolated, independent, vague, and without design, where even on the same river there was no connection "nor union amongst each other, scarce of communication, much less of defence," he vividly contrasts the conditions to be found among the French in Canada. The English colonies are "not easy to unite for mutual defence—nor does their interest lead them to such systems," Pownall writes. Then, upon the assumption that these colonies could be made to unite for mutual defense, Pownall argues that even thus but little could be accomplished "through the want of a *police* to form them into a community of alliance, unity, and activity amongst themselves." Not only does Pownall harp upon the helpless and defenceless conditions of the colonies, individually, but he emphatically calls attention to the fact that the English have "for many hundred miles, a long *indefensible* line of *frontiers*," which collectively presents a most difficult problem.

According to Pownall, and it took some time before the

¹⁹ The complete title of this pamphlet is *A Memorial Stating the nature of the Service in North America, and proposing a General Plan of Operations as founded thereon*. Thomas Pownall, *The Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1765), Appendix, Section 1. 2.

truth of his assertions were appreciated, "the English must have some preparative measures," or it will be absolutely impossible to "carry into any execution any military plan against the French." Methods and plans which worked upon European battlefields were useless in America, and he informed the Duke of Cumberland fully as to Indian fighting, of lurking foes and ambuscades, of an enemy which harassed the foe perpetually and might surprise one any minute, even in camp. "Let any one here, compare this state of the case," Pownall concludes a section of his memoir, "with the cause and reasons of the failure of the several military expeditions on this continent, and its truth will be still more evinced."

The "preparative measures" suggested by Pownall were an alliance with the Indian Confederacy known as the Five Nations; the establishment of a system of fortified posts, magazines, and camps, and the security of British dominion of Lake Ontario, to be followed by the dominion of Lakes Erie, Huron, and Michigan. The idea of building a line of forts he scouts in picturesque language: one might as well pretend to cut off bears, wolves, and foxes from coming into the fort. As for keeping out Indians, such a barrier

would have no more effect than so many scarecrows, unless you could actually build another Chinese wall, and so another, still advancing your wall fence as you advanced your settlements. A barrier that would take more troops to man it than the country inclosed within it would take people to cultivate it.

Pownall recommends that provincial troops be employed as "a cover army" for the regulars in woods and wilderness fighting; that they be kept in companies of light infantry, escorts, and scouting parties. Of the soldiers of the provinces he speaks in commendatory terms, adding that he knows that they would "act with bravery and spirit."

I must also observe [he concludes] that this is not proposed as a scheme to be executed all at once, but as a general plan of operations, to be preserved and attended to in the whole: to which every part of our measures, as they shall arise into action and come upon the field are to be referred; to which, in all seasons and at all occasions as from time to time such shall offer or serve, our measures

must be directed; and to which every individual and every part must conspire and cooperate to form a whole.

The year 1756, in which Pownall submitted his plans for the conduct of the war in America, saw England at one of the most critical periods of her history. She was, as a recent English author²⁰ has pointed out, in a state of angry and sullen despondency, almost unparalleled in her history. She had defeat on all sides. A contemporary writer did not hesitate to call his countrymen a race of cowards and scoundrels, asserting that nothing could save them, that they were on the point of being enslaved by their enemies, and that they richly deserved their fate.²¹

If the military situation was bad, the political situation was even worse. Though William Pitt had become Secretary of State under the Newcastle *régime* and had done his best to convince King George II that the main object of the war was not the defense of Hanover, but the defeat of France, political intrigue brought about his dismissal. The year 1757 was also one of misfortune and discouragement, upon which it is unnecessary to dwell here. The reinstatement of Pitt, on his own terms, was a great political victory, for he was considered the man of the hour, and nobody believed this more thoroughly than Pitt himself. Subsequent events were to justify his egotistical declaration: "I know that I can save this country, and that no one else can."

PITT AND POWNALL

Pownall's services were to be of great value to Pitt, with whom he was in frequent communication. Only brief reference will be made to this correspondence, but it will show that Governor Pownall was, as Colonel Wood has pointed out, an American "intelligence department" in the service of the Prime Minister. On July 15, 1757, Pownall writes Pitt from Halifax:

In obedience to your Commands I came to this Place to meet the Earl of Loudoun Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's

²⁰ F. E. Whitton, *Wolfe and North America* (Boston, 1929) 187-189.

²¹ "Browne's Estimate," quoted by Colonel F. E. Whitton, *Wolfe and North America*, 188.

Forces in North America: In obedience to the same Commands I have communicated to his Lordship the Measures taken upon every Article that I was charged by his Lordship to lay before His Majesty's Ministers: Having executed this Duty I embark tomorrow on board his Majesty's Ship the *Nightingal*, for my Government of His Majesty's Province Messachusetts [*sic*] Bay. . . .²²

It was not long after Pownall's arrival at Boston in the *Nightingale* that he was the recipient of an express from Colonel Daniel Webb at Fort Edward, but fourteen miles from Fort William Henry, urging that reinforcements be sent to him at once; that Fort William Henry, at the northern end of Lake George, was about to be attacked by the French, and that the whole situation was critical. It was, indeed: the capture of Fort William Henry by Montcalm and Lévis, and the subsequent massacre, are dark pages of colonial history. Help had come too late, but that was no fault of Governor Pownall. What he did in an emergency is brought out in the following letter, written to Pitt from Boston, August 16, 1757:

Sir,

I landed at this place August 3rd, on Saturday August 6th a letter directed to the President of the Council from General Webb (dated Fort Edward distant 260 miles. July 31.) came to my hands acquainting me that he expected to be attacked by a large body of the Enemy who were advancing towards him. I immediately ordered the three most Western Regiments of this Government to March to the extreme western Frontiers of the Province (which our People believe to be within 12 miles of Albany) there to receive my orders further to aid and assist his Majesty's Forces; the particular manner in which I was forced to give these orders to produce the Effect Wanted of getting Aid and Assistance to General Webb arose from my not having Power by my Commission, and being restrained by the Charter of this Province marching the Militia beyond the limits of the Province, However, these orders had their Effect. Upon receiving August 7th a letter from Captain Christie (acting Deputy Quarter Master General) at Albany, That Fort William Henry was invested I sent Sir William Pepperrell (whom I have appointed Lieutenant General of the Province) up to the Frontiers to collect a Body of Troops, and send forward

²² Gertrude S. Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt . . . with Colonial Governors etc.* (New York, 1906), I. 87.

any Reinforcements the case should require, and also gave orders to all the six and twenty Regiments of the Province to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moments warning. . . .²³

Pownall, instead of being censured for violating the law, was not only exonerated but tendered a vote of thanks by his Assembly. Plainly, he was the sort of man who, in grave danger, acted first and explained afterwards. Had he been Governor of Pennsylvania instead of Massachusetts under such conditions, he would probably have forfeited under the "instructions" of that Province, a considerable sum of money.

On the last day of December, 1757, Pitt succeeded in recalling Lord Loudon. It was not all plane-sailing with King George, who insisted that General Abercrombie should be given the high command in America. Pitt had no use for Abercrombie, who was too old for the job, but the King simply would not permit a young man to occupy the position. Such things "were not done," and Abercrombie, next in seniority, was made Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces in America. What the King's appointee did, or did not do, at Ticonderoga, is colonial history. Though Pitt acquiesced with regard to Abercrombie, he was adamant when appointments on his list were under consideration. He threatened to abandon the Louisbourg campaign unless Colonel Jeffery Amherst be made "Major-General of our Forces in North America," and that three new brigadiers, Lawrence, Whitmore, and Wolfe be commissioned — one of whom should serve under Amherst. This time it was King George who gave way; and although he balked at making a forty-one-year-old colonel a major-general, he and the British nation were soon to realize and appreciate the wisdom and discrimination that Pitt displayed in the selection of officers for the American campaign.

The part which Pitt took in the interview with King George has been slighted by historians, who like to write about Montcalm and Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham, Drucour and Amherst at Louisbourg, or the Black Watch at Ticonderoga. There would have been no such copy to edit and pub-

²³ *Ibid.*, 94-95.

lish if the "arrogant and egotistical" Pitt had been overawed by his sovereign; and he might have been had he not firmly believed that he himself was the one man in the British Empire who could, and would, save the situation. For with Pitt at the helm it was no longer a question of holding back the French in Canada; now it was a matter of their expulsion from the continent, which promised a fight to the finish. The outcome was to determine, in the words of Governor Belcher, "whether the French shall drive us into the sea, or whether King George shall be emperor of North America." Military plans for the American campaign were soon going forward rapidly towards success; victory followed victory until Canada had been won and the palm bestowed upon two of the four appointees whom Pitt had forced on George II over the King's objections.

Pitt's plan worked, and historians have been content to seek no further for their origin. The victory of Wolfe and Saunders at Quebec will remain the high light of the period, and the name of Pitt will be associated with the preparative measures, or preliminary plans, of the campaign, as well as with details of the scheme as ultimately carried out. It may be only an interesting coincidence, or something more, that on December 5, 1758, Governor Thomas Pownall, of Massachusetts, sent a letter to Pitt from Boston in which were embodied "Ideas of Service in America for the year 1759." Of the now changed object of the war, Pownall writes:

If we have changed the point, and brought it to its true issue, its natural crisis, whether we, as provinces of Great Britain, or Canada as the province of France, shall be superior in America; then the service to be done is *a general invasion of Canada in conjunction with the European troops and fleet*; then is our natural strength employed, and we must consequently be as naturally superior.

This being fixed, the next point is, where the real attack must be made . . . *it will never effectually be carried on over land*. . . . The road to Quebec, up the St. Lawrence river, we possess by the *superiority of our marine navigation*. . . . If our army can once set down before Quebec, it must take it.

. . . the fleet of transports will be escorted up the river by the frigates, bombs, and other small vessels of war: *But while our*

*forces are all up the river, a very strong squadron seems necessary to cover the maritime parts of our own colonies.*²⁴

During the operations against Quebec this warning of Pownall was not heeded. Had the French been so inclined and had possessed the available ships, they could have made the inhabitants of Halifax, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia decidedly uncomfortable — to say the least.

In his survey to Pitt of the projected plan of campaign for 1759, Pownall insists that Quebec should be the real objective; suggests false attacks, one on Lake Champlain, the other on Lake Ontario; an offensive as far as Crown Point — which should then become a defensive play. He would use troops then in the Province of New York for “the taking of fort Carillon, at Ticonderoga, and of consequence fort St. Frederick, at Crown-point,” and offers the suggestion that the capture of the forts “might be effected with these, together with such provincials as shall be thought necessary, (if not in winter) yet, before the time of embarking for St. Lawrence river approaches.” He then reasons that the

. . . appearance of an attack on Canada by that way [the Lakes] must greatly alarm the enemy at Montreal; and though I do verily believe we shall never succeed to make an affective irruption that way until Quebec be taken, yet as whatever shall be done on that lake [Ontario] towards such an attempt, viz. taking post at some part on the lake, and building vessels, will have a collateral effect; even supposing the first to prove abortive, that will prove a most essential point of service, namely, the gaining dominion of the navigation of the lake.²⁵

Stressing the importance of the domination of Lake Ontario, Pownall states that if nothing else be acquired for the time being, “yet what is done and what is spent will not be thrown away; but remain a chief corner stone in the foundation of the British dominion in America.” Though lack of space excludes extensive comment upon Pownall’s letter to Pitt, mention must be made of the personnel of the provincials which served in the army of invasion recruited for the reduc-

²⁴ Thomas Pownall, *The Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1765), Appendix, Section II. 51-53.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

tion of Canada. Here Pownall shows an intimate knowledge of local conditions in forwarding to England his opinions in regard to available man power adaptable to military service. First he calls attention to the inhabitants of New Hampshire, and the county of York in the Province of Maine:

. . . who are so perfectly accustomed to the masting service, that is, fetching the great masts down from the woods; besides, the people of Massachusetts in the counties of Hampshire, Worcester and York [Maine] are the best wood hunters in America; and would therefore, disposed in proper outposts, be the best adapted to the keeping the camp before Quebec quiet from the enemies partizans and Indians, or perhaps breaking up the enemies settlements in the country, while the regulars were taking the towns.

He next gives his opinion in regard to the possibilities of obtaining in York County, Maine, "about a hundred thorough wood hunters" who would make excellent scouts. They might make an attempt upon the French settlers by way of the Chaudière River, and arrive at Quebec from that quarter. For the capture of Quebec Pownall's plans are specific. In regard to the number of troops to be there employed he has nothing to say, stating "I have not presumed to speak, for I am no judge." But he does say that "a number of provincials will certainly be necessary, and these such as are used to the water, and marine navigation."²⁶

²⁶ Thomas Pownall, *The Administration of the Colonies* (London, 1765), Appendix, Section II. 56, 55. Pownall's reference to an attack by way of the Chaudière is interesting. On November 5, 1758, he wrote Pitt a letter of which the following is an abstract:

Sends a draft of a route to Canada by the rivers Kenebeck and Chaudier and a journal of the Officers sent to investigate it. Capt: Nicholls, "a great hunter in the Woods" undertook to do it and has been given Command of Fort Frederick at Pemaquid as a reward. Of course no Army could go this way, but a large Scout might. "If at the same time that the Fleet and Army were advancing to Montreal and Quebec such a scout should fall upon the Settlements at or near Chaudier t'would have a great effect. At such wages as Rogers Rangers have I think I could gett about a 100 thorough paced woodsmen." This was the plan afterwards executed by Benedict Arnold in the Revolution. The Captain Nicholls mentioned was Alexander Nickels, who afterwards commanded a company at Fort Pownall.

Earlier in the year, June 8, in a letter from Pownall to Pitt, there is also a reference to the Chaudière. After telling of two surveying parties on the Penobscot and the Kennebec, Pownall mentions a third that he has sent out "on a very desperate Service to examine the Rout up Kennebeck and Down Chaudier to the French Settlements, I have great doubts of the Return of

The provincials which he has in mind for "the most essential service in the passage of an army from the lower end of the Isle of Orleans to Quebec where the most of the difficulties and dangers will lie," are "the people of the province of Massachusetts Bay, as they are all in the southern parts, whalers and fishermen." After landing at Quebec, says Pownall, men would be wanted who were accustomed to hard work and the carrying of heavy burdens. Such would be found among the woodsmen of New Hampshire and of York, in Maine.²⁷ It is of interest to note that he strongly advocates the employment of men in services that they are fitted to perform, thus advancing an argument which is to-day the basic principle of a selective draft. More might be said of Pownall's plan of campaign for the year 1759, but it is unnecessary. The impressive thing about it all, is the coincidence with the actual plans adopted which brought about the reduction of Canada.

GENERAL AMHERST TAKES AN INTEREST IN PENOBSCOT

The fortifying of the Penobscot River was advocated by Pownall as part of the general plan for 1759. Pownall had taken up the matter with Pitt in January of 1758, writing as follows:

A Fort at Penobscot River (called by the French in their Claims to it Pentagonet) would be of the Utmost Importance. It would putt the British Right out of Dispute. It would take possession of this very fine Country, which the Indians never dispute when done in warr. It would effectually drive off the Remaines of the Noridgwoak and Penobscot Indians as it would break up their Hunting and Fishing. It would be taking Possession of the finest Bay in North America for large Shipping just at the Mouth of the Bay of Fundy and would be Advancing the Frontiers of His Majesty's Dominions. I have laied [*sic*] the Matter before them, not formally in a Speech or Message but in that way which I judged most likely to obtain with them, in a way that they may take it up as of Themselves. It has so far succeeded — That they have

this Scout, However I could not but think it necessary to know this of which so much has been said [*sic*] on mere hearsay." (Kimball, *Correspondence of Pitt*, I, 392 and 265.)

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

unanimously voted the Propriety of the Measure, the Expence is the only Difficulty, a Committee appointed to consider it have agreed to report it — and I am not without hopes of carrying the Point. If I do I shall think it my Duty to see it executed Myself, and shall go down thither early in our Spring with such Forces as they will enable me to Enlist by the Provision they make.

Four days later (January 19) Pownall adds a postscript to this letter in which he says that his "Assembly have this day putt off the Consideration of Building a Fort at Penobscot to the Spring Sessions." This was disconcerting, and Pownall writes that he suspects the "Authors of this Procrastination" are playing politics.

On January 20 he sent Pitt another letter on the subject of the Penobscot in which mention is made of his "great Expectations that the Assembly would have enabled me to have taken possession of the Penobscot Country" which are now blasted because "they are so afraid of the Expence." He writes:

. . . I would undertake and be answerable for the Success, to have performed this Service with 500 Men in three Months had the Assembly afforded me the Means of doing it. I cannot Sir, but think it my Duty to lay the Matter thus before you, that if it should appear to you of the Importance that it does to me, and it should be thought proper that the Crown should advance the Money, in Case the Assembly do finally reject it. This glorious Opportunity may yet be retrived; The only Difference, as the Matter now is Circumstanced, is, that it must be deferred till the latter end of Summer, instead of Early Spring, the more proper Time.

Pownall then extends his ideas on the subject further, going into somewhat minute detail as to how a Penobscot expedition might be carried out; comments upon the French claim to "that disputed Land" and shows how they can "be entirely shut out from the Atlantic." He goes on: "I should beg that all Money Matters and Accounts might be put into the Hands of Proper Agents and Contractors, for that Purpose appointed: I desire no lucrative Jobb to be thrown into my Hands. . . ." ²⁸

²⁸ Kimball, *Correspondence of Pitt*, I. 164-167.

On September 12, 1758, Pownall wrote a long letter to Pitt from Boston dealing with military affairs. With an eye to the eastern frontier, he states:

On August the 5th I received from Colonel Monckton Intelligence that the Enemy at St. John's River were meditating an Attempt against George's Fort and our Eastern Frontiers. The Party to consist of French with the united Force of the St. John's and Penobscot Indians who were to Redevous [*sic*] at Mount Desart whence they were to proceed in the two Sloops (which they had lately taken) to Georges.

I immediately fitted out a Sloop as a Tender to the King George, went down to Georges, reinforced the Garrison, with 33 Men (which was all I had left) with Provisions, Stores and Ammunition, visited the rest of our Fortified Posts, put the Frontier in the best Posture I was able as to Defense and proceeded directly by two Routs to Mount Desart, sent the Sloop on the Inside went with the ship on the Outside the Islands through Penobscot Bay.

The Indians kept to the woods. The sloop passed through Eggmoggin Reach while the *King George* kept outside Isle au Haut and the Duck Islands, both vessels meeting at Mount Desert. Returning to Fort St. George without adventure, Pownall shaped his course for Boston. But no sooner had he departed than the Indians swept down on the fort . . . "but without the least Effect," writes Pownall, "Finding also all the Inhabitants upon their Guard they attempted Nothing further, Killed about 70 Cattle and went off with the greatest precipitation." Pownall regrets very much that he could not prevent this attack; but he adds: ". . . I have on this Occasion the Satisfaction to see that the Measures I was able to take have rendered it abortive, for not one Life is lost, not one single Settlement destroyed, and his Majesty's Frontiers maintained."²⁹

The matter of a fort at Penobscot hung fire during the year 1758. On December 28 of that year Amherst wrote Pownall from New York to the effect that

I have before given you my Opinion as to the Necessety of taking Post on the most advantageous Ground on the Penobscot River which I have wished to do from the Time we took Possession

²⁹ Kimball, *Correspondence of Pitt*, I. 349-350.

of St. John's, that the Enemy might be entirely shut out from the Bay of Fundi, and that we may assure a Quiet Possession of the whole Coast to His Majesty's subjects. [Amherst notes that Pownall shares in his own opinion in regard to the necessity of a post on the Penobscot and continues] . . . when I pressed that the Massachusetts Government would defray the Expence of a Block-House, I did not in the least doubt Your Inclinations and wishes to get it effected; and from your assurances of the many insurmountable Difficulties that prevented it from being put into Execution I then have directly offered to have paid the Expence, but that I was not sure I was properly Authorized. On Talking over this Affair with You I remember I mentioned to You a Block-house which as it is the best of the Kind I had ever seen I thought might answer the Purpose very well. I herewith enclose to you the Plan and Elevation of it and another Paper which gives a clear Explanation of the whole.³⁰

In the estimation of Amherst such a blockhouse should cost completely finished, "between two and three Hundred Pounds." He is so convinced "of the Good Effect that must ensue from taking Post on the Penobscot River" that he states: "I will venture to take on me to pay for erecting a Blockhouse Fort built in such a Manner as You shall think best; and I don't Doubt but you will be of my Opinion, that it should be finished and garrisoned by the Beginning of March." On February 1, 1759, Governor Pownall's message relative to the proposed fort on the Penobscot was read before both houses of the General Court. Because of its historical interest, it is here transcribed from the *Journal of the . . . House of Representatives* (239-240):

Gentlemen of the Council and House of Representatives,

When in my General Considerations of the Frontiers, I suggested to the General Court the Measure of Building a Fort at Penobscot, altho' I was fully possessed of the Necessity of it's being done before Peace, altho' I saw that the General Court was of the same

³⁰ British Public Record Office, Colonial Office, Class 5, Volume 54, 37-39. Extracts here given are from a MS. copy in possession of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts by kind permission. A contemporaneous drawing of plan and elevation of Fort Pownall is in the Library of Congress and there located by my friend, the late Frederick H. Shelton, of Philadelphia and Castine. It is reproduced on a very small scale in Henry S. Dunnack's *Maine Forts* (Augusta, Maine), 212.

Opinion, and truly represented the Sense of the Country, which also was the same: Yet seeing the Difficulties under which the Country laboured to make Supplies for the many unavoidable Expences that were coming upon them, I was unwilling at that Time or at any other Time, by urging the Matter further to reduce the General Court to that disadvantageous Alternative either of Refusing to take Possession of and fortify their Territory, as by Charter granted, or of engaging in an Expence they knew not the End of, and were very unable to engage in: Yet as I endeavour never to loose [sic] Sight of the Interest of the Country; so in this Particular I never lost Sight of this Measure. I laid it before his Majesty's Ministers, I proposed it to the late General, who refered [sic] it to his Majesty's Ministers: when Major General Amherst was appointed General, I proposed it also to him, least [sic] by waiting for Orders from England, the Opportunity should be lost. His Excellency is sensible not only of the Importance but Necessity of the Measure, and also of the Necessity of it's being done immediately; and has engaged to Reimburse me the Expence of Building such in whatever Manner is most agreeable [sic] to me; neither will any Expence arise to the Province in furnishing such Fort with Guns and Ordnance Stores, or other Necessaries, as I have all such, belonging to the Province, now ready; all therefore that on this occasion I apply to you for, is, that you will make Provision for such a Force as shall enable me to take Possession of this Country, and carry the Measure of Fortifying it into Execution, and also make Provision for the Pay and Subsistence of such Garrison as must be left there; To make which Matter also very easy to the Country, Ways and Means may be found.

As the Crown has taken Possession of and Fortified St. John's River, the Enemy have now no Out-let to the Sea, but thro' this River Penobscot, the Door being shut upon them in every other Part, and that only left open which leads to this Province; you must be in a worse Situation than you were before, if you will not do your Part, by your selves taking Possession of these Lands. You know that as long as an Indian has any Claim to these Lands, the French will maintain a Title to them: and thus notwithstanding all that has been done elsewhere, a Thorn will be left in the Side of this Province; and whatever Peace may be made, and however the other Provinces may enjoy it, this Province must labour on still under the Miseries of War, even in the Time of Peace. All this may be prevented by taking Possession of this Country now in Time of War: By doing this, you will have the Honour of completing His Majesty's Dominions on the Atlantic: You will root up the Seeds of another War, and secure the Title of these Lands

to the Subjects of this Province. Had you no immediate Assistance in doing this, you could not in Duty to his Majesty, who has done and is doing so much for you; You could not in Duty to your Fellow-Subjects of this Province, refuse to engage in this Service. But now General Amherst has offered to Reimburse the Expences of Building this Fort, and Fortifying what you thus take Possession of, if you refuse it, you are without Excuse.

T. POWNALL

Province House February 1st 1759.

Read again;—and Ordered, That his Excellency's foregoing Message be taken under Consideration at three o'Clock Afternoon.

On February 8 it was voted to accept the report of the committee on the Governor's message in regard to a fort at Penobscot. Four hundred men (including officers) were to be raised by the Province to take possession of that country, to act as a guard to the Governor, and to supply a cover for the workmen who were to be considered as part of the quota of the Province for general service for the ensuing year. When the proposed fort should be finished, the garrisons at St. George and Pemaquid were to be drawn on to the limit in order to add to the garrison at the Penobscot, the General Court having in view the dismantling of the Forts St. George and Pemaquid with the advent of peace. The four hundred men were "allowed Six Dollars per Month (they finding their own Arms" [and were to] "be provided with Blankets, Beds, and necessary Camp Utensils, those at the Barrack at *Castle-William* (by the Captain-Generals Leave) to be employed for this Service; and Subsistence." Pay of officers and soldiers was to begin the first of March and end July first, "if his Excellency shall think it necessary to continue them, or any Part of them, so long in the Service." For transport service "the Province Ship and Sloop" were to be employed, and the Governour "would be pleased to give Orders that they be seasonably equipt for the same, and that the said Ship be ordered into the other Service of the Province as soon as the above Service will admit of it." Other ships were to be obtained "which with said Ship and Sloop, may be sufficient to transport the Officers and Soldiers, with their Baggage, *etc.* to *Penobscot*."

The "Establishment" provided for "One Field Officer,

and for each Company of one Hundred Men one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, four Serjeants, four Corporals; and also for the whole, one Chaplain, one Surgeon, and a Surgeon's Mate, and two Drummers." After the fort was completed the garrison was to consist of "One Hundred Men, including Officers and such Soldiers as shall be removed from the other Garrisons; and that an Establishment be made for pay and Subsistence, and for the whole Service aforesaid."³¹

The Correspondence between Governor Pownall and General Amherst makes frequent mention of the proposed fort at Penobscot. On February 12, from New York, Amherst wrote:

I was confident, when I beg'd of you to undertake the trouble of Supervising the Building of the Fort, that no pains would be spared by you, nor no time lost, in forwarding and finishing it as early as possible, and I beg leave to return you my thanks for forwardness in which the Block house part is already in. . . . The providing the Men employed in the Works of the Fort with Provisions on the King's Account I would much rather not Agree to; but to oblige the Members of the General Court, I consent that some small allowance may be made to the Men, Extraordinary of their Pay by way of gratuity, with which I dare say, they will be far better pleased.³²

Again, in a letter to Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia, March 9, 1759, Pownall is pleased to mention that the General Court of Massachusetts "have voted 5000 men for this years campaign," and adds, "Don't you remember I used to talk of Penobscot when you was here. . . ." ³³

Governor Pownall left Boston early in May for the Penobscot. General Amherst had been kept informed, for on May 19 he wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Hutchinson from Albany: "I am glad to hear you had tidings of the Governor having proceeded on his way to Penobscot and I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of learning that he has returned and that he has Succeeded in everything to his Expectations."³⁴

³¹ *Journal of the . . . House of Representatives, . . . of the Massachusetts-Bay, etc.* (Boston, 1758), 252-253.

³² Colonial Office, Class 5, 54, 243.

³³ Nova Scotia Documentary Records Commission, I. 441.

³⁴ Colonial Office, Class 5, 55, 93-94.

How completely Pownall "Succeeded in everything to his Expectations" at Penobscot, can be learned from the manuscript sources. The story is an important chapter in the history of Maine. If for no other reason than the fact that it announced the assertion of British dominion over this eastern country, Pownall's Penobscot Expedition of 1759 would be of considerable historical significance. But it meant even more. The building of Fort Pownall at Fort Point, on the western side of the entrance to Penobscot Bay, was an integral part of the military plans for the reduction of Canada. Though it was never subject to attack, the mere existence of this fortification effectually overawed the neighboring Indians and cleared the way for the settlement of the region. Primarily, it was England's notice to France that she was ready to defend her claim to the territory between the Penobscot and the St. Croix—a portion of French Acadia, the possession of which was first disputed by the English captain, Samuel Argall, at Mount Desert in the year 1613.

A BIT OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Both England and France, from earliest colonial times, claimed the region between the Kennebec and the St. Croix Rivers. Every war, up to the time of Queen Anne, ended with the English in possession of Acadia, and every treaty of peace provided for its return to France according to its ancient boundaries, which were never adequately defined. By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Acadia remained English territory, though by an unfortunate bit of phraseology it was "Acadia or Nova Scotia" that was ceded. No attempts were made to interpret the terms of the twelfth article of the treaty, which applied to this region, until almost fifty years later. Commissioners appointed for the purpose then met, but so extravagant were the claims of both England and France that nothing came of the conferences but four quarto volumes bearing upon the lengthy discussions and dissensions. When the French repossessed Acadia by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, in 1632, they had to be satisfied with a western boundary at the Kennebec River. After D'Iberville captured Pemaquid, in 1696, and destroyed the fortifications,

Massachusetts would not rebuild them, the General Court insisting that the Crown should undertake the reconstruction. Some thirty years later, Colonel David Dunbar, under the direction of Governor Phillips of Nova Scotia, took possession at Pemaquid, brought in a number of Scotch and Irish settlers, and rebuilt the fort with funds obtained from the Crown. At this Governor Belcher of Massachusetts protested, for Dunbar's settlement was within the limits of the old Muscongus Patent (1630), later to be known as the Waldo Patent. Belcher was afterwards the chief magistrate of New Jersey, where Pownall was to serve as his subordinate.

When the objections of Massachusetts to the Dunbar settlement at Pemaquid were received by the Board of Trade, they were communicated to the Attorney and the Solicitor-Generals of Great Britain—Yorke and Talbot—with a request for a decision. In due time came a verdict which upheld vested rights, thus favoring Massachusetts. The Waldo Patent comprised hundreds of square miles along the west bank of the Penobscot River. Consequently, this famous legal decision of 1732 secured Massachusetts in her title as far east as that river, which now became her established frontier.

Looking backward still further, it will be found that the Charter of William and Mary had included within New England the territory as far east as the St. Croix. Earlier yet, King Charles II had granted to his brother, James, Duke of York, the region between Pemaquid and the St. Croix as a part of New England. At the same time he ordered Sir Thomas Temple to relinquish Pentagoet, now Castine, on the east shore of Penobscot Bay, to the French, because it was in Acadia. The careless wording of the text of Cromwell's grant of "Acadia and a part of Nova Scotia" to Sir Thomas Temple and others, was responsible for much of the confusion. In this grant the name Nova Scotia was revived after many years of disuse; and the western boundary of "Acadia and a part of Nova Scotia" was set at St. George's River, the present site of Thomaston, Maine. But the original Nova Scotia, granted to Sir William Alexander by King James I in 1621, was limited on the west by the St. Croix River; a

fact which was overlooked by the Board of Trade and by Governor Phillips when he sent Colonel Dunbar to Pemaquid.

For the French, with England in possession of "Acadia or Nova Scotia," it was convenient to consider Acadia as confined within a portion of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. There the English had been bottled up by the building of Fort Beauséjour on the Isthmus of Chignecto commanding the land approach to Nova Scotia. Mention has been made of the plans of campaign formulated by the conference at the Carlisle House at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1755, at which Pownall was present. Of the four undertaken, it will be remembered, that of Winslow against Fort Beauséjour was the only one to succeed. From the time of the Treaty of Utrecht France insisted that she had made no cession to England of territory between the St. Croix and the Penobscot. In fact, at the time of Father Rale's War in the seventeen-twenties, and the uprising of the Norridgewocks, the Indians were informed by agents from Quebec that France had yielded no territory to England west of the St. Croix River. Moreover, in British official circles the idea persisted that the territory between the Penobscot and St. Croix lay within the jurisdiction of Nova Scotia.³⁵

Such were the conditions which confronted Governor Pownall of Massachusetts as he planned his expedition to the Penobscot. The idea of fortifying the river was not a new one, for it had been suggested by Governor Shirley as early as 1748. The formal declaration that the territory east of the Penobscot River lay within the dominion of Great Britain and under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay was a bold stroke, the full significance was not to be appreciated until many years later.

³⁵ With reference to the eastern boundary, Pownall wrote Pitt: Boston, December 28, 1757: "The Papers enclosed that I have the honor to transmit are No. 1.—an original Letter from Mr. D'Aulnay Governor of Accadie when part of the French Dominions, to the Governor of Massachusetts Bay—dated from St. John's in Accadie by which appears that the River St. Johns was then possessed by the French as being in Accadie—as further that Pentagoët or Penobscot River was also in the same Province." This D'Aulnay letter was probably written not long after 1637. Pownall's possession of it shows that he was giving thought to the disputed territory between the Penobscot and the St. Croix Rivers. (Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, I. 132.)

POWNALL'S JOURNEY TO THE PENOBSCOT

Governor Pownall's "Journal of the Voyage to the Penobscot" covers twenty pages of manuscript.³⁶ Aside from its historic value, the most remarkable thing about it is the recital of minute details to which the Governor gave his personal attention. He arrived on May 4 at Falmouth, where he inspected the frame of the blockhouse there under construction by Gershom Flagg.³⁷ After transacting a considerable amount of routine business, he attended to matters relating to billeting rolls, the formation of companies, the issuing of camp equipment, and the loading of lighters and transports. From Falmouth Pownall proceeded to Fort St. George, which then occupied the site of the old General Knox house at Thomaston. Before departing, he took care to send expresses to the captains of the eastern military companies in the Kennebec region to meet him at George's.³⁸

³⁶ MS. copy, in the Massachusetts Archives, 38 A, 305-24. This was published in the Maine Historical Society *Collections*, v. 370. The original journal was sent by Pownall with other documents bearing on the Penobscot Expedition to the Board of Trade with a letter of June 12, 1759, and noted in the Board of Trade Journals, November 14, 1759. See MS. copy of the Journals, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

³⁷ Gershom Flagg (1705-1771), of Boston, housewright and glazier, and contractor for Fort Pownall, owned a one-half share in the Plymouth Patent, or the Kennebec Purchase. He owned a lot on the west side of the Kennebec at what is now Augusta. His Boston residence was on the site of the old American House, Hanover Street. He built also the old Pownalborough Court House, still standing on what was once the parade ground of Fort Shirley on the Kennebec. When Lincoln County was set off in 1760, it was so named for Pownall's native county in England. Frankfort Plantation was incorporated at this time and named for the Governor, Pownalborough. Later the name was changed to Dresden, for what reason, it is difficult to say. John Adams failed to understand why the name "of a virtuous and sensible man [should give way] to that of a scene of frivolity." (Adams, *Works*, x. 241.)

³⁸ An important and curious manuscript relating to Pownall's Expedition, written by a common soldier, Joshua Bailey, is in the Maine Historical Society. It was discovered by the Reverend Edward Ballard, of Brunswick, Maine, in New Hampshire, and given to John L. Locke, of Camden, Maine, who published it in the Belfast, Maine, *Republican Journal*, August 5, 1859. Locke changed the spelling almost entirely and supplied the punctuation. On October 5, 1859, the Reverend Richard Pike, of Dorchester, Massachusetts, read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society a paper on Fort Pownall, which was published xiv. 4 (1860), Bailey's Journal being reprinted from Locke's transcription and not from the original.

On March 31, 1759, Bailey voluntarily enlisted "in his Majesty's service

"This I did," says Pownall, "as before I came by way of intimidating our People they had advised them not to go beyond the Pickets — And as the Indians had been seen lurking about Burton's and Henderson's Garrisoned Houses." Two of the Indians departed under pretext of calling the others in, but there returned only "one Zacharie a Passamaquoda who I afterwards found had a French Commission for an Ensign — of the Rest I never heard any more."

On May 10 more of Pownall's command arrived at Fort George: "Captains Drummond, Parker, Ramelin of the Militia, also Captain Leisner of the Scouting Company — and young Lieutenant Howard from Captain Lithgow of Fort Halifax."³⁹ The same day Pownall issued orders to Captain

for three months to go to Penopskut under Cap Isral harick." On April 20 the company marched to "Nubry" and that night "lodged aboard Cap Bradbury's." On April 30 "gouverneur Thomas Pownal Commander in Chief arrived at Nubry." Some samples of Bailey's skill in poetry follow:

"The first Day of may Bout three
A Clock in the afternune
On Board We Went to Se
The Number of a Hundred Men from Newbry"

As Bradbury's sloop bearing Captain Herrick's company cleared for Fort St. George, in Maine, those on board, including Bailey, cheered those on the dock.

"We gave to them a roaring shout
They answered us agane
On Board we Where of Bradbry Sloop
Saling a Long The main

Before we had got many milds
The wind it farly Bleue
Whar tossing up and down the Gifl
Our men Began to Spu

On Wednesday May the Sekone Day
The Men That Cold Stand
They cride A Loud and some Did Say
I long to come to Land "

Bailey's record is a supplement to Pownall's report, as will be shown. Bailey enlisted at Bradford, Massachusetts. He afterward removed to Hopkinton, New Hampshire, where the diary was found. He commanded a company in General Stark's Brigade, 1777; another in 1780, under Colonel Gerrish. After the Revolution he served as a colonel of militia. He died April 9, 1806, aged 68 years. I am indebted to the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine, for permission to make use of Bailey's Journal.

³⁹ Of the officers here mentioned Captain Patrick Drummond was in

Cargill ⁴⁰ to take a detachment of ten men to scout for any lurking Indians. The next day they surprised a party of seven Indians and though quarter was offered, "the Indians Started up cryed out No Quarters No Quarters and fired upon him — He then Fired and ordered his Men to Fire away — The Indians Ran — two fell one rose again and got off into the swamp the other rose no more and proved to be an Old Squaw." Cargill's encounter is referred to by Jacob Bailey thus:

" Fridy was the Leventh of may
Cap Cargil came in Brought in
they did heare On this Day
a Skulp of a Ingian."

Preparations were made for a march from Fort St. George to the Penobscot. Pownall desired that the troops "should go Thro' the Woods as far as they could." The commissary was ordered "to deliver to each Captain seven days Provisions Marching Allowance for each Man."

Meanwhile Pownall conducted an examination of certain

command of the first company of soldiers of the second parish of Georgetown, now Bath, Maine, in 1757. (Massachusetts Archives and the *Bangor Historical Magazine*, v. 86.) John Parker was captain of the Georgetown Militia company, 1757. (Massachusetts Muster Rolls, 95:344, *Bangor Historical Magazine*, iv. 138.) Lieutenant William Howard was a brother of John Howard, who carried dispatches from General Amherst, forwarded to Fort Western from Crown Point, to Wolfe at Quebec. Colonel William Lithgow, a son of Robert, of Boston, was prominent in military affairs; was later appointed Judge of Court of Common Pleas at time of organization of Lincoln County in 1760; still later appointed one of His Majesty's Justices of Lincoln County, in 1762. He commanded at Fort Richmond until it was dismantled, and was then put in charge of Fort Western, which was used as a storage station for supplies. In October, 1754, he was commissioned "Commander of His Majesty's Fort Halifax." His wife was Sarah Noble, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Arthur Noble, who was killed in an attack made by French and Indians at Grand Pré, in 1747.

⁴⁰ Captain James Cargill, a fighter who was noted for harsh dealings with the Indians. He lived at Sheepscot and figures frequently in colonial military records. He was in command of the detachment which destroyed Fort Pownall agreeable to an act of the General Court of August 7, 1775. (*Acts and Resolves, 1775-1776*, 19, Appendix 14, 34) "to give Instructions to the Commanding officer in said Lincoln County to order that Fort Pownal at Penebscot be immediately demolished." Orders were carried out, and Cargill reported to the General Court. The memorial of the Eastern Regiment of Militia is acknowledged and the conduct of said regiment is highly approved "in

Indians then in the fort. The report of the procedure is given in full in the manuscript account. Of Indians there were four: Laurent, a Penobscot, left as hostage; Joseph, a "Penobscot of Machias"; Joseph Marie, a Penobscot, and Zacharie, "a Passamaquoda." Conducting the examination there were with Governor Pownall the Honorable Brigadier Waldo, "one of His Majesty's Council," and the following:

Captain Benjamin Hallowell, Commander of the *King George*
" Thomas Sanders, Commander of the sloop *Massachusetts*
" Israel Herrick
" James Cargill
" David Bean
" Alexander Nickles
The Reverend Mr. Phillips, Chaplain
Lieutenant Joseph Sanders
" Joshua Treat
" Walter McFarland
John North, Captain of the Fort, Examiner.⁴¹

destroying Fort Pownall and taking a Number of Vessels mentioned in said Memorial." (Ibid., Chapter 113.) For the text of the "Memorial," see Force, *American Archives*, III. 329-330.

⁴¹ Captain Benjamin Hallowell was born in Boston in 1725, and was Commissioner of Customs. He was a landed proprietor in the Kennebec region before the War of Independence. As a Loyalist he was banished, in 1778, and his entire estate confiscated. The fee was in his wife's name, and her heirs sued for recovery and obtained judgment, in 1803. His nephew, Robert Hallowell, in 1802, took the name of his maternal grandfather and became Robert Hallowell Gardiner. These names are perpetuated in the present Hallowell and Gardiner on the Kennebec River. Captain Benjamin Hallowell had two sons, Benjamin and Ward, who both changed their names: Benjamin, to Benjamin Hallowell Carew, afterwards Sir Benjamin, Admiral of the Blue in the British Navy, and Ward, who became Ward Nicholas Boylston, liberal benefactor of Harvard College. Captain Benjamin Hallowell received from the British Government grants of land in Guysborough County, Nova Scotia, and in Upper Canada. He died at York, Ontario, in 1799. Captain Thomas Sanders, of Gloucester, Massachusetts, who was afterwards a member of the Massachusetts Council. His daughter, Lucy, married Colonel Paul Dudley Sargent; he later removed to Sullivan, Maine. Captain Israel Herrick was in command of forty men at Fort Shirley, at Frankfort, in 1757. David Bean's name appears among eighty-one others on a petition to Governor Francis Bernard for land at, or near, Mount Desert, in 1762. Alexander "Nickles," of New Castle and Pemaquid, lived in a large square house, still standing, near Pemaquid Fort. He was a prominent man of a prominent family. His brother, William Nickels, had a squatter's deed from Mme. de Gregoire, 1792, for land on Little Cranberry Isle, Mount Desert; he afterwards removed to Narraguagus, now Cherryfield; he was the grand-

Lieutenants McFarland and Treat were sworn to interpret truly and faithfully according to their best skill and ability, and the examination began.

The sum and substance of the Governor's speech to the Indians was to the effect that unless those in the region came in with their wives and families and put themselves under his protection, he could not be responsible for their safety. They were asked:

"Have not you often and of old times Acknowledged yourselves our Brethren, and the same as we, Subjects of King George." And they answered, "As Brethren but not Subjects of the King." And when told that Brigadier Waldo,⁴² Colonel Preble, Captain

father of Robert Gould Shaw, of Boston. The Reverend John Phillips, Harvard College, 1735, was chaplain to Winslow at Louisbourg, and afterwards at Castle William, Boston Harbor; he died January 9, 1787. Lieutenant Joshua Treat, a skilful interpreter of the Indian language, learned the trade of gunsmith of his father, Joseph, at Fort St. George, where he was armorer; he later served in that capacity at Fort Pownall. He held a commission in Captain George Berry's company, April 1 to July 16, 1759. He remained at Fort Pownall until it was dismantled in 1775; then he settled near the fort in what is now Stockton Springs. He died August 17, 1802, leaving many descendants. Lieutenant Walter McFarland, also an Indian interpreter, was held captive by the Indians for two years, 1747-1749. He lived in Bristol. Captain John North, of Pemaquid, was land surveyor of the Kennebec Patent. He lived at St. George's until 1744, and was then commissioned lieutenant at Fort Frederick, Pemaquid. On April 14, 1758, Pownall wrote to him asking that he explore the Penobscot to "the Falls"; to make "as good a survey thereof as the nature of the thing will admit together with soundings and observe what streams fall into it and how the land lies upon the banks what narrows or passes there are thereon." (Maine Historical Society *Collections*, v. 370.) North died March 26, 1763, aged about 65 years. (James W. North, *History of Augusta, Maine*, 175-178.) In a letter from Pownall to Pitt, Boston, June 8, 1758, is the following reference to Captain John North: "I have several Scouts out with Surveyors examining and reconnoitring the County, One which I sent to survey the River Penobscot up to the Falls are returned and have sent me an exact Map of that River with the Soundings and Face of the Country according to my Instructions, another that I sent to examine the Country from Kenebeck to Penobscot Find that from Ft. Halifax to Penobscot in a right Line is a Course E and by N 40 miles heading all the intervening Rivers." (Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, I. 265.)

⁴² Accounts of Brigadier Waldo are to be found in biographical dictionaries. His granddaughter, Lucy Flucker, was the wife of General Henry Knox; Mount Waldo, on the west bank of the Penobscot below Winterport, and Waldo County perpetuate his name in Maine; also the town of Waldo-borough. Jedediah Preble was born at York, Maine, in 1707, a grandson of the original settler, Abraham Preble. He was the first of the name at Portland, and was the father of Commodore Preble. He served as a subaltern

Sanders, now present, had been Witnesses to several Treaties especially Governour Dummers wherein they Acknowledged themselves Subjects of King George, They Answered their Old Men were Dead and the Treaties buried and lost and they were Young Men and knew nothing of it. [The Indians were noncommittal on this point and after further parley Pownall concludes the report with] And upon learning that some Indians had been seen on the River, and about Burton's Garrison and one at the Gut below Pleasant Point, I sent them a second Message to call in their People to which they said if there were any Indians there they were not their People and if they did not come in they deserved to be killed; being asked if this was not true they answered "Yes."

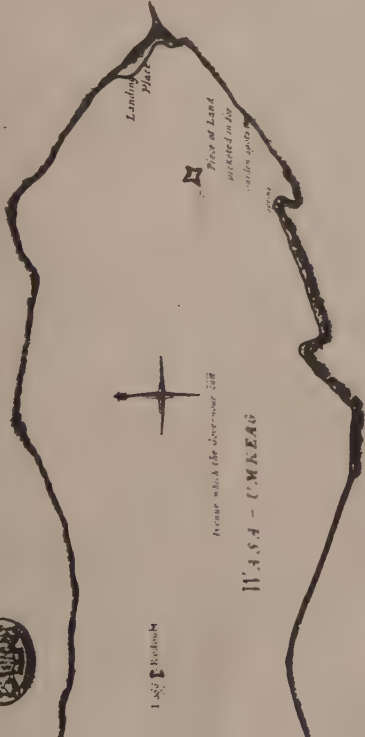
On May 12 Pownall reports that he reviewed the troops and saw that they were properly equipped for a march across country from Fort St. George under Brigadier Preble to the mouth of the "Pausegasawackeag." Preble's command consisted of Herrick's company of 71; Cargill's, of 74; Bean's, of 70; and Nicholls's, of 69, a total of 284.

The frigate *King George* having been moored at the mouth of the river, off the present Marshall's Point, Pownall sailed on Sanders's sloop on the morning of May 13 to board her. "Brought with me," he writes, "Laurent, Joseph, Joseph Marie, and Zacharie — sent off Lt. Sanders in the Sloop Massachusetts to Falmouth to convoy Sloops with Workmen and Materials — Taking out of him into the King George all the intrenching Tools. Sailed for Penobscot, took with me the two Brick Sloops and Preble's Lighter with 40 hogs heads of Lime which I laded at Georges. Came to Anchor off the Green Islands in Penobscot Bay." On May 14 Pownall records: "As cold as ever I felt it all Winter. Came to Sail and arriv'd just before Sunsett off the North of Pauseguse-

under Pepperrell at Louisbourg, and was commissioned as a captain there in Colonel Waldo's regiment, 1746. He served as a major under General Monckton in Nova Scotia, was wounded at Beauséjour, and assisted in the removal of the Acadians. He was under General Winslow in the Ticonderoga Expedition. As a lieutenant-colonel he was second in command under Winslow at the building of Fort Halifax on the Kennebec, in 1754, and as a brigadier he was also second in command in Pownall's Penobscot Expedition. When Fort Pownall was completed, he was left in command of the garrison until 1763. He bought some three thousand acres of land in the vicinity, in 1762, from the heirs of General Waldo. In 1774 he was elected Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces, but declined to accept office because of his age. He died

SURVEY of the NECK by LIEUT. SMALL of Scarborough in the County of YORK

COLVELL HARBOUR

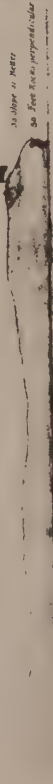


1 mile

Distance which the Governor will

WASA - UNKEAG

The SECTION of the POINT to shew the height of the Land



Scale of 50 Rods

The Head of this River not more than
8 miles E of Station Fort Halifax
on Androscoggin River

of a Reconnoitering commanded by J. H. Mowbray, Surveyor sent by the Governor to the River from
Fort Halifax on Androscoggin River to Penobscot River

about 10 miles

Clear Land
old improvements by
Indians

This Mark * in the upper corner of the Map denotes the Place where
the Governor buried a Lead Plate as a Memorial of Possession
with this Inscription

MAY 23. 1759.

PROVINCE MASSACHUSETTS BAY
PENOBSCOT
DOMINIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN
POSSESSION CONFIRM'D

BY

THO^S. POWNALL GOV^R.

708. The River called *Wassaggon* surveyed by James some time ago
the distance a *Wassaggon* is 10 miles South of *Wassaggon* that by *Wassaggon* is not *Wassaggon* in title.
The distance of *Wassaggon* is 10 miles South of *Wassaggon* that by *Wassaggon* is not *Wassaggon* in title.
Name of the *Wassaggon*.

Ends in Ponds
under a Mountain
S E by E.

Surveyed and bounded by line of *Wassaggon*

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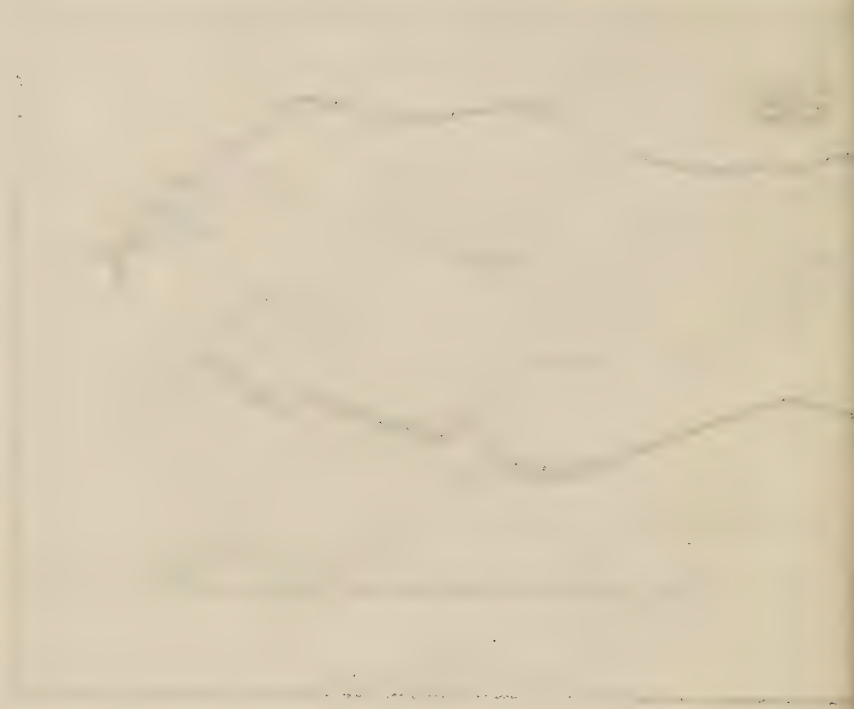
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wackeag⁴³ River." The next day, at four in the afternoon, Preble arrived, made a signal which had been agreed upon, was sent for, and came on board the *King George*. He reported that he had, by survey, marched "30 Miles and 64 Rod" across country. This would be, using modern names, from Thomaston to Belfast.⁴⁴

at Portland in 1784, aged 77 years. See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* (1868) 404-421.

⁴³ On Pownall's map of Penobscot Bay, this name appears as *Taufegusewakeag*, very evidently a mistake, because the Indian name for fish is Pabsukus (Joseph Williamson, *Belfast Journal* and *Bangor Historical Magazine*, VI. 117). The name appears as *Passagassawakeag*, and the meaning given as *Sturgeon River*. On this map Fort Point Bay appears as Colvell Harbor, so named by Pownall for Lord Alexander Colville, 8th Baron Colville in the peerage of Scotland, he served in the British Navy as a vice-admiral; commanded on the North American station, and in 1762 drove the French from St. John's, Newfoundland. The name Turtle Head on Pownall's map still obtains as the northern end of Islesborough. See *The Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, Selected and edited by Archer Butler Hulbert, Associate Professor of American History, Marietta College. (Privately printed, in a limited edition of 25 copies, by the Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, Ohio, 1907), Series 1. 26.

The map is described as: "A plan of the bay and part of the river Penobscot, or Penobsceag: surveyed by order of Governor Pownall by . . . Jones Capt. North of Georges Fort in 1758 and Lieut. Jo. Small of Scarborough: drawn on a scale of 2½ miles to an inch; with a survey and section of the neck of Wasaumkeag in Colvell harbour by Lieut. Small, on a scale of 31 rods to an inch." [Actual size: 2 ft. 2 in. x 1 ft. 7 in. (CXX.22).]

⁴⁴ Preble's march through the woods can be easily followed by means of Bailey's Diary. He states that on May 12 the troops were "Drawn up for a Preparation For a March This Day to go From Jorgs Fort." On May 13, 14, and 15 about ten miles each day were covered.

"Tusday was the fiftent of may
According to my Mind
We Marched a Bout Ten Mils This Day
Twass meashured By a Line"

This last is a reference to Preble's survey of the line of march. Arriving at Belfast Bay Bailey continues:

"Heare we a Rived on this Day
And all The men Besides
heare we in Camped This Nit
I lay close Down by the water Sid

Twass over Hils and Mountains high
I needs must now confes
Nothing Remarkible Did we spi
In all This Wilderness"

To Pownall's reference to the detailing of the brick sloop to carry soldiers to Wasa-umkeag Bailey adds:

The plans now were for Preble to embark for Penobscot at daylight on the morning of May 16. Pownall was to send the whaleboats to assist in carrying troops, and they would be aided by the frigate and the brick sloops. Orders were executed; and Pownall, fearing trouble from Indians, dispatched Captain Bean, "who had been before in Penobscot River," with a hundred men "to take Post on the East side of the River, to keep a good lookout whether anything Arrived or passed."

Pownall's four Indians were still with him on the *King George*. He had told them that they might leave when they arrived off Belfast Bay, or they could wait until morning. They chose to stay another night. In the morning Pownall harangued them again.

At Georges, [he began] you were under my protection. You could not have gone safe Home had I not brought you here. You may now go safe. Take this Flag as a passport to Penobscot and return to your Town. [And he] gave them an Union Flag, [adding] Tell your People that I come to build a Fort at Penobscot and will make the Land English. I am able to do it, and I will do it. If they say I shall not, Let them come and Defend their Land now in time of War. Take this Red Flag to remember what I say. When I have built my Fort and set down at Penobscot, If ever there be an English Man killed by your Indians, You must All from that Hour fly from the Countrey, For I will send a number of Men on all sides of the River, sweep it from one end to the other and Hunt ye all out. Gave them a Red Flag.

Pownall next impressed upon the four Indians that he neither sought the favour of the "People of Penobscot" nor feared them; that he was sorry for their distressed condition and would like to do them good. This was impossible unless

"On Weddensday The Sixteenth Day of may
We Must go now if Ever
On with Cap Hallowa
To Sal up Penokskit River

But I soon Return to a Sloop
Wheare I
On the Bords and Bricks
Did Lye"

The line of march is shown clearly on Pownall's Map of Penobscot.

they become "English they and their Wives and Families and come and live under the Protection of the Fort."

"I will protect them," he adds, "they shall have Wigwams and Planting Ground near the Fort, and may Hunt as usual; But the English shall Hunt also; They shall not interfere with one anothers Hunt when they Hunt separate; and they may Hunt together when they choose it." Upon the subject of administration of justice Pownall discourses to the effect that if the Indians will but live under English laws that he will select from "such of their Sungamas as they will choose Justices to do Justice, To Right what may be Wrong and to keep Peace" among the Indians. "And when anything happens Wrong between the English and the Indians," he emphasizes, "an English Justice and an Indian Justice shall meet and do right between them." In conclusion, Pownall paves the way for a lucrative trade with the Penobscot Indians, for he says: "You shall have a Free Market for your Furs and Skins and the price shall be set by agreement. Take this White Flag and remember this. Gave them a White Flag." Then, before Laurent, Joseph, Joseph Marie, and Zacharie were sent off in their canoe, Pownall presented them with "Rum, Meat, Shot, Powder, Shoes, Caps and a Gun one of them wanting one."

Having completed his parley with the Indians, Pownall set sail at

about half past four P.M. got within two Miles or a League of Wasaumkeag⁴⁵ Point, and tho' the Breeze Strong enough to keep all the Sails Topgallants and all sleeping, yet could not Stem the Torrent of the Tide — on the contrary the Ship under no Command of the Helm whirled about at random so that Captain Hallowell let go the Kechger,⁴⁶ made several attempts but could not make it do — toNight came to Anchor.

The Sloop, Patterson Master, [Pownall states] with the Stores and Cannon arrived in the River but could not get up to us. Sent two Whaleboates armed to Guard her.

17th. A Fresh Breeze. Sent off two Whaleboats with 20 Men to Captain Bean with Orders to Cross over to the Western Shore and take Post on the Opposite Point.

⁴⁵ On Pownall's map this name appears divided into syllables: *Wasa-umkeag*.

⁴⁶ Kedger, or kedge anchor.

After several puzzles got up into the Harbour within Wassaumkeag Point. Captain Bean posted on the North point of the Harbour. Sent Captain Cargill to bring him round to look for the Carrying Place to make a Signal when they had found it and to take Post there.

A landing was then made "in the Cove of the Neck." The soldiers were deployed in such a way as to prevent any surprise should there be any Indians about. There were none; but as Pownall says, "I could not have justified myself if anything had happened if I did not take all the same Precaution as tho' there were." A post was established "at the Point." Preble reported that the carrying place was "not above 80 Rod across." Of the location of the Point, Pownall remarks, "I never yet saw so well suited a Scite [*sic*] for a Fort, so I Imagined I should not find one more proper throughout this River. However Made no Determination about fixing the Fort."

"18th. Daylight, ashore, clearing, Ordered them to set about Digging a Well. Sent off Lieutenant Small⁴⁷ to Survey the whole Neck, Captain Nickels with the Pickett to Guard him, Ordered a Breast Work or Barricade to be made round the Camp." This barricade and a hospital were soon finished. The next day there were "sent ashore from the King George some Swivel Cohoms⁴⁸ to fix on the Breast Works at the Camp." A supply of good water was located according to Pownall, "Found that the Well Diggers had come to good Water, Drank Punch made of it."

"20th. Visited the Post at the Carrying Place, Found Lieutenant Preble had finished the Redoubt and Guard House which Captain Bean began. Thence to the Camp ordered the like avenue to be cut across the point where 'tis narrowest not above 70 Rod, to have the same kind of Redoubt and Guard house built there."

"In the Afternoon Ordered a Road to be cut about two Rods Wide in a Direct Line East and West to the Avenue on the narrow of the Point. This was Executed before Night." Pownall then enters in his journal this observation of the

⁴⁷ John Small, of Scarborough, Maine, who surveyed Wasa-umkeag Point.

⁴⁸ Pownall means *coehorn*, a small mortar light enough to be carried by a few men.

weather on this twentieth day of May: "Wind all Day blowing at N. N. W. Hard Gale and Snow."

Because visitors to Fort Point have often wondered as to the range of ordnance of Pownall's time, raising the question as to how far a shot would go beyond the bay, the following entry in the journal under date of May 21 is important.

Gott a nine pounder ashore to the top of the Point, At an Elevation with the Breech on the Bed, threw a Shot across into the Woods on the Opposite side, at a level, into the Channel about half way, At an Elevation of twelve degrees what they called the Cape Breton Point blank, threw a Shot close in Shore on the Opposite side before it struck.

Rapid progress was being made: woods were cleared, redoubts, breastworks, buildings were erected, and surveys undertaken. The sloop *Massachusetts*, Captain Sanders, had arrived with a convoy of four vessels bringing workmen and materials for the proposed fort. But as yet Pownall, though favoring the "Scite [*sic*] at the Point" had not made a definite decision. He now concluded that it was time to explore the Penobscot River to the head of navigation.

Orders were given to Captain Sanders "to be ready to take on board the Detachment for going up the River," and to Brigadier Preble to have the men ready at daylight on May 22. The expedition marks an epoch in colonial history. Never before had men of any nation in such numbers, nor for such purpose, ascended the Valley of the Penobscot. Therefore, His Excellency, Thomas Pownall, Esquire, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay, will be allowed to give his own account of the trip:

May 22d. At four A.M. the Embarkation began but the Wind came to the North about so could not proceed. At Noon the South wind came up. Gave the Signal for Embarking and set out with two Sloops and ten Whaleboats with 136 men, more being unnecessary as I found the Indians could Muster but 80 Men. Arrived that night within Six Miles of the Falls."⁴⁹

23d. Got over the First ledge of Rocks⁵⁰ at high Water before

⁴⁹ The lower harbor of the present Bangor.

⁵⁰ Now the Bangor Dam—where the pumping station is situated.

we knew it and struck on a Rock in the Sloop Massachusetts, As soon as I perceived we were like to have a great Puzzle if ever we got her off, I immediately ordered seventy Men into the Whaleboats and Landed Captain Nickels with 40 Men on the left shore and Lieutenant Brown with 30 on the Right least if there should be any Indians they might Fire upon the Sloop in her distress. The Water fell from the Sloop two feet the Tide running down three knots. Captain Hallowell managed by rowling her to get her off the Rock. In less than an hour that very Rock was above fathom out of Water and several other Rocks bare all round us and the ledge we had passed bare like Picketts across the River, the Tide boiling round us and running five knots. Tryed to proceed in the Whaleboats but without Effect.

P.M. Landed on the East side the River with 136 Men and proceeded to the head of the first Falls⁵¹ about four Miles and quarter from the first ledge Clear Land on the Left for near four Miles. Brigadier Waldo whose unremitted Zeal for the Service had prompted him at the age of 63 to attend me on this Expedition Drop't down just above the Falls of an Apoplexy and notwithstanding all Assistance that could be given him expired in a few moments.⁵²

At the Head of the Falls Buried a Leaden Plate with the following Inscription: ⁵³

⁵¹ Now occupied by the Bangor Hydro-Electric Company's plant.

⁵² Bailey thus records the sudden death of General Waldo, patentee of the Waldo Patent: "The Twentithurd The Day of may Early in Morning we toed along Till we got to the Falls Then We went ashoar and had not marched Half a mild Before Brigadeir Waldo Dropped Downed."

⁵³ Bailey says of the burial of the lead plate: "We Ranged the woods Along up by the River's side We march'd along up by the Falls We Did the Bounds Declare, The bounds were set I Plainly Se Between the Nations. A peac of Led Buried onder a Burch Tree upon the Top of a Larg hil In Honor and Despair whar it Mit Be found in years a fare of. This was Dun about Thirty Five Milds a Bove whear we are Bilding the fort."

In a separate document in which a copy of the inscription on the lead plate is given, there follows an affidavit to the effect that:

"We the Undersigned, do certify that His Excellency the Governor, Building a Fort on Penobscot River and Proceeding thence with an armed Body above the Falls did there also Establish Possession of his Majesty's Rights in behalf of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

Did there hoist the Kings Colours which were saluted by the artillery at Sunset, and as a Monument thereof, his Excellency ordered a Leaden Plate to be buried in the Sand on the East side of the River of Penobscot, above the Falls, this twenty-third day of May one thousand seven and fifty nine.

N.B. I buried the said Plate at the Root of a Large White Birch Tree three large Trunks springing from the one Root. The Tree is at the top

May 23, 1759. Province Massachusetts Bay; Dominions of Great Britain, Possession Confirm'd by T. Pownall Gov^r Erected a Flag Staff Hoisted the Kings Colours and Saluted them."

24th. At High Water Returned Got over the Ledge and having a Fair Wind and the Torrent of the Freshe[t]s in our favour arrived at the Camp by two P.M.

Upon this Reconnoitering the River and finding no place equal to this Point of Wasaumkeag either for Defence by its Scite being no where Commanding and on the contrary having a very great command of the River and the Passes near it, Determined this to be the place for the Fort. Erected the Flag Staff and Hoisted the Kings Colours with all the Ceremonies usual on such Occasions adding Divine Service to beg God's Blessing for unless the LORD builds the House the Labourer Worketh but in vain. Treated The Troops with a barrel of Rum.

Back at Wasaumkeag Point Pownall now busied himself with building the fort which was to bear his name. Flag is "getting up all his Timber for the First Story of the Block house"; Lieutenant Small is "to Reconnoitre as far as Cape Rosier," in preparation for a map of the region; "Lines for Parapett Ditch and Glacis" are set out, and Mr. Burbeck, "Engineer and Overseer," is given "particular Directions in what manner to compleat the Works in each Part as the

of a very high piked hill on the East side of the River about three miles above Marine Navigation.

T. POWNALL

Jedediah Preble Brigadier-General.

Benj. Hallowell Jr., Captain of his Majesty's Ship King George

Thomas Sanders Captain of the Province Sloop Massachusetts

James Cargill Captain

John Phillips Chaplain

Jacob Brown Lieutenant

John Preble Lieutenant

Joshua Warren Lieutenant

Walter McFarland Lieutenant

John Small Lieutenant

John Robinson Lieutenant "

The "high piked hill" is to-day identified by a skeleton steel tower which carries power lines across the Penobscot from Veazie to Eddington. Another reference to Pownall's lead plate is found in Chadwick's Journal, Fort Pownall to Quebec, 1764. Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, *Sprague's Journal of Maine History*, xiv. 77: "On sum part of this Ground Governour POWNALL buried a writing on a Shet of Lead agreeble to Anchent Coustom of taking possession of Islands and Countries for the King."

Ground lay." On May 25 Pownall records: "At Evening Buried Brigadier Waldo at the Point near the Flag staff with the Honours of War in our Power." On May 26 he enters an interesting comment on Castine: "About Noon left Wasaumkeag Point in the Sloop Massachusetts to Pentagoet with Captain Cargill and 20 Men.⁵⁴ Found the Old Abandoned French Fort and some abandoned Settlements. Went ashore into the Fort. Hoisted the Kings Colours there and Drank the Kings Health."

Following this pleasant ceremony Pownall boarded the *King George*, which was awaiting him outside the harbor, and embarked for Boston, where he arrived at Castle William on the twenty-eighth.⁵⁵ The *Boston News-Letter* of Thursday, May 31, contains the following account of the Governor's return:

Last Monday His Excellency our Governor returned from the Penobscot Country, in the Province Ship King George, having happily succeeded in the Object of his Expedition by taking Possession, for the Crown, in behalf of this Province, of the King's ancient Rights, and establishing the same, by setting down a Fort on Penobscot River.—His Excellency, after having reconnoitred the Country to the Head of the first Falls, fixed upon a high Point of Land, that runs across the River $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Mile, about seven Miles above the old French Fort at Pentagoet.—And we hear the Materials being already prepared and framed at Falmouth, the Fort will be compleated in three Weeks or a Month.

After noting that the Governor spent the night at Castle William, the article continues with a description of the brilliant reception that awaited him in town. As cannon boomed in salute, he was greeted by the Lieutenant-Governor, His Majesty's Council, and many civil and military officers and other prominent gentlemen. He was escorted to the Court House by "the Company of Cadets under Arms." The news item concludes with a notice of Waldo's death and a descrip-

⁵⁴ Aaron Banks was one of the twenty men with Captain Cargill to go to Castine. He liked the place so much that he decided to settle there. Transferred in July, 1759 to Amherst's command, he was present at the capture of Ticonderoga and later at the surrender of Montreal. After the war he returned to Castine and settled there. (*Bangor Historical Magazine*, VII. 25.)

⁵⁵ MS. copy of Pownall's Journal, Massachusetts Archives, 38 A, 324.

tion of the military honors paid in the wilderness of Wasaumkeag Point:

On Wednesday the 23d Instant the Honourable Brigadier-General WALDO, who went with His Excellency in his late Expedition to Penobscot, dropped down with an Apoplexy on the March just above the first Falls; and notwithstanding all the Assistance that could be given, expired in a few Moments. — His Excellency had the Corps brought down with him to the Fort Point,⁵⁶ where it was interred in a Vault built for the Purpose on Friday, with all the Honours due to so faithful a Servant of the Public, and so good a Common-Wealth's-Man, as the Brigadier had ever shewn himself to be. — Upon landing the Corps, it was received by a Guard, and when Procession, began the Ship King George fired Half-minute Guns 'til it arrived at the Place of Interment: — The Procession was led by an Officer's Guard, next to which the Minister, then the Corps carried by the Bargemen of the King George, and the Pall was supported by the principal Officers: The Governor followed as chief Mourner, then Officers of the Troops and the Master-Artificers, employed in Building the Fort, two and two; and the whole closed with a Captain's Guard: Upon coming to the Ground, the Troops under Arms formed a Circle, Divine Service was performed, and a Sermon suitable to the awful Occasion preached by the Reverend Mr. *Phillips*: And upon the Interment of the Corps, the Guards fired three Vollsies over the Grave.

But little more remains to be told of Governor Pownall's activities in America. The General Court thanked him for what he had accomplished at Penobscot, and on June 14 passed a resolve "that there be granted and paid out of the Public Treasury to His Excellency Thomas Pownall Esqr the sum of two hundred pounds in Consideration of His services at Penobscot and his other extraordinary Services to this Government."⁵⁷

On June 4, 1759, Pownall wrote to General Amherst from Boston, commenting upon the Penobscot Expedition. "By the enclosed Journal," he states, "I submitt my late progress to your inspection if it be worthy your Curiosity — The Mapp which I beg your acceptance of will explain it and may

⁵⁶ This is the first instance of the name Fort Point as applied to Wasaumkeag. The name Fort Point still obtains.

⁵⁷ *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay 1759-60*, Chapter 261.

be of some distinct use to you." The date is interesting, since it was not until June 12 that he sent his report upon the same subject to the Board of Trade, enclosing also a copy of the Journal and the map of Penobscot. That Pownall was seeking a bit of recognition from the Ministry for his eastern services, is shown in this letter, for he asks of "one from whom I have experienced so much Kindness and Respect" please to inform them. It would look better, he thought, if Amherst, and not he, undertook the job, adding that he would "not write to the ministry, but leave it to you as the proper channel."⁵⁸

On November 20, 1759, Pownall wrote Pitt from Boston:

I did not think it material, as I do not presume to make any merit of it, to trouble You, amid so many greater Affairs, with my little Excursion to Penobscot Country, General Amherst having, as I suppose, acquainted you of the Success of it, *My Establishing the Possession there by Building a Fort*: But on this Occasion permitt me Sir to observe one good effect of it—As every other River on the Atlantic was possessed by the King's Arms, Had this, a large River navigable to the largest Ship for near sixty miles from the Sea, been left open, This in the very Frontiers of this Province would have been the Rendezvous of all those Canadiens [*sic*] and Indians who have now no remedy left for subsistence but to surrender.

As I have applications from a great many Families for grants of land at Penobscot which Families are ready to go down there next Spring, I am taking Measures to settle it forthwith. And I hope this will not prove the least advantageous amongst the Acquisitions of this Year.⁵⁹

This letter to Pitt was prompted by the receipt of a petition for a grant of "a Suitable Tract of Land on the Bay or River of Penobscot," signed by Wait Wadsworth and about sixty-five others, "for a Township under such Rules and Regulations as the Court shall judge proper." The record reads that the petition was accompanied by a message upon the subject from His Excellency the Governor recommending

⁵⁸ Original Letter-Book of Military Correspondence of Governor Thomas Pownall, 1757-1760, in the possession of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, of Philadelphia, to whom I am deeply indebted for permission to examine these documents and to make extracts from them.

⁵⁹ Kimball, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, II. 213.

that the General Court "consider what Lands We have to Grant." Thereupon it was

Read and Ordered That the Consideration of this Petition be referred till the next Session of this Court: And that all Persons who have any Claims to Lands at or near Penobscot give them into the Secretary's Office before the first of February next: And that notice be given of this Order in the Boston News Papers accordingly.

On November 10, 1759, this order was passed.⁶⁰

In a speech made in the Council Chamber on January 2, 1760, Pownall again called attention to the eastern lands:

There are a Great many Families stand ready to go down to *Penobscot* — I must therefore recommend it to your very serious Consideration, that now every other Obstacle is removed, You will take Care that no Incertainty in the Titles of the Grants they may have, may be any Obstruction to Settlements, which will be so greatly beneficial to the Strength and Interest of the Province.

Pownall's administration of the government of Massachusetts was now drawing to a close. Remarkable changes had taken place in American colonial affairs since his arrival in New York seven years before. Many of these had been brought about by Pownall's own initiative. His intimate knowledge of the colonies and the friendships he made among men of prominence resulted in great regard for the man and keen appreciation of his services. It was Charles Sumner who said of Governor Pownall, "I doubt if any can be named who was his equal in strenuous action or in the minuteness of foresight." This foresight gave Pownall more than an inkling of the problematical outcome of the growing spirit of independence among the colonies after the French and Indian War. He was not in sympathy with the changed policy of the Colonial Office, and was, so to speak, "kicked upstairs" to the office of Governor of South Carolina. This

⁶⁰ Massachusetts Archives, Volume xvi, Appendix xi, 430. The Legislative Record of the Council gives the date November 6, 1759. This was the beginning of a controversy between Massachusetts and Nova Scotia over the title to lands between the Penobscot and the St. Croix. For a discussion of the subject and its bearing upon Pownall's lead plate ceremony, see *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, xxiv. 197-254, for my "Sir Francis Bernard and his Grant of Mount Desert."

office he did not assume, but returned to England, where in 1762, he was made Director-General (with the rank of Colonel) of control of the commissary and joined the English forces in Germany, where he was instrumental in discovering graft in the services of supply. His charges were sustained, upon investigation, and the grafters were punished.⁶¹

He served twice in Parliament, where, as a constant friend of the Colonies, he opposed the schemes for taxation. He was the first to announce, in 1777, that England's sovereignty over America was a thing of the past, and he advocated a commercial treaty to head off the French influence. He was the first member of Parliament to bring in a bill for peace with the Colonies. He was a voluminous writer upon a variety of subjects, although his principal works deal with America. Firm in his conviction that the people there had equal constitutional rights with the English in England, he did not hesitate to say so. He spoke like a prophet as to the future of the United States, but his words only made him the laughing-stock of contemporary politicians. Pownall himself has said that he "was called by the wise men of the British Cabinet a *Wild Man* unfit to be employed."⁶²

An English author, writing of the time when Burke was speaking on America in the House of Commons, says of Pownall that his voice was raised, session after session, in deprecation of the current policy of the Government, but all to no purpose. The course then adopted, Pownall insisted, would inevitably convert loyal subjects into political fanatics, and wealthy merchants and sturdy husbandmen into desperate rebels.

. . . The people of America, he said, were inspired by the same spirit of freedom which had animated their Puritan forefathers, that same indomitable spirit which had induced the founders of American Liberty to banish themselves from all that was near and dear to them in their native land, and, in exchange for all its comforts, its venerable associations, its civilization, its security, and its endearments, to encounter the hardships and the perils of the

⁶¹ C. A. W. Pownall, *Thomas Pownall, M.P., F.R.S., etc.* (London, 1908), Appendix, where an extended bibliography of the Governor's writings is to be found.

⁶² *Memorial to the Sovereigns of America* (London, 1783), 73-74.

wilderness, and the neighbourhood of the treacherous and merciless savage . . . [it was] the descendants of those men, actuated by the same yearning after freedom and the same loathing of oppression [with whom Parliament was dealing]. "Necessity [he insisted] is not the ground of their commerce with you. It is merely the affectation of your modes and customs; the love for home, as they call England, that makes them like everything that comes from thence. . . . Passion may be conquered by passion, [he warns]. They will abominate, as sincerely as they now love you; and if they do, they have within themselves everything requisite to the food, raiment, or the dwelling of mankind, and have no need of your commerce."⁶³

With the Boston Port Bill under discussion in the House of Lords and other arbitrary measures under consideration by Lord North, Pownall again voices opposition to such actions. "The people of Massachusetts," he says, "instead of being a set of thankless discontented and turbulent rioters," such as their enemies had represented them, were, as a community, as "religious, conscientious and peaceable a people as in His Majesty's dominions." But Lord North was determined, since there had been tar-and-feather parties in Boston, plundering of merchants, and burning of ships, together with a general defiance of law and order, that now was the time to take a different course. "We must risk something — if we don't, all is over," said he — to which Pownall replied that if they persisted in their present arbitrary policy all would, indeed, be "over."

I tell you . . . that the Americans will oppose the measures, now proposed by you, in a more vigorous way than before. The Committees of Correspondence in the different provinces are in constant communication. They trust not in the conveyance of the post-office. They have set up a constitutional courier, who will soon grow up and supersede your post-office. As soon as an intelligence of these affairs reaches them, they will judge it necessary to communicate with each other. It will be found inconvenient and ineffectual to do so by letters. They must confer. They will hold a Conference; and to what these committees, thus met in congress, will grow up, I will not say. Should recourse be had to arms, you will hear of other officers than those appointed by your governor.

⁶³ John Heneage Jesse, *Memoirs: The Life and Reign of King George the Third* (London, 1867), I, 536-537.

Should matters once come to that, it will be, as it was in the late civil wars of this country, of little consequence to dispute who were the aggressors. That will be merely a matter of opinion.⁶⁴

When Parliament assembled on November 20, 1777, Pownall's voice was heard again. There was a general desire for peace — in spite of which British statesmen were resolved to insist on the dependency of the Colonies. The news of Burgoyne's surrender had not yet reached England, and rumors of a French alliance were in the air. Pownall well knew what French aid would mean to the Colonies, and he urged that the war be brought to an end.

I tell this House and this Government . . . that the Americans never will return to their subjection to this country. The sovereignty . . . of Great Britain over America [is] abolished and gone for ever. Until you shall be convinced . . . that you are no longer sovereigns over America, but that the United States are an independent sovereign people — until you are prepared to treat them as such — it is of no consequence at all what schemes or plans of conciliation this side of the House or that may suggest.⁶⁵

Innumerable examples of Pownall's prophetic vision might be given, but enough has been said to show how he stood on matters relating to the Colonies. It was not by snap judgments or defective deductions that he arrived at his conclusions: his methods of reasoning were inductive, that is, they were based upon observation and experiment. Thus he was the first English statesman truthfully to predict, on the basis of his experience in America, precisely what would happen if a group of fox-hunting, country-squire politicians, then in the saddle, should try to work their will with a people jealous of their rights as "free-born Englishmen."

Mr. WOLKINS, on behalf of WORTHINGTON C. FORD, called attention to the Society's elaborate manuscript journal of a Frenchman who brought a party to America to establish Castorland on Lake Ontario, in the state of New York, and presented for Mr. FORD a share of the stock, dated June 28, 1793, which he had obtained at an auction sale. Mr. FORD wrote:

⁶⁴ Jesse, *George the Third* (London, 1867), I. 559.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.* II. 182.

COMPAGNIE DE NEW-YORCK.

ACQUISITION sous le nom de PIERRE OUSASSANIS, de deux cent mille acres de terres & dépendances, désignées sous le nom de Castorland, & situées dans l'état de New-Yorck, Comté de Montgomery, sur les bords du lac Ontario & de la rivière Black, par acte du 13 avril 1793.

N^o 1629

CUPON INDIVIS.

Le Porteur, au moyen du payement effectué du prix de l'Action entière, N. *sur le compte d'ingis gien*, dont le présent Coupon fait partie, est intéressé, en vertu dudit coupon, pour un deux-millième, dans les cent mille acres & autres objets dépendans de l'acquisition sus-énoncée, & restés en société entre les Actionnaires, suivant l'acte d'établissement de ladite Compagnie, en date du 28 juin 1793, dont un quadruple est resté aux archives de ladite Compagnie, & un autre sera enregistré & déposé en la ville de New-Yorck.

Gieyot
Commissaire.

Chesand
Directeur.

Gieyot
Commissaire.

Vu, conformément audit acte du 28 juin 1793.

Sambor

Cette action est cinquante fois originaire

[Signature]

Here is a document which I would ask you to give to the Historical Society in my name. The Society has an elaborate journal (MS) of the Frenchman who brought a party to America to establish Castorland, but I do not remember that it has a share of the stock. The piece came into the auction room and was too pertinent to be missed.

Colonel BANKS called attention to the fact that York, Maine, could celebrate this year the three-hundredth anniversary of the founding of that town by Edward Godfrey, a London merchant, who built the first house there, in 1630. He also exhibited from the Society's Collection of Manuscripts the original charter of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, creating the city of "Gorgeana," in 1642, now the town of York. This charter has been in the possession of the Society since 1798.

Mr. NORCROSS presented copies of two letters in his collection written by Governors Shirley and Pownall.

SIR ¹

I have received your Letters of the 19th and 21 Instant. I am sensible that the Contention among the Officers employed for raising Soldiers for the Expedition and their Solicitations for drawing over those that are upon the point of agreeing with other Officers is a great prejudice to the Service, and I should have been glad to have an effectual remedy applied [*sic*] to their misconduct in this affair, and as I have opportunity [*sic*] I shall let 'em know my Disapprobation thereof.

As to what you propose about making up four compleat Companies out of the parcels of men inlisted [*sic*] in your County it will be agreeable to me, Provided the officers (being otherwise unexceptionable) are likely to have the affection of the Soldiers that may be put under them, and that the men themselves that are to be turned over have received the Bounty and are absolutely and in due form inlisted into the Service in which last case they may be treated according to Military Law. But unless we can be possessed of the papers and proofs of their inlistment (which the officers under whom they are inlisted will probably secrete, if they suspect that Commissions will not be granted to 'em, we shall not be able to make proof of their inlistment; and there-

¹ For the circumstances of the colonial preparations for the Canadian Expedition to which this letter refers and Lieutenant-General St. Clair, mentioned in the first postscript, see Charles Henry Lincoln, Ed., *Correspondence of William Shirley* (New York, 1912), I. 323-405.

fore I thought it would be best to order all those officers (as I have done by advertisement in the public Prints) to march their men without Delay to Boston, where they will pass the muster and their enlistments will be required by the muster master from the officers who have enlisted them; and as I find no disposition in the Southern Governments for altering that part of the plan which relates to the Troops from New England going by Sea, and you tell me this seems most agreeable to your people you will let me know your opinion as soon as may be whether this matter of making up the Companies will not be best effected at Boston. The four officers you mention viz Lieutenant-Colonel Williams Major Pomroy Captain Williams of Stockbridge and Captain Ephraim Williams will be very agreeable to me, provided they do their part in raising the men otherwise some inconvenience may ensue; but I would still hope for a fifth Company out of your Country; and it may be a few days more will give some considerable advantage to some of the recruiting officers—I would endeavor that all proper methods be used for making those officers easy who have enlisted a number of men and yet must be disappointed as to their having any Command over 'em; as to Captain Williams of Deerfield if you could find some command for him over the forces on your Frontiers it's probable that might satisfy him. I shall write further to you in a few days. In the meantime I desire that you would give me an account of the numbers of men enlisted in proper form.

There is no grounds for the notion of McClanachan's having any military post—You may depend upon it that none of the men raised within your County shall be applied to make up Companies in other parts

I am

Sir your most assured friend
and Servant

I have not heard anything
of General St. Clair yet I shall write
more fully in my next—

W SHIRLEY

I think it would be right that the Indians of the six nations should have something in Expectation, depending upon their behavior in the Warr; But it seems to me, it will be necessary to give 'em something in hand.

[Endorsed:] 1747.

DEAR SIR.

I received a letter from Mr. Paine this morning and in half an hour after He called himself in his way on his journey to the West —

I told I was glad to see him as I had rather talk and treat with him amicably than to putt our negotiations into the course of Law — as I was about to do having desired you to call upon him to come to some settlement on his articles for the lease.

He began by saying that he meant every thing that was fair — but He could not but that He understood not that condition of the Lease which engaged to lay out 800*L* on the Premises and that no such was talk of when He signed the Articles. I reminded him of the conversation, but He was unwilling to remember. I then asked him to speak out whether He meant to take that as a ground to evade complying with his Articles. He said certainly not but He thought that some accommodation ought to be come to on that head as well as on the head of the land: tax — the last he did not persist much in but on the former asked me if I would lay out part of the 800 — I said directly no — I then told him that whatever came of the Lease which I found He meant to make matter of future discussion — His settling the account of the rent as He was in actual possession and had in part settled, was what I should expect to be done as a preliminary. He promised to settle that on his return at the end of next week, before that time I will come to Town and see Mr. Gordon and his Lawyer for if I remember right Mr. Pain was present when we settled these conditions of the Lease — I shall by that time be able to talk with you on the Business like a man of Business — which I confess this letter has not much the air of — I write however as stating my grounds why you may deferr [*sic*] writing to him till I see him again —

Your obliged friend and
Servant

RICHMONDHILL

September 14 — 80 —
SURREY

T POWNALL

[*Addressed to:*]

Joseph Sharpe, Esq.,
Lincoln's Inn,
London.

[*Endorsed:*] 14 September, 1780

Lieutenant-Governor Pownall
At Mr. James Rayner
of Queen Anne Street
Rathmore Place.

MOORFIELD STOREY . A MEMOIR

BY

JOHN T. MORSE, JR.¹

CHARLES WILLIAM STOREY, Moorfield's father, was a very cultivated gentleman, greatly addicted to books and reading, a comrade of Dr. O. W. Holmes and his brother John Holmes, of James Russell Lowell, John Bartlett, Nathan Hale, Judge Hoar, who was his classmate at Harvard, Mr. Evarts, and a coterie of clever friends. He is remembered as a very charming companion, agreeable, kindly, popular, but whose current of life, at once tranquil and cheerful, was perturbed by no especial ambition or unconquerable passion for work. On the mother's side the picture was different. She was a very noteworthy woman, with a strong intellect and also a strong will, active, resolute, energetic, with a good old-fashioned New England conscience. These few words concerning his parents are interesting, because Storey himself was to a remarkable degree an amalgam, as if the qualities of the two had been welded together in one containing crucible.

Storey was born in Roxbury (now Boston) March 19, 1845. Schooling was obtained at the Boston Latin School beneath the influence and the rod of that famous pedagogue, Francis Gardner, a very competent instructor and a notable master of boys. Storey's reminiscences of him were kindly — but Storey was a very good boy. Thence he went to Harvard College, entering in 1862 the Class of 1866 and thereby becoming a "man"; — we were very sensitive and punctilious about the use of that descriptive word in those days. There he passed quite an ideal four years, well compounded of pleasure and study; just what a college course ought to be, and sometimes is. He learned very easily, and had an excellent memory, whereby he was able to graduate the sixth

¹ Reprinted, by permission, from the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVIII, 151: (March, 1930), 291-302.

in the Class for the four years, and for the senior year standing the first. He was Class Orator at graduation. Yet he was no "dig," but had abundant time for the amenities of academic life, which he enjoyed to even an unusual degree. He became one in a group of friends quite as lively and not quite so foolish as the collegiate average, and so congenial that they held together through all later life in a close and affectionate fellowship: Thomas S. Perry, Charles E. Stratton, Robert S. Peabody, John D. Williams, John G. Curtis, Edward Waldo Emerson, Edward C. Perkins, Edward N. Fenno, and two or three more who escape my memory. Such class comradeships occur occasionally, but by no means in all classes. There was a notable case of such an one in the Class of 1857; it was one of the advantages which belonged to those days of small classes. Such camaraderie, when it occurred, was a source of great pleasure. In a long life of association largely with Harvard graduates, I have fallen in with none who have had more affectionate associations with their university life than this group of the Class of 1866 preserved.

After graduation Storey entered the Harvard Law School, at that time in a puny adolescence, with little promise of such an excellence as it has now attained. There was not much stimulation in it then, and if his own account of himself may be trusted, he did not at once become absorbed in the pursuit of that profession in which he was later to become famous. In a sketch written in his old age he described himself as rather exceptionally light-hearted, merry, sociable, and fond of a good time, and this at least he apparently got. He said that he used to dance half the night at a party, and to sleep half the day over his books. Yet somehow or other he so acquitted himself as to attract the favorable notice of Charles Sumner, and was invited to go to Washington as private secretary for that Senator. Naturally he accepted, and entered upon a most enjoyable year. Of course he was introduced to the best society in the Capital; he had abundant time for balls, callings, and dinners; he met many men of distinction who evidently saw in him a youngster worth talking to in an intelligent way. He had his usual good luck, for it was the winter of the impeachment trial of Andrew John-

son, in which naturally he took great interest, and was able to furnish to Mr. Sumner some suggestive work, which that gentleman highly complimented. But the event of really dazzling importance was, that he met, fell in love with, and became engaged to his future wife, Miss Gertrude Cutts. She belonged to the family from which President Madison had chosen his handsome wife, and her father, General Cutts, of the Coast Survey, was prominent in Washington society. According to Storey's own account she danced extremely well, and as he frankly intimates that he himself was no poor adept in that amusement, they naturally came sympathetically together at the winter series of parties — he says that during the whole winter he had only two unengaged evenings. Thus they, as it were, waltzed into each other's affections, and by remarkable good luck never in later life regretted a connection founded upon so unstable a basis. "No man," he wrote in his reminiscences, "was ever more ineligible than I was when I made my call on General Cutts"; and the words were true enough. But he promptly set very resolutely to work to better the situation. Instead of renewing his engagement with Mr. Sumner, he returned to Boston, and obtained his admission to the Suffolk Bar in Massachusetts, thus securing at least a calling in life, though, as times then were, a dubious one. For one could not live on the profession alone; there must be clients also, and they were a very shadowy and incorporeal crowd.

Having a lively remembrance of the early years of the youthful barristers of those days, I marvel at his hopefulness. But with that astonishing good fortune which attended him through life, he had better luck in getting work than befell most of us who, having hopefully painted our names on a ground glass door, thereafter sat awaiting the client who rarely came to break the weary solitude. Storey, however, had the happy fortune hardly to taste this bitterness; for he obtained, almost at once, the position of Assistant District Attorney for Suffolk County. This meant, it is true, only a small salary, with the not very alluring duty of prosecuting for the most part petty criminal cases, with only occasionally anything so interesting as a murder, and he spoke of it afterward as an "inauspicious beginning," though there were

plenty among his coevals who envied him. Certainly he did not desire either to become a criminal lawyer, or to go through life as a seeker of official positions. Yet this present one, though not thus altogether attractive, at least enabled him to take upon himself the burden of matrimony which he had the courage, or recklessness, at once to do. Also in a professional way it was infinitely better than sitting before a small fire in a rusty grate, in the dreary silence of an empty office. It gave him self-possession and readiness in the courtroom and much valuable practice in examining witnesses. Further also it gave him the very great advantage of attracting the attention of other members of the bar, and showing what his abilities were. This soon bore good fruit. The business of law in those days was very different from what it is now. Those big partnerships, resembling great mercantile establishments, and wherein some partners hardly know others by sight, did not then exist for the absorption of a flock of youngsters. Few partnerships held more than two partners, and when Storey received an invitation to come, on trial, as a junior into the firm of Brooks and Ball, it was at once a compliment and a piece of exceptional good fortune. The firm had probably the largest clientele among business men of any in Boston. The partners were known as the hardest working lawyers in the city, and it used to be quizzically said that their doors, like the doors of the temple of Janus, were never closed by day or by night. But this did not daunt Storey; work was just what he wanted, and he took the biggest dose of it with grateful avidity. In this connection he remained for many years until the exhausted seniors had at last to rest from their labors. By that time he had a throng of clients who knew and relied upon him personally, so that he felt quite able to become a senior partner himself. In 1887 he accordingly formed a partnership with his friend and classmate, John Thorndike, and also Sherman Hoar, which prospered until about 1894, when Mr. Hoar left, to become a member of the House of Representatives in Washington. About the same time, in 1895 or 96, Mr. Bradley W. Palmer joined the firm, which thereafter, with slight changes of name and the inevitable changes of personnel, has continued to this day. It soon became not only one of the two

or three most distinguished firms in Boston, but ere long attained considerable repute beyond the state limits. It is no derogation to his co-partners to say that, personally, he was its most distinguished member.

In olden times there used to be what was called "the leading lawyer" in Boston, such as Benjamin R. Curtis, Sidney Bartlett, William G. Russell; but growth and the development of different departments in legal practice were incompatible with the survival of this distinction, so that in these later times we hear of *a* leading lawyer, not *the* leading lawyer. Had the habit continued longer, Storey might have aspired to the old-time honor. Certainly by the time he had reached his prime no list of even three or four of our leading lawyers could have been drawn up which would not have included him. He was neither a "case lawyer," nor a "jury-lawyer," nor a "chamber counsel"; he was circumscribed by no department or specialty; but continued in the old-fashioned way to some extent to combine all. As an advocate before a jury he was very forcible. In this line of practice his earnest, I might say ardent, temperament efficiently aided his argument and inspired his eloquence. For he had the happiest gift which a forensic counsel can possess, in that he was both sympathetic and sincere. I can not imagine him as ever handling a case wherein he did not believe thoroughly in his client and his cause. Perhaps it may be admitted that there was in him a little infusion of the spirit of partisanship; but at least it had its root in conviction, and it was the force of his own conviction which passed into his words. So he was an antagonist to be dreaded; yet only by reason of his earnestness and his ability, for never in his life could the most excited antagonist criticize him for any of those disingenuous frailties which laymen are apt to attribute to lawyers. He hit hard, but never a foul blow. He never alleged what he did not fully believe. In this connection I recall a criminal case in which he was engaged. The defendant was a man of good social standing; the charge was of defalcation on a large scale. It aroused the greatest interest in Boston and at first much partisanship. But as the case developed, all possibility of doubt as to the guilt of the defendant vanished. In the courtroom, though all hope was gone, it was of course impossible

for Storey to leave his client in the lurch. He did all that was honorably possible, but it was noticeable that afterward, outside the court-room amid all the eager talk in the circle of his friends, he simply rested absolutely silent. His annoyance might be guessed at, but not one word could ever be drawn from him.

As an adviser no member of the bar held a higher position than he did. His professional knowledge, his breadth of vision, his discretion never failed him. He had no ambition for the bench, though doubtless he might easily have sat thereon had he desired to do so. Perhaps it was a just appreciation of the nature of his own intellectual abilities which led him to prefer general practice to the tedium of judicial work. Perhaps, too, a taste for conflict — the joy and exhilaration of battle — went with his remarkable ability for it, as one generally enjoys the work in which he excels. At any rate, however it may be explained, the result was for the best, and he fortunately devoted his life to precisely the work for which he was best fitted. Business he always had in more than abundance — “big business” as the phrase goes. The name of the partnership had its place in the shortest and most select list that could be made of the distinguished firms in the country. The Union Pacific Railroad, the United Fruit Company, and many other corporations of the highest standing brought their business to Storey, Thorndike and Palmer. Thorndike was a famous drawer of papers, while Storey personally was especially in demand for advising and for court business. He was called repeatedly into many States, making long stays, and often arguing in the courts in the Far West and South. At one time he even was engaged to go to England for a couple of months. Such trips were exacting, of course, but they were immensely flattering and also were not without their amenities. He met, not only professionally but in pleasant social intercourse, many persons of note, especially in his own profession, and he made so high and so extended a reputation that in 1894 he received the greatest distinction of the profession in this country, in being chosen President of the American Bar Association.

All this, with the easy way in which he took and performed his work, was remarkable. He never appeared harassed or

exhausted. In the street he had time always to stop and chat with any friend whom he met. In the social gatherings at dinner tables or evening entertainments and clubs he talked as care-free as if there were no such thing as litigation in the world. He never had a "break-down," never had to "go away for a rest." How he could carry so easily so much and such important work was a marvel.

Of course so much business of such a grade brought financial prosperity. The young fellow who had dared to begin housekeeping on an income of \$2000 or \$3000 a year became a rich man. The easy, natural way in which he took this, as if it were a mere natural incident not worthy of remark, was unique. Money appeared to drop in as quite a mere matter of course, a simple incident that was to be expected in life. He was generous and free-handed, and what he enjoyed he made others enjoy with him. He built a handsome house in the Fenway; he had a fine farm at Lincoln, to which he was much attached, and he escaped the midsummer heats at Cranberry Island, off the coast of Mount Desert in Maine, where he was an extensive land-owner. In these places he delighted to play the host to throngs of family² and friends, and never did he appear to more advantage than when he moved about at these gatherings, with a pleased and cordial smile upon his very expressive face. It was a fair scene indeed to look upon, and many who survive must often recall these gatherings with pleasant memories.

So much for Storey's professional and social life. But from the standpoint of his own views and interests it is probable that he would say that our most important paragraphs have not yet been written. In his opinion, these would concern the part which he played in public affairs. For, while wholly devoid of personal political ambition, he was profoundly interested all his life long in political conflicts. It was an inborn taste, propensity, or even passion. He never felt that he had done enough when he had cast his own vote; he was zealous also to influence the votes of others; he was public-spirited in an emphatic way; in fact it was a very intense element in his nature.

² He left thirteen grandchildren and four great-grandchildren.

He never held a public office; and with one exception, when he ran for Congress, but unsuccessfully, he never was, and I think never would have consented to be, a candidate for one. The function which he chose — very wisely and with shrewd appreciation of his own peculiar abilities — was, to be the active, working, influential, and personally disinterested, private citizen, and it was a role which he played to perfection. Happily, however, he had no fellowship with those virtuous and unpleasant persons called “reformers.” Simply in every controversy of a public nature his function was to take the side of moral right and to stand for it, both defensively and offensively. He was a splendid fighter. He could strike better than he could parry; he was masterly in offense, and he conducted it with terrible power. He was not exactly a partisan, did not in any permanent way become an integral part or member of any political party; but when any question came into discussion he studied it apart and by itself, with reference only to its own merits, and having thus satisfied himself where intrinsic right lay, he allied himself with those who stood for that right. He might have taken for his armorial motto the old quotation, *Tros Tyriusve*, etc., with the understanding that Tros was a Republican and Tyrius a Democrat. So, being untrammelled by the confining bonds of permanent political allegiance, he was free to say: “If Lincoln and Sumner were Republicans, I was a Republican; if Cleveland was a Democrat, I was a Democrat; if George William Curtis was an Independent, I was an Independent.”

His first political affiliation was with a few of his personal friends and neighbors in Massachusetts who were scandalized by some of the doings during General Grant’s administrations. They formed themselves into a Club, elected Storey their President, put in some good hard work, and succeeded in electing their candidate, Theodore Lyman of Brookline, to the national House of Representatives over his opponent, Mr. Candler, the sitting member. It was this campaign that launched Storey into political activities, and fortunately with an encouraging success which was not too often to be repeated afterward — not that failure would have in the least daunted him. He was by no means of a temperament to be discouraged by a defeat — quite the contrary!

This paper can not be transmuted into a political-historical treatise on our own times, and it is therefore impossible here even to sketch ever so briefly all the conflicts which henceforth succeeded each other nearly to the very close of his life. He never rested; one would suppose, from any narrative of all that he did in this department of activities, that he could have had no time for anything else. That he should also have been a hard-working, much-sought lawyer seems incredible. Yet so it was. All that he found time to do, there is not herein room to enumerate; as they say in the Legislature, the bill must be "read by its title."

The greatest efforts of his early life were called forth by his unsparing antagonism toward General Butler. For a long while there was an obstinate conflict, and Butler scored some successes; but in the end he went down to defeat, and it may be truly said that numerous, able, and zealous as his opponents were, certainly no other one among them had done such effective work as was that of Storey.

The Blaine campaign was the next very notable incident in Storey's public career. In this he expended his energy with hearty zeal in behalf of Cleveland, and so again had the pleasure of finding himself among the victors. Unfortunately it brought about his final breach with Henry Cabot Lodge, which was a matter of importance in both their lives. They had started out as personal friends and political allies, but their theories of political obligations were so fundamentally different that a falling apart was inevitable; it was a chasm made by Nature herself. Indeed, I think that in time their hostility became so acute that they scarcely preserved even the semblance of personal courtesy. In this initial rift, occurring in the Blaine controversy, Storey's view was that the supreme law of morality imperatively forbade voting for a candidate who morally was shamefully smirched. Lodge was of the opinion that the voter should remain loyal to that party whose ascendancy he believed essential to wise and good government, although in an isolated matter it had accidentally fallen into an unfortunate error. It was a fair difference of thought, but it occurred in a matter where feeling ran so high that in the community at large instances were frequent where old friendships were spoiled by quarrels; and so it

happened in this case. Both gentlemen were good friends of mine, and I refrain from discussing the matter. But it developed that Storey's view was held by enough "independents" to turn the scales at the elections, and he was greatly elated by the signal success of his side. I will say that I feel quite sure that, after the heats of conflict had subsided, Lodge would have been willing to forget his anger; but Storey felt that Lodge had shown such a fundamental lack of sound morality as made further coöperation with him impossible.

There is no space here to do more than allude to other semi-political causes in which Storey took an active part. For the welfare and uplift of the Negro Race he strove from his early to his latest years. It was a permanent desire in his life to help these poor people, so unkindly tinted by Nature, to approach as nearly as possible to the level of a more popular shade of coloring. The friends of the Negro may be divided into two very different classes, the difference being that which lies between the spoken word and the efficient act. It was to the latter group that Storey belonged. No doubt the depth and enduring quality of his feeling was in a measure the outgrowth of early influences, for it took root and expanded when he was still an impressible youth. The emancipation of the Negro and the conferring upon him, somewhat later, of civil rights were controversies which were stirring the nation when Storey was a collegian and a young graduate. He was of an ardent temperament, and filled with that idealistic love of political freedom which is apt to burn hotly in generous youth. Only in him the flame did not burn low as later years drew on. It was enduring, and even in the busiest times of after life he continued to go personally among the Negroes of Boston, to make their acquaintance, to talk, consult, advise with them, and render them practical assistance in many ways. Long ago, when a wave of oppression swept through the South, and every few days brought new tales of lynchings, burnings, and cruel torturings, he became hotly excited, and his efforts to suppress the awful cruelties were strenuous. It was no easy thing for one man, and he a Northerner, really to effect a substantial improvement; yet unquestionably he did very much.

The horror was in time checked, and though it can not be said that the task was achieved by him, at least he was principally conspicuous among the rescuers. His death filled the Negroes of our city with grief, and many were the black faces, grave and sad, at his funeral, seeking to give evidence of the reverential feeling of the race for a good and useful friend.

A few years ago, he became interested in behalf of the Armenians, and earned also their gratitude. The Indians too sought and obtained his aid. These were smaller matters; but when the question of the status to be established for the Philippine Islands became a matter of heated controversy, he buckled on his armor and laid his lance in rest for a struggle *à outrance*. He wrote and published a book on the subject. He spared no labor, and left nothing undone that was within his power. He could not prevail, of course; the great governmental machine was not to be overcome by any combinations of private citizens. The only satisfaction he could have was that of the lawyer who, while vehemently arguing a perfectly hopeless case before the Court, remarked, "I know that I cannot make the Judges decide for me; but I mean to make it just as disagreeable as possible for them to decide against me." So Storey had at least the gratification of making things extremely uncomfortable for the Administration. Whether he was right or wrong, I have no idea; but that he demeaned himself in this as in other cases, as a *preux chevalier*, the champion of the weaker but meritorious party, there can be no doubt.

These persistent and repeated efforts of Storey in behalf of down-trodden groups grew out of a special moral quality — a profound, nay, a passionate, respect for human independence and for individual rights. It is this same quality which has created rebels against tyranny in all ages and among all peoples — high-spirited wrath against oppression, a generous readiness to champion those who are being robbed of their human rights. Storey had a double right, through two different patriot ancestors, to membership in the Cincinnati, an honor which he highly valued; and thus perhaps he had to a double degree an inherited right or duty to stand for the equality of all men before the law. But whether the instinct

was thus generously inherited or not, certain it is that he possessed it to an unusual and noteworthy extent, and he held it not as an abstract doctrine or social or political theory, but as a very concrete and practical rule of conduct.

In the heated controversy which ensued after the second great war Storey took no active part. He was of course offended by the egotistical obstinacy of President Wilson, and perhaps if the protagonist of the other part had been any one else than Senator Lodge, he might have chosen to say something — though I rather think not. His interest, however, was intense. He was an intimate friend of Lord Bryce, who sought and highly valued his opinion, and this relationship led to a series of letters to that gentleman, written at brief intervals, treating of the various phases of the debate and sketching the swaying to and fro of public sentiment. These were remarkable and most interesting productions, and surprisingly fair and moderate in tone. It would be well worth while that they should some day be published; they would make a book of great usefulness and value for the historian.

From the foregoing paragraphs it is not to be suspected that Storey was of a quarrelsome or contumacious disposition. He was neither the one nor the other. In his private life he was one of the kindest, most genial, and companionable of men; and his loyalty and heartiness in friendship were touching. No one in his generation had more steadfast friends than the staunch band which mustered always to support him. In general society he was much in demand, for admittedly there was no better dinner-table comrade in town. He was most agreeable in conversation; could chime with grave or gay as the case might be; and always "talked fair," giving his neighbor an even chance with equal courtesy whether such neighbor was a rival in good talk, or a tedious bore. His store of illustrative allusions, tales, and jests was inexhaustible; and I may say that in long years of constant intercourse I never heard him help out the entertainment by a coarse story. Neither did he ever italicize his talk with slang. He needed not to limp upon such crutches as either of these. In talk, as in writing, he was a master of good English. This indeed I early discovered: When he and his friend, Samuel Hoar, were editing the *Law Review* he sent back to me one

day the manuscript of an article which I had contributed. Surprised, I turned over the pages only to find them disfigured by liberal blue pencilings. Storey had been amusing himself, forsooth, by playing schoolmaster for his friend's style! I checked my anger, examined, and in half an hour I got more instruction than I had received at Harvard College in two years' training under the famous Professor, "Stubby" Child. It was that incident that led me afterward to notice Storey's own style both in talk and in writing; it was not picturesque, nor exactly eloquent, but it was as clear, pure, correct, and forcible English as could well be spoken or written. To the *American Statesmen* Series he contributed *Charles Sumner*, an admirable piece of work, to which he devoted much labor, making it certainly one of the best volumes in the series. As I write this paragraph touching upon his social and personal qualities he seems to come before me, as he used to sit in his chair at our dinner table of "The Club," and I appreciate him more justly even than I did in life — the most charming companion, next perhaps to Dr. Holmes, the "Autocrat," whom I have had the good fortune ever to meet — and persons who have had much more converse with the brilliant world than has fallen to my lot would, I am sure, repeat the same estimate.

With whatever ease and good sense Storey might take his heavy burden of varied work, he could not evade inexorable Time. He began to grow old, gradually and serenely, yet visibly. With his usual keen intelligence he was quite as well aware of it as his friends reluctantly became. His manner of meeting it was as creditable, as admirable as his activities had hitherto been. He made no embarrassing allusions to it; he simply became more silent and let the friends carry on the conversation, receiving them always with cordiality and evident pleasure. Thus at his country place, at Lincoln, he glided quietly out of life on October 24, 1929.

Such is a meagre and insufficient sketch of Moorfield Storey, a preface, or table of contents, as it were, for a proper volume. It is vexatious and it is foolish to try to present in miniature a portrait which can be drawn adequately only in life-size. Less active and less useful lives are nowadays made to fill large volumes. But he himself would have been indifferent

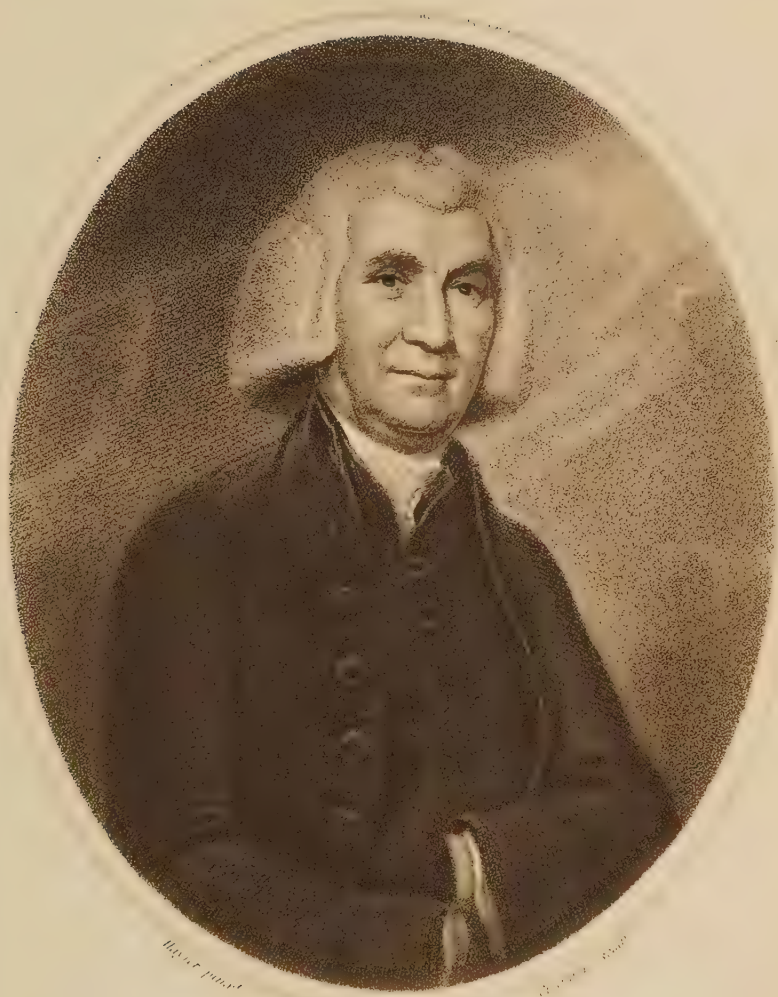
to such glorification, and if he should return to life he would not look for his name on the back of an octavo. To make right succeed, whether in law or politics or socially, completely satisfied his interest, and, as to receiving any credit for having done so, he never cared for that a whit — the most genuine and least egotistical of men.

LETTERS

OF THE

REVEREND WILLIAM GORDON
Historian of the American Revolution

1770-1799



Rev. William Gordon (1791)



INTRODUCTORY NOTE

WILLIAM GORDON, one of the earliest and most ambitious historians of the American Revolution, was born in Hitchin, England, on March 8, 1728/29, and died in Ipswich, Suffolk, October 19, 1807. He was educated for the independent ministry at an academy in Plasterers' Hall, Adle Street, London, supported by the King's Head Society and presided over at the time by Zephaniah Marryatt, D.D. After graduation Gordon was for thirteen years (1751-1764) settled as a minister at Ipswich, and then after a six years' pastorate at Gravel Lane, Southwark (1764-1770), decided to emigrate to America.¹ All his life Gordon was something of the "political parson"; so it seems reasonable to believe that his departure from England in the autumn of 1770 is chiefly to be accounted for by his sympathy with the spirit of restlessness in the American Colonies. With his wife, Elizabeth Field, of London, and one maid he arrived at Philadelphia about November first, putting up there, temporarily, as the guest of Dr. Benjamin Rush.²

Always quick to meet persons who might be useful to him, Gordon soon formed a friendship with Ezra Stiles, from whose pulpit in Rhode Island he preached June 2, 1771, on his way to Boston.³ Perhaps by this means it came about that the Third Congregational Society of Roxbury, Massachusetts, organized the previous winter, appointed Gordon their preacher for one year, at the end of which time he was, on June 5, 1772, unanimously invited to become their minister. When he preached his Farewell Sermon on March 17, 1786, the sentiment of the congregation seemed to be one of regret at his wish to leave."⁴ But appreciation was not confined to his parish: in 1774 he preached before the Provincial Congress at Watertown, and the General Court heard an Election Ser-

¹ F. B. Dexter, Ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles etc.* (New York, 1901), I. 106-107. Also Letter to George Washington, July 13, 1786.

² To Horatio Gates, October 14, 1779.

³ Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I. 107.

⁴ See Thomas Gray, *Half Century Sermon* (Boston, 1842), 12, for Gordon's relations with his parish.

mon from him in 1775 and an Independence Anniversary Sermon on July 4, 1777. Jabez Fitch, Jr., chaplain of a Connecticut regiment before Boston, wrote (October 22, 1775) of Gordon: "I liked his discourse the best of any preaching that I have heard since I came into camp."⁵ Whether in court or camp, Gordon developed his natural aptitude for meeting persons of importance.

On May 29, 1775, the Provincial Congress authorized Gordon to inspect a volume of copies of Governor Hutchinson's letters then in the hands of Captain McLane, "at the upper mills in Milton,"⁶ and on July 11, the Congress appointed him one of a committee of three with Dr. Cooper of Boston and the Reverend Peter Thacher to prepare a true statement of the Battle of Bunker Hill to be transmitted to England. Thacher drew up the report; what part Gordon had in it is not known.⁷ A few weeks later he first mentions his historical work;⁸ by 1776 he was enlisting promises of support right and left, and 1777 saw the task of collecting materials well under way.⁹ The "Letters of William Gordon" are primarily interesting as an illustration of the ideals and methods of the historian: not only did he examine, for material, the private papers of General Gates, with whom he was familiar,¹⁰ but his greatest triumph as a seeker after genuine sources was the privilege of a visit to Mount Vernon (June 2-9, 1784), during which time he went through thirty-three volumes of Washington's correspondence.¹¹

From a pleasing, if unfriendly, description of Gordon's character and activities in Sir George Otto Trevelyan's *American Revolution*,¹² it can easily be understood why this self-appointed historiographer was not uniformly popular, even among the patriots with whom he sympathized so insistently. In 1775, for instance, he went to Philadelphia and met John Adams, who thought him "an eternal talker, and somewhat vain, and not accurate nor judicious . . . fond of being

⁵ 2 *Proceedings*, IX. 71.

⁶ 1 *Proceedings*, XIII. 223-224.

⁷ *Proceedings*, LIX. 36-45.

⁸ To Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, July 30, 1775.

⁹ To John Adams, March 27, 1777, and June 5, 1777.

¹⁰ To George Washington, October 12, 1782.

¹¹ To Horatio Gates, August 31, 1784.

¹² Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., *The American Revolution*, Part II. (New York, 1903), I. 122-126; Appendix I. 350-351.

thought a man of influence at head-quarters.”¹³ In 1779, as a result of repeating gossip at second hand, he became involved in a quarrel with Alexander Hamilton, who refers to him as “the old Jesuit” in a letter to John Laurens (September 11, 1779).¹⁴ But the zeal of this bustling busybody was not of the kind to be discouraged either by neglect of persons to answer his letters or open enmity: in 1778, immediately after Saratoga, he had interviewed General Burgoyne at Cambridge;¹⁵ and his brain was fertile with schemes and suggestions—political, economic, and military—many of which must have been tedious to the persons to whom he consigned them. Apparently he did not quite succeed at trying to be all things to all men, for of the people he met in America, John Hancock was the object of his unfailing suspicion.¹⁶

Yet Gordon was not altogether without honor in his adopted country: he received the degree of A.M. from Harvard (1772), an M.A. from Yale (1773), and D.D. from Princeton (1777), and never missed an opportunity, in his capacity as Overseer of Harvard, to mix in the tumultuous affairs of the college. His report of the struggle to get an accounting from John Hancock covering the period of his service as Treasurer (1773–1777)¹⁷ and the description of his participation in the sensational resignation of President Samuel Langdon (1780), make amusing reading.¹⁸ Gordon lacked discretion, however, not only as an Overseer but as a statesman, for already in 1776 his restless mind had explored the possibility of Abolition, and immediately he began to point out (and in print) the inconsistency of the continued existence of slavery in America with the Virginia “Bill of Rights” and the Declaration of Independence.¹⁹ Having dabbled publicly in plans for gradual emancipation, Gordon grew even more indiscreet till in April, 1778, he was discharged from his chaplaincy to both Houses because he had “grossly reflected” on the General

¹³ Charles Francis Adams, Ed., *The Life and Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1856), II. 423–424.

¹⁴ To George Washington, March 1, 1780, *note* 49.

¹⁵ To Horatio Gates, April 28, 1778.

¹⁶ To John Adams, July 22, 1780, and *passim*.

¹⁷ To John Adams, June 28, 1783.

¹⁸ John Eliot to Jeremy Belknap, September 11, 1780, *note*.

¹⁹ *The New England Chronicle*, October 3, 1776, the last of a series of five letters, September 5 to October 3, 1776.

Court in regard to the language used in assembling a convention for the proposed Constitution of 1778.²⁰

After sixteen years' residence in America, Gordon returned to England in the spring of 1786, having concluded that an historian would be safer there²¹ and become disgusted, furthermore, with the political "excesses" of the Americans after the Revolution.²² He still considered himself enough of an Englishman to persuade John Temple, first consul-general at New York, to get his baggage and freight through the customs free of duty: some few cherished pieces of furniture, his rarest books, a "capital landscape on iron . . . done at Birmingham . . . [and] three pictures of butterflies."²³ With him also went the precious manuscript of his *History*, which he published by subscription in four volumes in 1788. Although its appearance occasioned one of those minor explosions of criticism which supply the excitements of the history of literature,²⁴ the real defects of the work were the epistolary style, the last-minute excisions made with a view to avoiding suits for libel, and the very extensive plagiarisms. Gordon himself confesses that he often removed every indication of the sources of his information and, moreover, sometimes passed off the opinions of others as if they were his own.²⁵ Although his fear of giving offense paralyzed much of his power, his caution and cool judgment did not save him from hostile criticism, American as well as British. In 1789-1790 Isaiah Thomas published extracts in the *Massachusetts Spy*, during which time the American three-volume edition appeared.²⁶ John Adams, as late as 1813, wrote Elbridge Gerry a synopsis of the story of Gordon's hope of making money by his *History* and the unfortunate alterations he incorporated in its substance and form.²⁷ Readers of the letters Belknap and Hazard exchanged at the time Gordon's *History* appeared,

²⁰ *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1777-1778 (Boston, 1777), 216-217; *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, xx. 345.

²¹ To Horatio Gates, October 16, 1782.

²² To John Temple, March 15, 1786.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ 5 *Collections*, III. *passim*; 1 *Proceedings*, xiv. 93-98; *New York Daily Advertiser*, July 9-11, 1789; *Herald of Freedom*, August 7, 11, 14, 1789.

²⁵ To James Bowdoin, September 28, 1786 (Appendix), and to George Washington, February 16, 1789.

²⁶ The *Massachusetts Spy*, March 19, 1789-January 14, 1790.

²⁷ James T. Austin, *The Life of Elbridge Gerry* (Boston, 1828), 520.

should remember that Belknap disliked Gordon for having, as he had good reason to think, tried to make use of his own work while it was still in manuscript.²⁸

In 1786, Gordon, in spite of his long residence in America and active interest in furthering the independence of the United States, still professed to regard himself as "a Briton returning to his native country with the design of finishing his days there as a *peaceable subject*."²⁹ The fall of what was to him the odious administration of Lord North and the consciousness that he himself had once done his best to warn England, in ample time, of the danger of an American revolution³⁰ would seem to have restored his affection for the land of his birth and allowed him to feel innocent in respect to the catastrophe which had overtaken the Empire. During a brief residence with his wife's brother, John Field, a bookseller, in London, punctuated with visits in the country, Gordon kept his correspondents supplied with the political and social gossip current in England, in the meantime shipping off sets of his *History* to a long list of subscribers, among the most generous of whom were Washington, Jefferson, and Lafayette, the first receiving a *de luxe* edition. Nor did his lively interest in American affairs suffer any diminution, discouraged as he seems to have been at the outlook when he left for England: he watched the making of the "New Constitution" with hopeful, if critical, eyes; in 1791 he communicated to Washington a plan for a practical and modern system of sewage for the proposed new Federal capital³¹ and two years later suggested that the Constitution be amended in accordance with an elaborate scheme he had devised for electing presidents by rotation, the states to take their turns at the office in the order of their rank according to the census.³² In 1796 he wrote from London that he was happy to sit for his portrait (reproduced herewith) in a neighborhood which suited his convenience perfectly in that it allowed him to see Mr. Jay "oftener than [he] should otherwise have done."³³

²⁸ 6 *Collections*, IV. 151.

²⁹ To John Temple, February 1, 1786. (Appendix.)

³⁰ See the Appendix for five letters to Lord Dartmouth, October 24, 1772–December 11, 1773.

³¹ To George Washington, January 31, 1791.

³² To George Washington, August 17, 1793.

³³ To George Washington, August 29, 1796.

Although Gordon's public sympathy with the American and the French Revolutions did not make his later life in England altogether easy, he finally obtained a position as minister at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, where he served from 1789 to 1802, when he removed to Ipswich, where he lived in poverty and died (1807), having gradually but completely lost his memory. His wife, by whom he had no children, survived him and died blind and destitute in 1816.

The following letters, almost two-thirds of which are addressed to George Washington (55) and Horatio Gates (44), were collected and edited, in 1928-1929, by Worthington C. Ford, now Editor Emeritus of the Massachusetts Historical Society, who also procured much of the information on which this note is based. In both the main body and the Appendix, the letters are arranged chronologically, and the present location of every document is indicated, when known. In accordance with a personal understanding between Mr. Ford and the late Charles Francis Adams, Esq., eighteen of these letters were taken from originals in the Adams Papers. To all those who have helped in the assembling and printing of this collection, the Society expresses its sincere thanks.

Information as to Gordon's *History* is to be found in two rambling addresses read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1860, by James S. Loring (*Historical Magazine*, vi. February and March, 1862), and, more satisfactorily, in an excellent critical essay by Orin Grant Libby: "A Critical Examination of William Gordon's History of the American Revolution" in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1899 (Washington, 1900), I. 367-388, which establishes the fact of Gordon's wholesale plagiarism from the "History of Europe" published in *The Annual Register*.³⁴ (See page 516.)

The picture of William Gordon is a reproduction of an "engraved portrait" presented to this Society by Jared Sparks in 1841. At the time the gift was made it was recorded that a "Mrs. Kimball, of England, who knew Dr. Gordon well," pronounced it an "excellent likeness."³⁵

³⁴ Gordon obtained subscriptions for 728 sets from 647 persons, whose names are printed in the first volume of the first edition, 27 subscribers ordering two sets or more.

³⁵ I *Proceedings*, II. 218. See the letter to George Washington, August 29, 1796.

TO JAMES BOWDOIN ¹

LONDON, May [18, 1770.]

MY DEAR SIR, — Allow me thus to address you (though almost an entire stranger) from the regard I have entertained for you, on account of your steady attachment to the cause of liberty. I shall be free in communicating my thoughts, as I have the opportunity of conveying this by the hands of a friend in whom I can confide.

When I reflect at times upon the disputes that subsist between America [and] Britain, I am ready to wish that the cause had never arose in the minds of our ministry: but further thought often [caus]es me to pronounce it a kind overruling of providence. The Americans were falling off apace from their primitive manners, and debilitating themselves by luxurious habits; had these habits been thoroughly rooted by long continuance, and our managers been artful, they might have carried their point without difficulty; whereas by beginning too soon, they have revived your dying virtue and disconcerted their own projects. The divided state of our own nation has prevented things being pushed to a fatal extremity, while the court-complexion has fully appeared and your attention been awakened to the utmost. You must fall into a lethargy, if you ever, after what has passed, suffer yourselves to be surprised in an unguarded moment. Had an uninterrupted affection between the Colonies and the mother country continued, you would readily have exerted your strength in any future war for the reduction of the French and Spaniards in the West-Indies and on the Main; whereas you will now act sparingly, lest by reducing these too low, you open a door for dangerous designs against your own liberties.

You will rather wish, that their power may be circumscribed, than destroyed, that so yourselves may be secure, from a jealousy that should you become desperate, you might hazard joining yourselves with them. As the Indians were desirous that all North America might not be acquired by the English thro' the reduction of the Canadians, so the Colonists will hope that the new world may not become the property of the British Empire by the conquest of what remains in the hands of other powers. The late affair at Boston,

¹ From 1 *Proceedings*, vii. 291. The original is in the Winthrop Papers: 22:44. Bowdoin was a representative of Boston in the House of Representatives and chairman of a committee to gather information on the "Boston Massacre." *Boston Record Commissioners* (Boston, 1887), xviii. 13.

though in itself melancholy, I apprehend has cooled the spirits of the ministry, and given them an opportunity of receiving full conviction, that your people are not to be bullied or frightened by soldiers, and that if they meant to have a recourse to force they must expect no small opposition. They are so strong in the house that they can carry every question. The sessions is just upon ending. The tea duty remains, and will not be repealed, unless by continuing firm and united the colonies oblige them to do it the next winter.² Nothing but necessity will compel administration to give up taxing you. Indeed, if your united steadiness put them at last upon complying so as to relieve you for the present, apprehend they will not abandon the scheme, and only lay it aside till they have a more favourable opportunity. The generality of the people for want of proper notions are for taxing you, in point of judgment, and it will be interest alone that will reconcile them to the contrary, and exemption; they are ready to plead, why should they be taxed and not you? The courtiers and others find the sweets of places and pensions, and would rejoice to have America another Ireland to them. Should the Captain and Soldiers be reprieved or pardoned, hope the towns people will not violate the laws by a forcible execution of them, as formerly was the case at Edinburgh in Captain Porteus: ³ this would give the ministry an handle that I would not wish them; whereas, if being found guilty the criminals are not executed through the interposition of government, it will be an argument for strengthening your opposition to ministerial measures.

The ministry may now possibly give up all thought of forcing you into an acquiescence with their demand of taxing you; and may try the arts of soothing and chicanery, of negotiation and corruption. Could they get the colonies to invest their agents with full powers to settle differences, or to fix upon a few arbitrators, they might then easily gain their point, for with the treasury at their command and honours to bestow, they would become tempters too powerful for frail mortals. The moment your representatives delegate a person or two to transact for them at the British court, so as to be bound by what these consent to, your danger is inexpressible, and there must be the special interposition of heaven to save you from ruin. Col. Barre is an excellent hand in behalf of your cause, and so is your late Gov. Thos. Pownal Esq: but in such cases I would remember, not to trust in man.⁴ The last I consider as acting more from

² *Annual Register*, 1770, 73.

³ On the Porteous Riots, April, 1736, see Burton, *History of Scotland* (New York, 1875), VIII. 361-367.

⁴ Isaac Barré (1726-1802), while defending the cause of the American

principle than the former: tho' I would be sorry to injure either by comparing them.

I now come to an affair, in which I would desire you to use your influence, lest it should lead on to bad consequences. The baptists, I understand, look upon themselves as hardly used and in some measure persecuted in the colony of Connecticut, and have had their thoughts of addressing his Majesty on the head. There are persons about the court who have heard of their being thus treated; and the ministry together with the clergy would gladly hearken to complaints of this kind. A clamour would be raised against the four colonies; for the people consider them all as one, and do not know how they are separated. The administration would be ready enough to make a handle of it, and I doubt not would give the baptists, (or rather I should say ana-baptists or anti-paedobaptists) relief as to the matter complained of. I would wish that the colonies would allow full liberty of conscience, and that religious sentiments might be opposed by no other arguments than those drawn from scripture. If the baptists have been opposed in any way that does not consist with the common rights of mankind, and have been punished or harassed for their peculiar notions, I would advise that it may not be so again. Such methods seldom answer, and in general serve to strengthen the cause they are meant to injure. Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and needs no such worldly supports. The supporters of his cause are to be truth and piety. I most heartily wish my dissenting brethren were more consistent with their own principles, and that we all acted more according to that golden rule, *As ye would that others should do unto you, &c.* Could you by your influence put a stop to any harsh proceedings, I am persuaded you will be doing much service to the interests of true religion and to the civil concerns of the colonies.

I shall have tired you I am afraid by the length of my first epistle, so that [you] will not be fond of corresponding frequently, but as it is the first so it is likely to be the last letter I shall write you from [Engl]and, and an answer to it is not expected: the reason follows, viz. I am coming over to America. Intend sailing with m[y wife and] servant maid for Philadelphia or New York, the latter end of July or beginning of August, but am not certain where I sha[ll set]tle. Probably may one time or other have the happiness

colonies, does not appear to have been in direct communication with them. Thomas Pownall (1722-1805) was at this time in active correspondence with Bowdoin, and in July he advised the appointment of two commissioners or agents of Massachusetts to look after its interests before Parliament and the government. 6 *Collections*, ix. 206.

of a personal interview. In the resolution I have taken up, have follo[wed] I hope the leadings of providence, and proceed under a divine blessing. The Lord I trust will lead me by the right way thro' this wilder[ne]ss to the heavenly Canaan; and if we meet not on earth, there may we meet to enjoy the most refined friendship. Wishing you and yours the best of blessings; with most cordial respects to your family tho' wholly unknown, I subscribe myself your very [hum]ble servant.

[Addressed:] To — Bowdoin Esq. Boston.

TO SAMUEL ADAMS ⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 22, 1774.

BROTHER PATRIOT, — My zeal will not interrupt you much. Have wrote a long letter to Friend Mifflin,⁶ by the last thursday's post. Am not against your getting a sight of it, tho' in a single particular you may differ from me. Let us have a good *declaration* of rights,⁷ till a *bill* can be obtained; and I could wish it to be accompanied with a unanimous determination to abide by the same, let the consequences be what they would, and a recommendation of the like to all the colonies. Expect to hear that you have adjourned to Maryland, that you may be out of the way of the bats in the fable, who will be either beasts or birds as the strongest party may determine their *conduct*, I say not *opinion*, for what does it signify that a man has a right opinion if he is afraid to act it. Adieu. My best wishes attend the congress. They shall have the constant prayers of an unworthy minister of Christ, but your sincere friend.⁸

⁵ From the Samuel Adams Papers in the New York Public Library. At this time Adams was in New York on his way to the Continental Congress.

⁶ Thomas Mifflin.

⁷ The Congress adopted a Bill of Rights and List of Grievances on October 14. Worthington C. Ford, Ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I. 63; William Gordon, *History of the American Revolution* (London, 1788), I. 396.

⁸ In Force, *American Archives*, 4th Ser., II. 625, is printed: "An account of Hostilities between Great Britain and America, in the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay. By the Reverend Mr. William Gordon of Roxbury, in a Letter to a Gentleman in England, dated May 17, 1775." Extracts, in the same type and divisions by months, were printed in Low's *Astronomical Diary or Almanack*, for 1776, and Stearns' *North American Almanack*, for the same year, both printed by Isaiah Thomas. That Gordon enjoyed special privileges in obtaining his information is indicated by the resolve of the Provincial Congress, May 12, 1775: "Resolved, That all persons who have the care of any Prisoners detained at Concord, Lexington, or elsewhere, be and hereby are directed to give the Rev. Mr. Gordon free access to them, whenever he shall

TO JOSEPH WARREN⁹

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 20, 1775.

SIR, — Shall be obliged to you would you stop any letters directed for me that may be brought by the post, and send them by the bearer, who will pay the postage. Should the committee approve of sending me HUTCHINSON's loose letters, with the letter-books, on Monday, will apply myself in sorting them according to date, reading them over, and notifying every thing that shall appear to me of importance to be laid before the public.

Your very humble servant, and brother in the same common cause.

GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S PAPERS

[May 20, 1775, Gordon's connection with the Hutchinson Papers was still in doubt, but permission to examine them must soon after have been granted to him. In the *Boston Gazette*, June 5, 1775, the first instalment of the letters appeared, with a notice by the printer, Benjamin Edes: "Those Persons who are possessed of any of Governor Hutchinson's Letters, are earnestly requested to forward them to the Printer hereof, in order for Publication." The notice referred to letters that had been scattered at the looting of Hutchinson's house, of which a volume other than the material already in the possession of the Provincial Congress had recently been traced. To the first printed letters was prefixed a note, presumably by Gordon, as follows:

I bespeak a place in your paper at least for months to come, that so I may communicate to the friends of liberty, through the continent in general, but the Colony of Massachusetts in particular, letters and extracts of the late Governor Hutchinson's, by means of which, I doubt not, but that many will have their opinion of him greatly altered; who could never be persuaded, that he was an enemy to the rights of America, though he himself discovered an apprehension that his proceedings would not bear being published, when in a letter to a Gentleman in England, of the 14th of June 1773, he could write, "I wish you would burn what letters you think may raise any clamor here which I have ever wrote, as we are all woeful, and know not into whose hands they may fall. The world never had more bad in it; and though I have never wrote anything criminal, yet I have wrote what ought not to be made public." Whenever I judge it requisite to comment upon them, in order the more effectually to develope his character, I shall endeavour to do it with a becoming decency; leaving it with the impartial public, to receive or reject my remarks, as they may appear to be well or ill founded. Should

desire it; and it is recommended to all civil Magistrates and others, to be aiding and assisting him in examining and taking Depositions of them and others, without exception."

⁹ John C. Warren, M.D., *Genealogy of Warren* (Boston, 1854), 80.

have chose to have published the letters in order of date, but the peculiarity of the times, will make it expedient to do otherwise. Boston being at present the greatest sufferer, shall favour you therefore with the subsequent.

At the end of the first batch of letters other printers were desired to publish the documents, "that all may have Opportunity to read the curious Letters and Extracts which are so providentially brought to light." Accordingly they were reprinted in the *Massachusetts Spy*, June 14, 1775, with the preliminary notice.

The letters ran in the *Boston Gazette*, with the exception of some six issues, from June 5, 1775, to March 18, 1776, interspersed with comments, often inserted in brackets in the text of the letters, comments of little worth and strongly biased. As news the interest of other papers soon died down. The *New England Chronicle* which began to print the same letters, June 8, dropped them after its issue of July 6, 1775; *Thomas's Massachusetts Spy* printed its last instalment in its number of September 13, 1775, saying: "As the public no doubt, are by this time convinced of Mr. Hutchinson's having been a great Traitor to his country; we shall desist for the present, giving any more of his letters, extracts, &c. — and in the interim we shall expose to the public such little VILLAINS, as may be found out by any intercepted letters, as opportunity offers." Needless to add that neither the *Post Boy* (Mills & Hicks) nor the *News Letter* (Draper) touched the letters, for they were on the side of the government.

As evidence of Gordon's fitness for a calm presentation of the Hutchinson letters, the following sentence in his letter to an English friend, May 17, is pertinent: "By them is discovered the diabolical plans that have been laid to enslave this Country, and show to the world what an indefatigable slave he has been to his masters the Ministry, and their grand master the Devil." Force, *American Archives*, 4th Ser., II. 632.

In December, 1775, Gordon still had the letter-books of Hutchinson, for he made extracts from them for James Bowdoin. 1 *Proceedings*, VII. 294.]

TO MRS. ELIZABETH SMITH ¹⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 30, 75.

DEAR MADAM, — Am much obliged to you for the last favour, and for your kind expressions relative to Mrs. Gordon, from whom I heard yesterday, and who was well the 14th instant. Tomorrow month hope to set out for Philadelphia by way of Norwich; but taking that road will be preventive of my seeing you till our return, should we be spared, when I shall propose to ourselves that pleasure. Have thoughts of bringing Mrs. G[ordon] nearer home than

¹⁰ From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library. Mrs. Smith was at Wethersfield, Connecticut.

W[ethersfield], unless our affairs should take a turn different from what I expect. I still retain with you an affection for our native country, and wish to have matters accommodated, if it is the will of heaven, without a total separation. Can't but think that the nation will be roused, and insist upon an alteration of men and measures. Can't but fear at times that G[reat] B[ritain] has a scene of troubles before it, and will be reduced, thro' the unhappy conduct the ministry have given in to, and Spain, if not France's taking the opportunity of going to war with her, to greater distresses than she has ever been acquainted with in our day: may they prove thro' the blessing of God, her reformation and not her destruction. God has appeared for us in a most amazing manner. Have sent you my election sermon,¹¹ which I trust will not be unacceptable. When Mr. Williams called I was gone a journey to Bedford in Dartmouth to convey some letters to London by a vessel that sails on tuesday. Did not see Mr. Williams till last night, and having our house full could not have the pleasure of accommodating him, for which I was sorry considering the civilities I have met with from him. By him you will learn the promising situation of our affairs. The arrival of General Washington and others was a great happiness, our affairs have been brought into a much better order, and we shall in consequence of their regulations (humanly speaking) grow stronger and stronger. Am much pleased with him, and the other gentlemen. In a letter to Mr. Newt[on?] mentioned my having heard from you of the 12th and your being well. Which must give your relations and friends some consolation. It was a kind providence that H[utchinson]'s letter books were discovered. The publications have ruined him already with many, and future ones will complete his overthrow. The want of a further reformation among us, is the most discouraging symptom we labour under. May the Lord of his free grace pour down universally upon us a spirit of genuine evangelical repentance! We have the prospect of great plenty of corn. Tis remarkable and worthy of notice, that upon the affair of Lexington people were laid under an apprehension in general of their being in danger of suffering thro' a scarcity, and therefore plowed and planted more ground than usual; and it was a mercy the fight happened at the season that admitted of its being done. There have been various special providences in our favour, which I have a design of minuting down, to be thrown in order when time and circumstances will admit of it; and however these things may be lightly accounted of by the profane, they will excite proper emotions in the breasts of the pious. May there be repeated inter-

¹¹ The Election Sermon, preached July 19.

positions of Providence to make the Chronicles of the American united Colonies the favourite reading of the godly in this new world till the elect shall be gathered in.

Mr. Williams will read you extracts out of one of the Col's letters; but as I mean not private mischief, shall not needlessly publish what might expose him to the resentment of the people, while he conducts not in a manner inimical to the American cause for the future. Wishing you, Mrs. Hancock and other friends the best of heavens blessings I remain your sincere friend.

I must adopt your excuses.¹²

TO THOMAS CUSHING¹³

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 25, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR: *Necessitas non habet legem*, must apologize for my putting you off with so small a portion of paper. Every thing useful and not easily obtained, must be made to go as far as possible. I had a pleasant and safe journey, and found on my return that your good lady was in this neighborhood. Advised to a house at Medfield rather than Milton, or that wayward, could it be procured. Have not heard what success has attended her inquiries. Missed of seeing Mr. Dexter,¹⁴ who went from Dedham a night or two before I reached it.

What barbarians have the brave Britons sunk into, under the

¹² Gordon had sent his wife to Philadelphia, after the affair at Concord, himself remaining near Boston, "to share the fate of War." F. B. Dexter, Ed., *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles* (New York, 1901), I. 540.

"This Evening [August 20] I received a Letter from Rev. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury at the Camp dated 17th Inst. Our Army has been sickly but no signal Mortality and the Sickness abating. Col. [James] Grant who pledged himself in the house of Commons for the universal Cowardice of America, is come over to Boston a fortnight ago in 7 W[EEKS] from London. He may make Trial of American Cowardice! Mr. Gordon estimates our Army 'somewhat short of *Twenty Thousand*,' and does 'not imagine that Genl. Gage can muster more than about *five thousand*.' 'Many of the Tories are going for England from Boston.'" Stiles, *Literary Diary*, I. 603.

A letter from Gordon to Richard Price, Philadelphia, Sept. 12, 1775, is in 2 *Proceedings*, XVII. 302.

"Sabbath Day, Sept. 17, [1775]. I preached this day at Jamaica Plains for the Revd. Mr. Gordon, who is gone a journey to Philadelphia." Diary of Rev. Benjamin Boardman, 2 *Proceedings*, VII. 407. He again preached in Gordon's pulpit Oct. 8 and in November he dined with Gordon and noted in his Diary, "an agreeable gent[leman]." *Ib.*, 409, 412. Gordon left Jamaica Plain for Philadelphia August 28.

¹³ From the *Historical Magazine*, VI. 44. Cushing was then in the Continental Congress.

¹⁴ Samuel Dexter (1726-1810).

present majesty and ministry. The continent will be fired, I trust, with such proceedings as those practised at Falmouth, and to be attempted elsewhere. We are got back into the days of Jeroboam, and the Congress will soon cry out: "What portion have we in Britain? Neither have we inheritance in the son of Frederick. To your vessels and tents, O Americans. Now see to thine own house, O Elector of Hanover!" I am going to attend the House as Chaplain, in an hour, and hope to catch Mr. Lynch¹⁵ upon his return and to commit this into his custody. Shall write to Mr. John Adams by the same conveyance. Wishing you all health and happiness and usefulness in the various departments wherein you act, I am, with sincere respect, Your true friend,

TO JOHN ADAMS¹⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 25, '75.

MY DEAR SIR, — I begin upon a half sheet, as a quarter may possibly not hold what I have to write, but should I comprehend the whole within that compass, shall dock your allowance, the times demanding the utmost frugality as well as courage. Pray how many more burnings of towns are we to be abused with by the British Barbarians, ere the long suffering of the Congress is concluded, and every manly exertion of power and wisdom is to be exercised in opposing our enemies? By a Captain arrived from one of the French ports we are told, that the French are ready to trade with us, and to defend such trade. The Buccaneers of America made a great noise in times past; let the Congress give out letters of m[arque] to take all British bottoms, and we shall soon acquire a greater reputation and a better.¹⁷ West India and East India ships will make good men of war. The British sailors, who might be taken, would be likely to join us upon receiving proper encouragement; the single men might be married among us; the married might go back to their [own] country after a while. The West India property belongs in general to English merchants, the planters being [in co]mmon over head and ears in debt to them. If the merchants will support the ministry, we have a right [to] their property when we can catch it; that we may support ourselves.

¹⁵ Thomas Lynch (1720-1776), of South Carolina, member of a committee of the Continental Congress, sent to the camp at Cambridge to confer with Washington and the colonial authorities. His colleagues were Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Harrison. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), III. 265, 266.

¹⁶ From the Adams MSS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

¹⁷ See *Collections*, LXXVII. 13: *Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution*.

Church, that villain Church! ¹⁸ He I suppose was the fellow that betrayed the proceedings of the Congress, for which poor Cushing ¹⁹ was suspected and suffered in the opinion of many. I hope you will hang [him.] His crime was committed before he was a military officer; let him be tried therefore as a private person, that he may not escape his deserts, upon the common law or custom of arms, and suffer death as a spy upon proof of the fact alleged against him. I am cold, have no more time to spare, and by reason hereof can write no more than best respects to self and brother delegates, instead of brethren delegates, which does not read so well, from your sincere friend.

I had forgot a material thing I wanted to mention. The necessity of an hospital on Roxbury side must be self evident to you, and has existed almost from the first; this will make it necessary to appoint two more surgeons than what the congress have allowed. Pray you to procure the establishment and continuance of Drs. Howard ²⁰ and Aspenall, ²¹ who have given great satisfaction and live the first on the Plain, the other at Brookline. They cannot act as mates, as that would sink them in the opinion of the neighbourhood and hurt their practice, especially after having acted as surgeons. Shall inclose Dr. Howard's letter.

[Enclosure.]

SIR, I have attended the Hospital ever since about the middle of May last by Order from Genl. Thomas, but am unable to ascertain the Number I attended or the Event till June 10th, since which Time Doctr. Willm. Aspenwall and myself have attended not less than six Hundred Patients as Provincial Surgeons, and out of that Number have not lost more than forty. This I have collected from the Hospital Books. Yours most respectfully

LEM'L HAYWARD.

TUESDAY EVENING. ²²

¹⁸ The Continental Congress had, on July 25, 1775, unanimously elected Dr. Benjamin Church to be director of, and chief physician in, the Continental Hospital at Cambridge.

¹⁹ Thomas Cushing, who was not re-elected a delegate to the Congress in 1776. The exact nature of the criticisms passed upon his conduct, which led to his rejection, is not known. See *Proceedings*, LX. 98n.

²⁰ Lemuel Hayward (1749-1821) graduated from Harvard College in 1768, studied medicine under Joseph Warren and served throughout the war in the hospitals.

²¹ William Aspinwall (1743-1823), graduated in 1764, studied medicine in Philadelphia, was examined and approved by a committee July 7, 1775, and served as surgeon throughout the war.

²² A letter from Gordon to Samuel Wilton (?), dated April 6, 1776, is in *Proceedings*, LX. 360. See Appendix.

TO JOHN ADAMS²³

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 1, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is almost too late to congratulate you upon our regaining Boston; but I may give you joy of our not having as yet relost it. We ought by this time to have had the harbour fortified so strongly that a fleet could not have ventured in to have insulted the town, without paying dear for it: but there has been strange not-doings. You will ask me, who is to blame? Should I answer without reserve, I would say the Assembly in not exerting themselves more vigorously for the defence of the capital. (*Inter nos*, their capitals want to be informed and set right.) I would add Gen. Ward for suffering matters of importance to be so disregarded and in sleeping so over them; I would further mention, the inhabitants in complaining, being uneasy, and yet not calling a town meeting and agreeing to turn out and work. In truth we have been for too long time past amazingly disordered; however as in other cases, every culprit pleads not guilty, and like old Adam shifts the blame from himself to another. We are, however, at last doing better. Was upon Dorchester hills yesterday, and met with two twelve pounders on each, carried there the latter end of last week, besides an howitzer on that next to the neck, which had been there for some considerable time. Fort hill goes on sure, and begins to make a respectable figure. Went from the hills to Dorchester point, where the Committee have been directing the erection of a fort. Was much pleased with it. The work is as neat and good as any of the regulars. Yesterday they were carting on the timber for the platforms which will be soon laid; and in a few days I apprehend the fort will be so far perfected as to be capable of defending the entrance of the harbour. Shirley's battery is to undergo an immediate repair. I flatter myself that by the latter end of the next week, if the enemy do not pop in upon us before, we shall be capable of setting them at defiance.

All the above is foreign to what has occasioned my putting pen to paper, and interrupting your labours for the publick. 'Tis of the greatest consequence that the continental currency be kept up. 'Tis however a fact that it is depreciating, and that milled dollars are reckoned several per cent better. The reason of this, I suppose, lies not in any want of confidence in the Congress; but the quantity that has been emitted by making it plenty has produced this effect. This depreciation will occasion an advance upon all articles and thereby add greatly to the expence of the war. Will it

²³ From the Adams MSS.

not therefore be expedient to borrow for the present year upon interest, to receive the bills in payment, and then to make a fresh emission to the amount of what is paid in: hereby the circulating bills will be prevented increasing, for the notes with interest will be hoarded up; or an emission of bills bearing interest; if that is thought best, will be subject to the same fate. The interest may be paid (or be made payable) a year hence, by that time the complexion of our affairs will be settled. Crown lands, unlocated, quit-rents to the king, or his woods, may be a collateral security. By the by, before I forget it, there are many fine noble large masts in Kennebec river designed for the British navy, would the French King buy them, tho' at a low price, and fetch them away, it might answer a very good purpose, by proving a bone of contention. Your time is too precious to be needlessly spent in reading long letters of little consequence. I shall therefore not interrupt you longer, than to assure you of my best wishes for your prosperity, both [?] and spiritual, to request a kind remembrance to those honourable gentlemen of the Congress with whom I have the happiness of being acquainted (our own delegates especially) and to declare myself an *independent* Whig, as was my namesake.

Understand that our Assembly are going to make the continental bills a legal tender, by an act of the General Court; ²⁴ should not other colonies do the like and the bills depreciate, we shall as a Colony suffer greatly.

BOSTON. A number of the inhabitants have engaged to work two days in the week for six weeks in fortifying. I propose signing the paper to encourage by example.

Tracy's vessel is arrived at Kennebec immediately from Bourdeaux with 21,000 lbs. of powder, 12,000 lbs. of sulphur and 16 pieces of large cannon. ²⁵

²⁴ The Province had already acted in this matter, by a law passed April 13, 1776. *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, v. 473.

²⁵ "Resolved That there be paid out of the Treasury of this Colony, to the Revd. Mr. Gordon, for his attendance [as Chaplain of the House of Representatives], three months, and necessary Expence, the Sum of Six Pounds, and also to the Revd. Mr. Thatcher for his attendance five Months from the fifth of December to the eighth of May, and for his Horse Hire and necessary expence, the Sum of Fifteen Pounds." [Passed May 9, 1776.] *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, XIX. 400.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁶

ROXBURY, June 23, 1776.

FRIEND GATES, — I am settling my literary affairs, and writing myself out of debt, but not taking leave I hope. Notwithstanding all the rumours and handbills that have been published, expect that I shall have more opportunities of corresponding before the storm bursts. Question whether Howe has yet sailed. Watch the wind and weather like an old Roman fortune-teller, and, from the signs in the heavens, infer that he will have a long passage, distance considered.²⁷ Recollect that the sun has completed his northern tour, and is upon his return to the South; that the light southerly winds are beginning to fan the atmosphere; that the season will be exceeding hot in a few weeks; that the light moony nights will not suffer an enemy to land in the dark; and that the campaign is wearing away. A state of suspense and expectation is irksome; and yet I shall be willing to submit to it for weeks without hearing of an engagement, as the gaining of time is the gaining of advantages. You are sensible that I am a schemer; and though the whole generation seldom makes much of their projects for themselves, yet others often profit by their thoughts; you will indulge me therefore. The Germans have no business to interfere in our contest with Great Britain. Let us, by way of retaliation, employ five hundred or a thousand Indians against them. The very appearance of such dark and painted enemies will go near to terrify them. I am, therefore, for providing that number to attack them whenever they shall land, and for keeping them ignorant of our having any, till they feel and hear and see them in the same instant. But how is all this possible? Here comes in the scheme. I am for making them all in a night's time; only let the material be provided by one that knows not of the design, or that can keep a secret, which quality in a commander is next to courage and conduct, and in some instances may supply the want of both. Separate your number of men, those that can best imitate the war-whoop, *etc.*, of the Indians, without their suspecting any special intention. Let them be brave and daring; the officer be intrepid and enterprising, and that will give the example. Let oiled colours, black and red, with brushes, *etc.*, *quantum sufficit*, be prepared, not forgetting blankets and earrings. I mention oiled colours, that the sweat and weather may not displace them. All things being in readiness, and the whole a secret from

²⁶ From Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, VI. 1041.

²⁷ Lord Howe reached Staten Island July 12, 1776.

the Army and Yorkers, let the officer propose it as a sudden thought, urge the honour they will gain, and the good they may do, then lead the way, by stripping into buff, giving himself an Indian complexion, fixing on the earrings, *etc.* I can scarce think but that, if he is beloved, his men will do likewise; and, warmed with the thought and hope of success, be prepared to fall upon the foreigners instantly, before these can gain intelligence. The German soldiers, not knowing English, will not understand our people should they have occasion to speak to each other, and may think they are talking Indian, if they do but hollow it out well to each other. Were I present, and in the military, should be a volunteer in turning Indian. You will possibly smile at my sitting in my study and contriving such a scheme; and may be reminded of what the French General said to the Minister of State, when the latter, looking over the map, and giving his opinion, pointed with his finger and said, "Here you will cross the Rhine and penetrate into the country." "Yes! if it was as easy for me to execute as for you to point out the passage." Well, then, be it as it will, I have gained something — matter to fill up my paper, which, in a time of dearth, is a valuable acquisition. You have already got all the news, excepting an anecdote or two. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell²⁸ had the fine new colours of his battalion with him, and finding that they were likely to be taken, he tore or cut them all to pieces and threw them into the sea. What is the proper punishment to be inflicted on him for thus destroying the colours. There was money on board to pay the battalion, which he has secreted, putting it up in paper like pounds of snuff. The Council will go near to be informed of it to-day.

I have been longing for your arrival, but shrewdly suspect that his Excellency will neither spare you nor any man of worth till the blow has been struck. Should the enemy be obliged, as I trust will be the case, to push off again to sea, then I expect to see some worthy officer coming posthaste to take the command.

Don't say that we have done nothing in this quarter since you left us. We have procured seventy-five tons of powder, besides a thousand carbines, *etc.* We have caught more than four hundred clever fellows called Highlanders, in company with a member of one of the most abandoned houses extant. We have secured their arms, and are going to employ many of them in husbandry and other works. I have got a servant from amongst them; the other left me, designing, I apprehend to go on board, but was caught, and is in Boston jail.

²⁸ Sir Archibald Campbell (1739-1791).

You will tell me that, as to what I have mentioned, more thanks to Providence than any exertions of ours. So say I in every instance; and I am more and more convinced that if we are saved, it will be by Providence.

Have you read Price? ²⁹ Hazard ³⁰ should have lent it to you. Adieu, till I have been to the post for my letter, and then I may possibly have somewhat more to add; but whether so or not, you will be sure to present our best respects to Mrs. Gates, ³¹ *etc.*, *etc.*; and believe me to be your sincere friend and humble servant.

Though I have no child, yet I have recollected that you have one, and but one; ³² therefore I pray you, how does he? Was Lee ³³ present, he would be ready to say, that's right, for, love me, love my dog! Were I to write to him I would inquire after his dog.

Monday morning, June 24, 1776. Nothing special; rejoice that our affairs in Canada seem to be mending. Let me hear from you soon.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁴

[JAMAICA PLAIN,] August 5-12, 1776.

FRIEND GATES,—These American dog-days almost demolish me; they lay me under a universal lassitude of body and mind, so that I am neither fit for walking, nor talking, nor writing: but finding by your Adjutant's ³⁵ letter to Julia, ³⁶ that a word from this civilized quarter revives the inhabitants of Ticonderoga, I must send you a few as an expression of my desire to lessen the uncomfortableness of your dreary situation. From the account he has transmitted, am convinced that you have had enough to exercise your patience: but you know that it is one excellence of a good soldier to command his temper as well as his troops. By the by, as it comes in a propos, the How's have been juggling together to

²⁹ Reissues of Richard Price's *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America*, were made in 1776 in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

³⁰ Ebenezer Hazard (1744-1817).

³¹ Mary Valence, of Liverpool (d. 1810), his second wife. His first wife was a Miss Phillips. *Gentleman's Magazine*, XXIV. 243.

³² Robert Gates (d. 1780).

³³ Charles Lee (1731-1782).

³⁴ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society. It is printed in Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I. 925.

³⁵ John Trumbull (1756-1843), the artist.

³⁶ Julia Tyler.

learn his Excellency's temper, and to their great mortification have discovered it to be resolutely steady and immovable. This is my interpretation of their proceeding in continuing to urge his acceptance of the letter. Suspect that your antagonist will not be so much for hurrying the war to a close, as for securing the present opportunity for the purpose of recruiting his broken fortunes. I still expect that we shall be saved by Providence and not by luck; and am more than ever convinced, that, if we are saved, it will be by Providence. The dilatoriness with which the reinforcements have been procured and sent on to the different camps, would have been the ruin of our affairs, had not the interposition of heaven prevented. We have scarce any but west and south west winds chiefly the latter; which has retarded the ships amazingly. I consider the southern expedition of the enemy as demolished; and give you joy upon it. Whether there will be hot work or no work at N. Y., and the summer be spent in watching and skirmishing, must be left to futurity to discover. But you certainly have the post of honour, for you have the care of the weakest quarter, and are the most illy provided — a fine field for glory — the more difficulties, the more a man's abilities in surmounting them; the more discouragements, the more his courage in bearing up against them; the fewer and the worse his tools, the more his dexterity and genius in finishing the work after a masterly manner. These reflections have so often occurred to you, that they are quite stale; but they may suit well enough for your little man of an Adjutant: would not say your little Adjutant, because that might have been thought a designed affront by a person whose heart is somewhat captivated by that bauble — alias bubble — honour. Pray have you any preaching among you? If so, does your Adjutant attend? If He attends, is he not taught, not to seek honour from men, and to propose a better, lest he should have no other reward? Now the parson shews himself. Well, and what if he does! What hurt of that! Every one ought to be consistent, and not ashamed of his commission. And if I have a commission from one that *was* crucified, but *is* now exalted above all, you would despise me was I afraid to own or to act up to it. Well then, that matter is settled; and I may go on to beseech that care may be taken of the soldiers' morals, that these may be good, as well as their quarters. Let not any future historian have to remark as Lieut. Biggs did, referring to the Old England troops, that the best in the world were most given to cursing and swearing. Put a stop to these unprofitable practices, that so if I come to the camp I may not be affronted and disgusted, and I promise you, health and strength permitting, I will endeavour to visit you before the campaign is over. Am plot-

ting to set off the beginning of Sept. for both camps. Doubt not but I shall meet with a hearty welcome, from both his Honour and his Excellency. And I shall be greatly delighted to see them in the happy characters of glorious conquerors, loved and admired by all about them for having been instrumental in saving the liberties as well as the necks of the Americans.

We get in a few West India ships by way of prize, to sweeten the sourness of the times, and keep up our spirits. G. Britain will be all in a flame either at the ministry or at us. I had rather at the former, as that may be best for our native country: but I am not much afraid of the latter. The powers of Europe will not always sleep. 'Tis likely that France and Spain have been only sleeping cats' sleep, and that they will suddenly jump upon their prey, when they see its within their reach, and there's no danger of missing it.

Have not received your answer to my long letter designed for you before you left N. Y., but that Friend Hazard sent after you. By whom and which way did you send it? Or have you not yet finished writing it?

The above was wrote the beginning of last week. Since then have been to Providence. Am now got to monday the 12th of Aug. and having heard no bad news from your quarter, am in hopes that Mr. Burgoyne's complaisance has given you an opportunity of preparing to receive him warmly whenever he shall advance upon you. An old forty-gun ship with a thousand hogsheads of sugar rum and madeira, besides cotton, with some iron 9-pounders and brass six-pounders, from Tortola carried into Portsmouth the last week. Arrived at Boston last saturday, sent in by a couple of Yorkers, a ship from the Grenades with 400 bags of cotton, an article much wanted, and 300 hogsheads of sugar. The merchants will certainly clamour. Julia sends respects, as does Mrs. Gordon. Take your own share of mine, and then proportion the remainder among friends. Wishing you protection and success, not only in stopping but driving the enemy, I am your very sincere and affectionate friend.

[*Endorsed:*] To the Hon^{le} Horatio Gates, Major General, Ticonderoga.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 19, 1776.

FRIEND GATES, — I am suspicious lest we have some low lived fellows at Watertown that open letters from Ticonderoga; but as

³⁷ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society. Printed in Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I. 1074.

I can scarce believe they will venture to look into one directed for your honour, have therefore wrote to you instead of Col. Trumbull. Miss Tyler expected to hear from him on the saturday, but there was no packet; however she learnt from Edes the printer, that there was a paper giving an account of Carleton's answer to the Congress Letter, *etc.* which he designed to publish to day, some things in it excepted, which he said ought not to be published: ³⁸ how the paper came and who had it when he was inquired of about it, he could not tell. I am jealous that paper was the Col's, and was designed for Miss Tyler. You will examine into that circumstance and let me know. Have desired one of the Council to inquire of Edes, that the affair may be discovered if possible, mentioning what fatal consequences may arise, if letters are opened after that manner.

Learn that the week before last our friends at New York were much in the same state as the beginning of last Jan'y. If our dilatoriness does not ruin us, we shall be indebted to a special providence. A vessel from Portugal brings word that the Empress of Russia is dead,³⁹ and that the Portuguese expect to be attacked by the Spaniards, unless a match should prevent it: but should Portugal and its appendages become annexed to Spain by marriage, that will destroy the political ballance of Europe as fully as tho' effected by conquest. This way we have a deal of rain; but are healthy, and have the prospect of great plenty. Could I get somebody to preach for me a few Lord's days, would, Heaven permitting, visit you and our friends at N. Y; but the difficulty of procuring supplies makes my coming somewhat uncertain. We go on taking vessels with rum and sugar. Not having had any flying reports of the enemy's attacking N. Y., infer there was nothing of that kind on the thursday morning. Wish to have the campaign wear away without their doing any thing; unless I could be assured that they would be beaten: but that must be left with infinite Wisdom. We are poor judges what will be best for the whole family of God, I mean all created intelligences; we must therefore leave every thing with him, who will execute his own wise purposes. My respects to Col. Trumbull and others. Your affectionate friend.⁴⁰

[Addressed:] To the Hon'le Horatio Gates, Major General, Ticonderoga.

³⁸ The *Boston Gazette*, August 19, 1776, printed Carleton's orders at Chamblee, but nothing which could have been taken from a private letter, as Gordon suggests.

³⁹ Catherine II died in 1796.

⁴⁰ An address by Gordon "To the Inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay," dated Roxbury, August 31, 1776, is in the *New-England Chronicle*, September

Copy of a letter intended to have been forwarded the last Monday, Oct. 28, but happened to be too late for the post.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 28, 1776.

FRIEND GATES AND DEAR GENERAL, — Whether the enemy may attack you before the receipt of this, is uncertain; but should it happen, hope you will be helped to give them such a drubbing as will be an ample revenge upon them for having destroyed our fleet. We got home safe the last Friday. Stayed at Kings Bridge only from Saturday to Monday morning, there being no enjoyment of friends. We are looking out for great and important news, God of his infinite mercy grant that it may be good. A vessel left Statia this day three weeks. The Captain says, that the Gov'r helped him to get every thing he wanted; and just before he sailed sent for him and told him, that he knew the movements of the French, and was certain that by that time they had declared war against G. Britain, with which he might acquaint his friends. Hope the Gov'r has not been out in his conjecture. Adieu. In great haste, but willing to send you an early line. Respects to your Suite. Your affectionate friend.

J[AMAICA P[LAIN,] Nov. 2, 1776.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — You will see b[y the ab]ove how good I meant to have been. Having heard nothing certain from your quar[ter conclu]de that you have had your full time to make all wanted preparations against the en[emy.] God give you an occasion of sending us most excellent news from Ty! What we have [from] the neighbourhood of Kings Bridge has been good hitherto and the success we have had in several skirmishes must tend to sicken the Howites. The committee from our Court have informed

5, 1776, and in Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I, 1284. It was continued by articles printed in the *New-England Chronicle*, September 12, 19, 26 and October 3, 1776.

"At President Daggets I this day saw Revd. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury returning from visiting the Camps at Ticonderoga and N York. He fears for the Northern Army; is easy for that at N York; he thinks G. Howe of the Kings army good for Execution, not skilful at planning; and doubts the Generalship of any of their Officers — at least he thinks them not capital Characters." Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II, 64, under date Oct. 13, 1776.

⁴¹ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society. Printed in Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1275.

you, I apprehend, that Providence has sent us nails for the barracks. The linnens and woollens designed for Quebec were the property of my particular friends. I rejoice in the capture; but wish the property had belonged to others. Our Court I am in great hopes will exert themselves nobly in supporting the common cause in this critical moment. They are choosing a committee of war. To make you laugh, I must mention that there were several votes for your humble servant, but the *mistake* was not general.⁴² I should have used a harder word would it not have seemed ungrateful. The universal opinion at Statia was, that there was or would be soon a French war. A French vessel arrived this week at Boston. The Captain says, that the English Ambass'r had demanded of the French minister for what they were making such great armaments, and required a categorical answer: Which was returned in the following words, *for the King's pleasure*. It merits confirmation. Should write more, but you may perhaps fail of receiving this. May heaven prosper and bless you! Mrs. G. joins in respects. Remember me to Suite, Gen'l Sinclair (his brother in law of Boston inquired after him on the thursday and was glad to hear of his welfare),⁴³ Arnold, Bricket, Colo. Palliser, Waine, De Hass, *etc.*⁴⁴ I may have spelt the names wrong, but you will guess my meaning. My brethren Hitchcock⁴⁵ and Tenent (I was at Mr. Tenent's house on my return, and all were well) are entitled to affectionate regards as fellow parsons. Adieu once more. The next I trust will be a letter of congratulation from your humble servant and sincere friend.⁴⁶

[*Addressed:*] To The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Major General, Ticonderoga.

⁴² The House of Representatives chose a Board of War, October 30, 1776, composed as follows: James Bowdoin, George Whitcomb, Joseph Palmer, Henry Bromfield, Samuel P. Savage, James Prescott, Samuel Alleyne Otis, Jonathan Jackson and Jonathan Glover. The ballots are not given. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, 1776, 139.

⁴³ St. Clair married May 14, 1760, Phebe, daughter of Belthazar and Mary (Bowdoin) Bayard. The brother-in-law was John Eliot, or, perhaps, James Bowdoin.

⁴⁴ Benedict Arnold, James Brickett, — Palliser, an engineer, Anthony Wayne and John Philip De Haas.

⁴⁵ Enos Hitchcock, of Beverly.

⁴⁶ In the *Independent Chronicle*, November 14, 1776, is a letter of Gordon, dated November 2, sending a plan for the extermination of slavery out of the colony of Connecticut which had been received from an unknown writer.

"Before I came to this place [Woodstock] I committed all the books and papers with which I had been intrusted to the care of the Rev. William Gordon, of Roxbury, whom their Honours of the House well know to be a gentleman trustworthy and patriotic. He still has them in keeping, and I purposed they should remain with him till my return to Dedham. . . . In

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON ⁴⁷

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, December 19, 1776.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have been for some time past in pain, for your Excellency, but still in hopes that you would receive a reinforcement sufficient and soon enough to prevent the enemy's crossing the Delaware, or marching down by it on the Jersey side towards Philadelphia. Accounts yesterday relieved us from our anxiety, and have given us reason to conclude that the regulars have left Brunswick and gone down by water to Staten Island. If so, we may consider the campaign as over; and upon a review have reason to be thankful. Certain it is, that if we have not succeeded in every instance to the utmost of our wishes: 'tis no less so with the enemy, who so far from having made a conquest of the Continent, have not completed the reduction of a single province, not even of that in which they had the most interest. Whatever puffs the Ministry may cook up, and present to the publick, they that expected more solid doings and to have had matters settled, will find themselves wretchedly disappointed. Our friends in Europe will judge, that all things considered, we have made a glorious campaign. France and Spain will be likely to believe, that we shall not be an encumbrance to them in case of their declaring war against G. Britain, but the contrary. I can heartily bless God for having carried us so well through the year, and thankfully make my acknowledgments as an individual to your Excellency and others, who have been used as instruments therein.

Should a few prizes, whose arrival we have not yet heard of, get safe in, the balance will be much in our favour. The *Alfred* is got to Boston harbour: ⁴⁸ Designed for Rhode Island, but the wind coming contrary, may have been the means of saving her. This day sennight in thick stormy weather, she lost sight of her seven prizes, whom she meant to see safe in Port. They are worth between two and three hundred thousand pound sterling, prime cost, as I am informed. One ⁴⁹ has sixteen thousand full suits of clothes, designed for the soldiers in Canada; each suit, including shirts and

the mean time Mr. Gordon will cheerfully obey the direction of the honourable House, if applied to, by their order, for any papers that may be wanted." Samuel Dexter to the Clerk of the House of Representatives, November 18, 1776. Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III. 758.

⁴⁷ In Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III. 1265, the date of this letter is given as December 17.

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, 1282-84, 1304.

⁴⁹ The *Mellish* had as part of her cargo one thousand complete uniforms. Mrs. Reginald de Koven, *John Paul Jones* (New York, 1913), I. 126. The captain of the *Mellish* was John Stephenson. Franklin, *Writings* (Smyth), VIII. 4.

two pair of shoes, amounting to eight pounds sterling. This ship mounted sixteen guns, was pierced for twenty or one and twenty; bore down upon the *Alfred* who concealed her lower ports, with a view of taking her, and was herself caught. She is a remarkable fine sailor. Captain Jones of the *Alfred* put in her full compliment of guns, took out all her men, and manned her with a hundred of his own. Yesterday an armed vessel was to sail, and cruize off Nantucket shoals for her to give information of the enemy's being at Rhode Island. The Council have also sent expresses directing that boats should keep a good look out for her. I trust that Providence will make her a deodand (I mean a gift of God) to us: we have our fears however. We have cause for hoping that she has not got into Newport, considering the weather and other circumstances. Am told that another of the prizes has bombs mortars, *etc.*, on board. The Captain has brought in all the prisoners to the amount of one hundred and sixty, among them some officers, and the judge, a Nephew of Lord Effingham's,⁵⁰ of course of Lady Carleton's; this gentleman may possibly induce the General to admit of a flag of truce's going to him, tho' it is not to supplicate his Majesty's mercy, and may cure How's shuffling with instead of exchanging Carleton's prisoners.

Accounts were received yesterday from Rhode Island, that Carleton had been obliged to hang three or four soldiers for ravishing the women.

Would it not answer a valuable purpose, was an authentic account to be transmitted this way of the plunderings of the regulars without regard to Whig or Tory, in order to its being published? Your Excellency will be too much engaged to attend to such a matter; but you can prevail upon some of your suite to write to me.

At Salem a noble spirit was discovered in raising the troops for the three months. Gentlemen of considerable fortune turned out volunteers, several worth many thousands sterling.¹ Should your Excellency visit their quarters I am sure it will be a pleasure to you to see and take notice of them.

The gentlemen of Boston expect to engage their proportion for the whole three years.

⁵⁰ Thomas Howard (d. 1791), third Earl of Effingham. A sister Maria, married Major General Guy Carleton, later Lord Dorchester. The captivated nephew had been appointed Attorney-General of Canada.

¹ "Boston, December 13, 1776. *Thursday* last the Militia of *Salem* were ordered to muster, in order to draft every fourth man to reinforce the Army at the southward, when eighty-seven turned out volunteers, among whom were gentlemen of the first character in the place." Force, *American Archives*, 5th Ser., III. 1211.

The cadet company have furnished thirty-six gentlemen who have signed a petition to be presented this day to Council requesting that they may be appointed officers in one of the battalions to be furnished by the Massachusetts State. They mean to wipe away the reproach that has laid long upon Boston for not furnishing the army with more military men. I hope there will be no invincible obstacle in the way preventing a compliance: for as they have been well educated, know more of the world than the country clowns, have a sense of honour, and a spirit of emulation, and understand their exercise, expect that should they have a regiment, it will be as fine and as well disciplined a corps as any upon the Continent.

When I acquaint your Excellency, that I am preparing for that history in which you are so deeply concerned and make so eminent a figure, and in the forming of which you was so obliging as to assure me you would assist by furnishing materials, your Excellency will conclude that I do not despair of the Common Wealth, but look for a happy conclusion to the present noble struggle. Should our cause miscarry, 'twill be owing to our own supineness and selfishness, but these I flatter myself are at their summit, and will abate shortly.

Your Excellency would do the country great service, would you urge it upon our General Court to fortify the harbour of Boston to the *utmost*, and make the necessary provision for its being *effectually defended*, that so should the ministry set on foot an expedition against it early the next spring the same may not succeed.

Do me the favour, my dear Sir, of making my respectful compliments to your Suite, and Gen'l Putnam, Green, Ld. Sterling, *etc.* Mrs. Gordon joins in warmest wishes for your safety and success, and pray you when you write to your Lady to transmit our respects, as also to Mr. and Mrs. Custis.² The coldness of the weather has injured the writing, but my heart is warm and sincere, notwithstanding the coldness of my hand, while I subscribe myself, Your very affectionate friend and most humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, January 6, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — The letter sent you the last month was brought forward by a report of the enemy's having retreated from Brunswick by water to Amboy. This is built upon authentic intelligence received the last saturday. Having made my acknowledgments to

² John Parke Custis and Eleanor (Calvert) Custis.

the God of hosts, I now thank and congratulate your Excellency, for and on the success of our arms the last thursday sennight.³ The enemy will from hence see, that we were not wholly dependent upon the abilities of a Lee, and that we have Generals still remaining that have skill to plan, together with courage and conduct to execute. It will be a fine *régale* to his honour in his confinement; ⁴ and I heartily wish he may often have the like, till we have wherewith to exchange for him. I rejoice that your Excellency was favoured with personal preservation. It was highly proper, that you should lead the way, that you might the more fully establish your character with every part of the army; but having done it, I shall hope to hear that you appoint others to command in future expeditions, and do not hazard yourself. Your Excellency's life is too important to be ventured into danger more than needs must, and it should be something extraordinary to justify you in exposing it. When called into danger by the duties of your station, the same kind Providence which has hitherto shielded you, I trust will continue to do it.

The gentlemen of the Cadet company met with encouragement from the Council, but the Assembly rejected their petition for those reasons I am told which should have induced them to have complied. I sincerely wish the members of it knew more of human nature and were better acquainted with history; but numbers of them have had little or no education. They judge right in some things, among which I must reckon the esteem they have for your Excellency, so that what you recommend to them will be regarded, if recommendation can do.

Should Britain be able this year, only to recruit and not increase their force, and our army be raised as proposed, I can scarce believe that they will divide, but will chuse to act together in one body. Could they have a considerable reinforcement, they might probably attempt Boston. Be that as it will, I should be glad that Dorchester Heights were so fortified as that they might be kept by a brave garrison for months together, till winter weather should oblige an enemy to raise the siege. As the matter now stands were they to be invested for a week or two, they would be given up; and then all your labour in having relieved Boston would be to be repeated under great disadvantages. By an officer from the Castle I learn that the repairs go on as slow as tho' it was church work. Our military efforts in this neighbourhood are certainly below par, instead of exceeding. But your Excellency took off the cast of this

³ The affair at Trenton, December 26, 1776.

⁴ Lee had been captured at Baskingridge, New Jersey, December 13, 1776.

people, when in one of your letters to Colonel Quincy, you observed that they did not provide against danger, till it stared them in the face.

I shall commit to my friend Mr. Lovell's ⁵ care, this and a set of buttons, which I should not have thought of sending so far but for the scarcity of them. Your kind acceptance of them as a token of respect will do me honour. Mrs. Gordon and Miss Tyler wish to be remembered to you and, when you write, to your Lady and Mrs. Custis. Be pleased to make my respects to the friends of America with whom I am acquainted, whenever I may happen to be mentioned. Your affectionate friend.

May you have a happy and glorious year!

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 5th, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — The movements of the Post not having gained a thorough establishment, notwithstanding Mr. Hazard's having been employed in regulating them,⁶ your very obliging favour of January was not received in due time. I should be wanting as a friend, a member of the community, a son of liberty, and a disciple of Jesus, was I not to be constantly mindful of your Excellency. What can I do less than remember you, amidst all the comforts of a settled and composed life, while you are exposing yourself to hardships and dangers, partly on my behalf!

When we reflect what would have been the situation of publick affairs, had matters in certain cases been differently conducted, we are apt to be over-much displeased that they have not been managed better: but we should recollect, that there is a providence in suffering things to be mis-managed no less than in blessing and succeeding them when well managed. Not that this will justify misconduct, or exempt from censure; but Heaven may leave men to blunder, that the positive interposition of Providence in extricating us out of our difficulties may be the more conspicuous. I promise myself that your Excellency will have your patience and courage no more tried by either of those evils that have uniformly attended you since the commencement of the war. We may say upon account of them, that your firmness, intrepidity, and abilities have

⁵ James Lovell (1737-1814).

⁶ Ebenezer Hazard was Surveyor-General of the Post Office of the United States in 1777; inspector of dead letters in 1782 and Postmaster-General, January 28, 1782. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Hunt), xxii. 55, 60.

been tried by both friends and enemies, the former will love and rely upon you more than ever, and the latter dread you; but the desertions of the one and the activity of the other had nearly sacrificed you. The sudden and great turn of our affairs calls for particular acknowledgments. May they be made, and continue to be made with glowing ardour! The time of writing, March 5th, reminds me of what God wrought for us a twelve month back. How should I rejoice was He to use your Excellency as an instrument of rendering the present March as memorable an aera in the history of America as was the last. Which leads me to thank you, my Dear Sir, for the renewal of your promise; but besides the assistance I may receive from your *papers*, I must request, I find, further assistance; for you declined mentioning your having discovered the ford, and ordered the fires to be left well lighted up to deceive the enemy, when you was preparing for that extraordinary manœuvre;⁷ neither did you hint at the uneasiness you occasioned for near an hour to many of the officers by your personal bravery while cutting the three regiments to pieces on your march. You may not desire that such like particulars should be recorded. 'Tis true they are trifles compared with your taking the lead in the present glorious struggle; but they are of great influence in carrying on the contest, may be of use in future times, and ought therefore to be recorded tho' they added not to your honour.

I was glad to learn from the papers that a Committee of Congress was appointed to collect authentick accounts of the barbarities and cruelties committed by the enemy, upon officers soldiers and in the Jerseys.⁸

I wish I could increase your happiness by informing you, that the regiment you propose to be officered out of the Cadet Company, was likely to be raised soon: but the method given into by the General Court of allowing such a bounty, leaves no hopes of its being done for some considerable time.⁹ I should have more pleasure in writing to your Excellency, did affairs go to my mind in this quarter: not that I am afraid, as I believe God will save us in the end for his own name's sake; but I am troubled at the selfish-

⁷ At Princeton, N. J.

⁸ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), vii. 42. The Committee, appointed January 16, 1777, reported April 18. In July Congress directed that the report, with the affidavits annexed be published, 4,000 copies in English, and 2,000 in German, for distribution through the States, but it is doubtful if it was done. See note in *Journals*, ix. 1085.

⁹ An act, authorizing towns to raise money for the encouragement of men to engage in the army, was passed April 26, 1777. *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, v. 636.

ness and sluggishness of men. It is now near a year since the enemy fled from Boston; and we might have been in such a state of defence I apprehend as to have bid defiance to any common force that could have been sent against us. Whereas I think if I was an enemy I would undertake at the hazard of my head to reduce Boston and to possess myself of all the hills round about with five thousand troops and a suitable number of shipping. The main spring in the machine has lost its elasticity if it ever had any, and all the wheels do necessarily move slow of course. Can't you, my Dear Sir, put it aside, and clap in another that is unusually strong and will pull all the works round apace? The present spring is really defective, and you may wind it up to the highest pitch it is capable of, you can never make it draw well. That is more than a masterpiece for your Excellency. If nothing is to be done, and a better cannot be spared, then indeed it is of no great signification, other than as the subordinate wheels will acquire a slothful habit, and be very unfit for use when a quick motion is wanted.

Was I a New England officer I should be mortified; yea, was I the general Court I should be mortified, at your Excellency's having ordered all the Bay troops into garrison, at a distance from those active scenes where the art of war is to be lea[rned,] yet what could you do? I commend your prudence and judgment, but I feel the consequence. You [had no oth]er way of effectually preventing those bickerings that must otherwise have taken place bet[ween illegible] owing to the bounties given by this state and the towns thereof.¹⁰ In a few months, he that received much will be as he that received little, and when the pockets of both are alike empty they will agree together should the service require their being in the same camp.

The Rev'd Mr. Kirkland has accompanied down six Indian warriors of the Tuscararo and Oneida nations.¹¹ They came to examine

¹⁰ The Continental Congress, September 16, 1776, provided for a bounty of twenty dollars to each non-commissioned officer and private soldier who should enlist for the war, one hundred acres of land and a suit of clothes annually, or its value in twenty dollars. Publishing the resolves October 19, the State of Massachusetts added a blanket annually and twenty shillings a month in cash. These inducements would place the new soldiers from Massachusetts on a more advantageous footing than other soldiers in the same army. This led to a change in the offer of the Continental Congress, restricting the land grant to those inlisting without limit of time. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), v. 762; vi. 944, 1125; *Massachusetts Broad-sides* (Ford), No. 2020.

¹¹ Samuel Kirkland (1741-1808). "On Monday Evening last [Feb. 17], arrived in Town from the Mohawk County, 5 or 6 Chief Sachems, of the Six Nations of Indians, on Business of Importance." *Independent Chronicle*,

into the truth of contrary reports propagated among them by friends and foes. Had been told, that we could make no great guns, or great canoes, *etc.* They have been to Portsmouth. Took Andover powder mills in the way. Passed by yesterday afternoon on their rout to Providence. Mr. Kirkland told me they were prodigiously pleased. They will go near to be at Head Quarters within a few days of this letter.

I shall enclose a letter to our friend Gates, which I pray you to forward, unless he should be on his way to you, and be more secure of receiving it by your detaining it.

Mrs. Gordon, Miss Tyler, and others join in the most respectful remembrance to you. I had nearly omitted mentioning that I congratulate you upon the Congress's having intrusted you with much larger powers than at first.¹² I know of no man upon earth with whom they could have intrusted such powers with greater safety, to the rights of the publick; and yet having these powers, you will be the more narrowly watched by men and concealed foes, and every action that cannot be justified will be remarked upon, tho' otherwise it might have passed unnoticed. That you may baffle and conquer them all by your courage, your prudence, your equity and humanity, and make them all love and admire you, is the sincere wish of, my Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most humble servant, faithful and affectionate friend.

Respects to those of your family I have the honour of knowing. Whenever you write to your Lady pray remember me to her.

Have mentioned the date in the body of my letter, but as it is natural to look for that next to the name shall repeat it, March 5th, 1777. Jamaica Plain.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN¹³

J[AMAICA] P[LAIN], March 21, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I trouble you afresh with a packet designed for our friend Dr. Price.¹⁴ Be pleased to peruse the letter and paper ere you forward them to him. I wished to put both parties out of conceit with Mr. Hutchinson, which I think will be effected by

February 20, 1777. Washington received them with great civility and they remained in the camp two days, professing the most friendly sentiments towards the Americans. *Writings of Washington* (Ford), v. 298.

¹² *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), vi. 1027, 1045, 1053.

¹³ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.

¹⁴ Richard Price (1723-1791).

what is in Edes's papers, and will be confirmed in two or three subsequent ones.¹⁵ Such a man ought to have no supporters but two upright posts with one across it. Hope you will find time, and honour me so far as, to write me a few lines, agreeable to what is mentioned in Dr. Price's; communicating some important information proper for the history of these times. May you enjoy your health and live to be more serviceable to America than ever! Present my respectful compliments to Mr. Dean and Mr. Lee,¹⁶ the latter I am not known to except it may be by name. Expect that Dr. Cooper¹⁷ writes by the present opportunity. I remain with sincere respect your very humble servant and friend.

The Continental lottery will succeed according to appearances. No tickets are yet come to Boston, which I suppose is owing to their rapid sale in and about Philadelphia. Ten thousand would probably go off in the Massachusetts very soon.¹⁸

TO JOHN ADAMS¹⁹

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 27, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I expected somehow or other to have had the happiness of falling into your company, when you was last in this State, but was disappointed. I have had the pleasure of hearing that you and your fellow traveller had joined the Congress, and further of the Congress's having got back to Philadelphia, where I hope they will be suffered to remain in peace and quietness.²⁰ All things considered, and I judge the situation of our public affairs better than about this time twelve month. The crisis, I apprehend, is past; I am so in the opinion of our getting safe into Port, that

¹⁵ The *Boston Gazette* had been printing Hutchinson's letters, resuming the publication in its issue of March 10, and continuing to that of April 14, 1777.

¹⁶ Silas Deane (1737-1789) and Arthur Lee (1740-1792).

¹⁷ Samuel Cooper (1725-1783). He wrote to Franklin, March 30, 1777.

¹⁸ On February 14, 1777, the Congress ordered the Board of Treasury to direct the managers of the lottery to send, "with all expedition, tickets of the first class to the several States." *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VII. 119. The high expectations held of the lottery were never fulfilled.

¹⁹ From the Adams MSS.

²⁰ Congress had adjourned on December 12, 1776, to meet at Baltimore on the 20th and had continued in that place until February 27, 1777, when it returned to Philadelphia. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VI. 1027; VII. 168. Its first session in Philadelphia was on March 12.

I am collecting materials for an history of the rise, progress, and successful issue of the American revolution. His Excellency Gen. Washington has promised me his assistance. Others have done the same. Have wrote to Dr. Price and Mrs. Macaulay²¹ for theirs. Flatter myself that you and the other gentlemen of the Congress will be alike gracious, and that thro' their countenance and help I shall obtain that certain intelligence that may not be easily gained in any other way.

Great minds are not so easily elated with commendations as little ones, or I should be afraid to write you what a correspondent says: "I never shall think we shall finally fail of success while heaven continues to the congress the life and abilities of Mr. John Adams. He is equal to the controversy in all its stages. He stood upon the shoulders of the whole congress when reconciliation was the wish of All America. He was equally conspicuous in cutting the knot which tied the colonies to Great Britain. In a word I deliver to you the opinion of every man in the house when I add, that he possesses the clearest head and firmest heart of any man in the congress." It is enough to make you tremble to think from hence what must be the expectations of all from you, and in what manner you must exert yourself that you may answer them, the Lord help you to do it!

The necessity of our college affairs has obliged the board of Overseers to advise the corporation to chuse a treasurer that shall constantly reside in the State.²² I believe they all, without exception, thought that the Hon. Mr. Hancock expressed himself in some of his letters to the corporation with too great asperity; and that they should have been treated rather with more decency had not Mr. Hancock been warmed by mistaking the propriety of their proceedings: however, they professed the highest regards for him, and took care so to word their vote, as that he should not be reflected upon. You will make a prudent use of this early information, so as to guard Mr. H. against shewing any intemperate heat to the hurt of his character.

Mr. Hastings,²³ our postmaster, desired me when I wrote to you, to mention that the duties of the office require constant attendance, and that he or his servant are obliged to be [*torn*] continually present. This indeed you must be sensible of; but he is a worthy young gentleman and I could not omit obliging him. My respects

²¹ Catherine (Sawbridge) Macaulay (1731-1791).

²² The Corporation elected Ebenezer Storer as Treasurer in place of Hancock. Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 197.

²³ Jonathan Hastings.

to all my friends in g[eneral], whether in or out of Congress, but to the Bay delegates in particular. Your sincere friend.

Pray don't be too long in answering, nor so long as before.²⁴

TO HORATIO GATES²⁵

JAMAICA P[LAIN], Ap'r 3, 1777.

FRIEND GATES, — Wherefore do you not write? I want greatly to know for certainty how to direct to you, having some things to send that may prove serviceable to you in wet or cold weather. If you take any expressions of mine in former letters amiss; you wrong me: for it is a maxim among moralists that nothing is to be illy taken till illy intended.

While you continue to observe how strangely defective we are in our military conduct, hope you go on to note how Providence continues to favour the cause. A person from the Mole, who got from Jamaica lately, brings word that while he was there seven or eight transports arrived with two regiments from New York, it might be Newport. But from whichever it shews a latent fear for Jamaica.

I imagine that you as well as others have had the heart ach, when Gen'l Washington was ill. I congratulate you upon his recovery. P[ray] my love to his Excellency. What has Lee been after of late? suffering himself to be made a paw of by the Hows? If they have any proposals to make fit for men of honour to offer, let them do it directly, they know how to send to the Congress.²⁶

²⁴ "March 28, 1777. Spent the Afternoon with Revd. Mr. Gordon of Roxbury in Company with Captain [Hector] McNeil of one of the Continental ships at Boston. Lodged with Mr. Gordon." On the 31st the Boston minister's meeting was held at Dr. Ebenezer Pemberton's, at which were present Charles Chauncy, Samuel Cooper, Andrew Eliot, Samuel Mather, John Lathrop and Gordon. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II. 154.

"Resolved That William Gordon Clerk be permitted to file a Clame at the Next Superior Court to be held in the County of Essex for & in behalf of Joseph Parker Owner of a Vessel mentioned in said Gordon's Petition, & that he may then & there be heard by Council as though he had filed his clame in Usual Manner and form, Provided said Gordon serve Doctr. Calef or his attorney with an attested Copy of this Resolve two Days before the setting of said Court & should the said Vessel be decreed to be the Property of any Inhabitant of Great Britain —

"Resolved the said Court be directed to order said Vessel so decreed into the hands of the Agents for the middle District of this State there to continue 'till the further order of this Court." [Passed June 12, 1777.] *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, xx. 22. For similar resolutions see *Ib.*, 69 (July 4, 1777).

The name of the vessel was the *Joseph and Mary*.

²⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

²⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VII. 140, 207.

Wonder not at the smallness of my paper. I must husband this commodity. Besides I had no intention of writing so much; but when I get into your company I can't tell how to leave it, till I have had a good dish of chat. And a long letter upon a little paper is better than a few words upon a whole sheet, unless a person is in haste and can't stay to read them, therefore Adieu. I am with much esteem your affectionate friend.

Due respects to all.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Major General at Head Quarters, The Jerseys.

TO JOHN ADAMS ²⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 5, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of April the 8th ²⁸ tho' frankt was not recd. till the 22d of May. 'Tis mortifying to think that such a horrid corruption hath spread itself so rapidly thro' the American States; and that in the first year of our existence we should have adopted so many of the Old England vices. People had a better opinion of themselves than was meet: but the time of temptation hath laid open their nakedness, and God hath left them that they might see what was in their hearts. The evil I doubt not will however work out a remedy that will cure, or at least correct it. What has contributed greatly to it has been the plenty of money: and can we contrive to make that scarcer, we shall mend. Hope to see by and by none but continental money, and to hear that the several states have called in all their own currency upon loan. The paying interest for it, by raising the value of the money, will be a saving to the individuals of the community, notwithstanding it may occasion a heavy tax.

The frigates have been sailed about a fortnight. Maritime affairs have been most horridly managed. We have beaten G. B. in dilatoriness and blunders. Where the fault hath lain, I know not: but the credit of the Continent and Congress requires amendment. A twenty-gun privateer had only her keel laid and many of her timbers growing when the frigates came round, but she was launched, made a cruizing voyage, took four prizes, cleared herself, came in and went out the *second* time with the frigates when they *first* pushed off. Publish it not in Britain, tell it not in the streets of Westminster. I learn you are about establishing a marine board at Boston, I shall not say for the Lord's but for the Continent's sake

²⁷ From the Adams MSS.

²⁸ Printed in *Life and Works of John Adams*, IX. 461.

and the honour of Independency, do not let private interest influence that so individuals [*torn*] provided for; let the marine board consist of persons that understand *maritime affairs*.²⁹ Preserve the dignity of the Massachusetts as far as possible, by being more than narrow patriots, by promoting the universal good of mankind.

I am happy in finding that I had planned beginning the history as early as you proposed, and that I shall have your countenance, tho' you discourage me as to any considerable assistance.

My correspondent meant not to flatter, tho' he has a strong way of expressing his affection and judgment.

Till I read your letter did not know that any Committee had been sent to the Jerseys, and am not yet certain of it. There has been a strange torpor among us — an unaccountable want of spirit somewhere, and I have suspected that we have some in the General Court who instead of throwing off all thought of renouncing our independency have been acting upon the proviso, possibly we may be obliged to do it. When we shall begin to confiscate I know not; but I am out of humour when I recollect that Loring³⁰ has used our prisoners in the manner he has done, and that his estate is not confiscated. Provisions are dear with us, and grow dearer: but what tends to make them dear at present in some measure, will reduce the price by and by. The farmers are raising large quantities of calves and lambs, so that I make myself very easy, and tho' obliged to live upon a stated salary, doubt not but that by contriving prudently, I shall live honestly without running in debt. I can dispose of my library, if the worst comes to the worst; and if we secure our rights upon a good broad bottom that will support the superstructure till the foundations of the earth are destroyed, I shall not grudge the sacrifice. Pray my respects to friends. When you have leisure and can unbend, you will oblige me much by writing to me. Adieu. Your sincere friend and humble servant.

²⁹ A Board of Assistants to the Marine Committee, to consist of three members and to superintend all naval and marine affairs within the four eastern States, was created by Congress April 19, 1777, and May 6, William Vernon, James Warren, and John Deshon were appointed. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VII. 281, 331.

³⁰ Joshua Loring (1737-1789). He was British Commissary of Prisoners.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁸¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 7, 1777.

FRIEND GATES, — I am grievously alarmed and distressed, since having had hinted to me yesterday the possibility of the Continents being deprived of your important services. If that unhappy event has not taken place, I must beg of you, whatever may be your determination against being subject to control in certain particulars, to re-consider the case. Some private conversation that passed between us of a very delicate nature I have never communicated to any, neither can I write of it in a way that may be understood by whosoever may see this letter. I must carry you back to your first design in embarking on the side of America, it was the securing of American Liberty and destroying the tyranny of G. B. The cause is not altered, and requires your continued support. Individuals who are not worthy must reap the benefit of our success. It cannot be helped. The state of mankind necessarily produces it. Was it not for the cause, and the consequences to future generations, and the sufferings of deserving individuals, I should be ready to say let them be slaves they are fit for nothing better. To *declare* that You cannot answer for consequences unless you have full powers, will justify you, should not such powers (or *cannot* such powers) be given because of entanglements whatever may be propensities, be the consequences what they will. Where there is no design to embarrass your Address will procure the necessaries sufficient under your wise management to prevent fatal consequences. Should there be a design in any concealed enemies by means of superior command to embarrass and ruin in any instance I think you are the very person capable of effectually counteracting such concealed villainy. You have saved Ty once already, and must have the credit of it, never suffer that credit to be slurred by leaving it to fall for want of your commanding. O Gates! this is not the moment for the friends of liberty to stand even upon honour, much less any thing like punctilios: tho' your spirited Adjutant Gen'l of muckle honour is otherwise minded. I shall often rub up his memory. I am afraid I shall never have it to record of him, that like a General in old times he said to his fellow General we have been quarelling between ourselves, now we have the common enemy to engage, we will lay aside our own private disputes till we have beaten the enemy, and then if you have a mind to it we will take them up again.

⁸¹ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

We have cruisers off the English and Irish Coasts; the good of which we are beginning to feel. A Transport with eighty Hessians sent in. The Hessians were trepand under the notion of their coming to settle the country; were not suffered to go ashore at Portsmouth; declared they would not fight; have brought their wives with them; since being taken have stood sentry over their own officers. There were fifteen hundred in the whole coming out. The transport was taken after leaving England three or four days. Taken also a Snow from London for Quebec; ³² the foot of the invoice fifteen thousand sterling, five thousand blankets and other valuable matters. Am in great haste going to Boston on special business. If any thing more to add when there You shall have it by way of postscript from your sincere and affectionate friend and humble servant.³³

[*Addressed:*] To the Hon^{le} Horatio Gates, Esq^r, Major General in the Continental Army at Albany or Elsewhere.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ³⁴

[NEWBURYPORT,] July 13, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have no great inclination to write: but think it of importance that you should know the state of our affairs, whether promising or otherwise; and this conveyance may possibly bring you the earliest intelligence. Had the enemy a design of pushing thro' the Jerseys to Philadelphia, they have been disappointed; and have been obliged to return from Brunswick to Amboy and from thence to Staten Island. The account of their retrograde motions was very acceptable: but since then we have had news from the Northern quarter, which I apprehend to be more than a counterbalance for the former. Gen'l Gates had been appointed to the command of the northern department: afterwards thro' Duane's management, and for fear of disobliging the Yorkers, *etc.* Gen'l Scuyler had the supreme command committed to him, and Gen'l Gates declined serving under his controlling power, refusing to be answerable for consequences unless he could have the direction. The care of Tyconderoga and Fort Independence were entrusted

³² Snow *Sally*, taken by the *Tyrannicide*, Captain Jonathan Haraden.

³³ "Resolved That the Secretary of this State be, & he hereby is directed to deliver to the Revd. Doctor William Gordon, all the late Com[mit]tee of Safety's Papers, now in the Secretaries Office, he taking a Receipt for the Same." [Passed, July 5. 1777.] *Mass. Acts and Resolves*, xx. 71.

³⁴ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.

with Gen'l Sinclair. We had been long alarmed with the rumors of a designed attack, time enough to have reinforced the garrison and to have baffled the enemy; but thro' the stupid negligence of these New England States, of this in particular, we have lost those important passes. The last thursday arrived at Exeter an express from Gen'l Sinclair, informing that having but a handful of men wherewith to oppose the enemy, it was judged best to abandon the forts as on this day sennight and to retreat to Skenesborough; that upon coming to this place they found the enemy had possessed themselves of it; and therefore were marching for Benington with a design of getting between the enemy and frontier settlements. I shall not trouble you with many conjectures relative to consequences that may arise from the loss of Ty and Fort Independence; they will occur of course: but let me observe that since leaving the [Jamaica] Plain, and while at Salem on the friday learnt that several of our generals had wrote to their friends at and in the vicinity of Boston, that it was thought Howe intended to visit the New England states, that the troops were embarked, and that the vessels were watered, which leads me to suppose that possibly the design may be to penetrate the country by way of Rhode Island, while Burgoyne pushes down from the way of Ty. This may occasion us great distress, but the enemy by coming and spreading desolations among us may rouse to those exertions which may at length put a stop to them, but which had they taken place in time might have prevented them. You will judge me low spirited, should I pronounce the loss of Ty, *etc.*, the greatest we have met with since the war: but however great it may appear to me I am in hopes that the God of hosts will at length deliver us and establish us in the enjoyment of our Independency. We deserve to be severely chastised for we have in general lost sight of the publick cause, and been making our own private advantage out of the times.

Dr. Cooper was well on the thursday. I am now at Newbury Port, from whence a vessel is to sail for Bilboa as soon as the wind comes fair. Wishing that you may soon have news that will more than abundantly compensate for the disagreeableness of this, I remain with great esteem your affectionate friend and humble Servant.

Mr. Parker's papers forwarded by Mr. Williams ³⁵ from Nantes April 25 have been received.

³⁵ Jonathan Williams, Jr.

Be pleased to tell Mr. Cushing that his father's family ³⁶ are all well, and that they have received his letters by Capt. Cluston.³⁷

July 15.

DR. FRANKLIN, SIR, — Being suddenly taken yesterday morning with a violent laxness attended with great pain I was prevented proceeding on my journey, and the wind not suffering the ship to sail I detained my letter that I might add any further news that should offer. From many circumstances there is reason to conclude that Sinclair's letter was a forgery, and that both Ty and Fort Independence and Skenesborough were in our possession saturday sennight a gentleman of this place having received a letter from his son-in-law an officer at Skenesborough dated saturday sennight, giving an account, that the day before the enemy possessed themselves of Mount Hope, which is about a mile and a half on the outside of Ty lines, not far from the landing place at the foot of Lake George — that we had three thousand effective men — that there were two thousand militia within twelve miles — and that Gen'l Sullivan was marching up with a thousand continentals. We are waiting with great anxiety to know for certainty how things are, but I am in hopes from all taken together that the enemy will be baffled in that quarter.

The ships are fallen down from N. York to Sandy Hook which looks as tho' they were not destined for the North River.

The following I believe may be depended upon. Gen'l Prescott being at a house on Rhode Island at some distance from the troops, and our people learning of it, about fifty volunteers agreed upon an expedition, and accordingly went over surrounded the house made the General prisoner and brought him off safe with them.³⁸

Capt. Manly has engaged and taken the *Fox* frigate of 28 guns after some hours fighting. Capt. McNeal was bearing down, but the *Fox* struck to Capt. Manly before the other came up. Capt. Manly has but 26 guns upon his lower deck; the *Fox* two more.³⁹ This account comes by a prize that arrived here last Lords Day the

³⁶ Thomas, son of Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

³⁷ John Clouston, commander of the brigantine *Freedom*, in the service of Massachusetts, arrived Monday, July 7, forty days out from Nantes, "loaded intirely with military stores." *Boston Gazette*, July 14, 1777; *Collections*, LXXVII. 138.

³⁸ Richard Prescott, taken by William Barton, July 10, 1777.

³⁹ For Captain Hector McNeill's account of this incident, see *Proceedings*, LV. 100-108.

13th taken by Capt. Lee; ⁴⁰ the prize is from Greenock, had landed at Newfoundland about five thousand pounds worth of Scotch goods, and taken in salt and fish and was going for New York, had besides many dry goods a thousand shirts made up, mounted fourteen guns, the Captain and two lieutenants were killed upon which she struck; the people that brought her in spoke with Capt. Manly after the *Fox* was taken.

I have sad tools which occasions my writing wretchedly. Pray you to forward the letter for Mr. Parker.

We have certain accounts that all the troops under Howe, both horse and foot are embarked and fallen down to Sandy Hook.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 17, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your fortitude has been put to a fresh trial, through the stupid neglect of the New England States, of the Bay particularly. I have been weeping inwardly for you and the common cause, ever since we have had the news confirmed of the Northern Keys being lost. Such blundering mismanagement as our general Court has been guilty of, puts me almost out of patience. The fault is chargeable chiefly, if not wholly, upon the House of Representatives. Alas for us, they are not equal to the great affairs of war, and yet are too conceited to entrust the proper powers with a suitable executive. The Council a long while back, and in time urged them again and again by messages to provide for the security of Ty, but that was foolishly omitted that they might attend to a new constitution. The Congress had recommended to all the States to have returns of the men enlisted by the middle of May: ⁴¹ so far from attending to it, the house gave no order for it till the week before last and I am pritty certain adjourned without having had any return made. Men enlisted for the three years instead of being sent forward early, were left lounging about at home, a nuisance to the neighbourhood. I was at Wooburn yesterday, fifteen miles distance, one of the inhabitants informed me, that the company they raised, of about forty, very soon in the year, were not all gone till within about ten days. Many of our officers have behaved shamefully in these matters, and ought to be drummed out of the army; I don't know any thing they are good for, but to

⁴⁰ Brigantine *Fancy*, commanded by John Lee, was commissioned a privateer, May 20, 1777.

⁴¹ *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VII. 261-3.

keep off the bullets from killing better men. Instead of hastening to their posts in the field, they have been loitering at home: instead of taking good care who they enlisted, they have taken up with any thing that would tell for a man, with any riffraff that has offered to ease them of their bounty, without principle or attachment, and no ways tied to the Continent, and hundreds of them, I suppose, now that they are wanted, are to be found no where but upon the muster-roll. If your Excellency has not got over the paroxysm of your resentment at the conduct of the New Englanders, in suffering matters to get into such a train as may disconcert your measures, and lay you under great difficulties for the rest of the campaign, you will be ready to smile at the thought of my being so out of humour: but if Friend Gates was present, I should be ready to say to him as upon a former occasion, "they are enough to make a parson angry, but not enough to make him swear," and I would be cautious not to sin in my anger. But I am violently displeased. I viewed the prospect of our public affairs lately with much pleasure. All things seemed to be in a fine way. We could scarce have wished them better. Now the Indians will be wavering or worse, the numerous parties of tories, in the York State particularly, be assiduous in assisting the enemy, and our frontiers be plundered, the last I can say but little against, we deserve it, possibly the people may be roused to exert themselves mightily, now that *danger stares them in the face*, and thus the whole through infinite wisdom and a kind providence be over-ruled for our good. I have begun to preach up the danger we are in, should the Howites be designed for this or the neighbouring state, and intend dwelling upon the subject, and to confirm persons in the notion of my being really of this judgment by preparing for my own removal. It can do no hurt, and may have a good effect by tending to awaken the stupid, for we still abound with lethargic souls. I give them to expect but little assistance from any force your Excellency can send them, for I tell them, they have made it necessary for you to keep the greater force your way to check the enemy and to over-awe Indians and Tories.

I received your obliging letter of June the 29th yesterday sen-night. On the friday sat out with Mrs. Gordon, designing to reach Falmouth and contemplate its ruins: but while at Newbury Port where I tarried on the Lord's day, hearing that the Northern forts were evacuated, and that there was great reason to suppose that the Howites were bound for New England, and considering that Newport was at no great distance, I laid aside pleasuring, turned my horse's head homewards, and got back the last night; propose

applying myself to packing up, and getting in readiness for a sudden march; for I do not intend being caught as was Lee, by a light-horse manœuvre. Should we be drove off the ground, after having taken care of my better half, I shall probably steer my course to the camp, where if I find there is no vacant post in which I can serve the publick, all being occupied by men better qualified for them, I will visit my military friends, and after wishing them my blessing will set out on a ramble after truth, in hopes of finding and forming an intimacy with her, that so she may accompany me all through the progress of my intended history, which will make it more acceptable to future generations, and the worth of few of the present, than if it was beautified with all the ornaments of language. An able artist may work and polish a piece of steel, so as that it shall please and captivate the eye more than solid gold, but the rust of time will not destroy the latter, which will be only tarnished while the other perishes: and the tarnish may be easily taken off without injuring the work. Truth is the only beauty that will stand while the world lasteth: all others bloom in their particular seasons, and then gradually decay and are forgotten.

While at Newbury Port, learning that there was a vessel bound for Bilboa that only waited for a wind to carry her over the bar, wrote to Dr. Franklin acquainting him with the news so far as we had heard it, but mentioned that we had so many contradictory accounts that I was in hopes that the places were not gone. Inserted Prescott's being taken, the Howites having left the Jerseys and embarked, and the apprehension of their being bound this way, Manly's having taken the *Fox* Frigate, and a ship from Grenock, fourteen guns and about forty men, being sent in to Newbury port on the Lord's day last by Captain Lee, having fish and salt, taken in at Newfoundland for a number of dry goods there disposed of, and a remaining quantity of dry goods, among other articles a thousand ready made shirts. When I got to Exeter yesterday, and had seen a copy of Gen'l Sinclair's letter to Colonel Mede at Otter Creek,⁴² I called upon Colonel Bartlett⁴³ who was or had been one of the Hampshire delegates, personally known to Dr. Franklin, and desired him to write the state of affairs to the Doctor and forward it immediately to Newbury as the vessel would not sail for Bilboa

⁴² On July 7 St. Clair was at Colonel James Mead's, Otter Creek. Mead was a member of the Windsor Convention and of a committee appointed June 4, 1777, to repair to Ticonderoga and consult with St. Clair on the measures to be taken for the defence of that place. *Governor and Council of Vermont*, III. 59.

⁴³ Josiah Bartlett (1729-1795). He had recently resigned from the Continental Congress.

that day. I considered that it might be of consequence for the Doctor to have the earliest intelligence, and could not possibly be hurtful.

The ground is loaded with plenty: the season one of the busiest: should the enemy be permitted to visit us, and not receive an early check, like that on April 19th or June 17th, we shall suffer most amazingly, but not more than we have deserved, for the love of money, the root of all evil, has rooted out the love of liberty — at least the thoughts — from almost every heart, and each is seeking his own things instead of those of the Continent. Patriots are excessively scarce, however I have the happiness of knowing that the army is headed by one: I wish he had a numerous posterity of them to leave behind him; however many of the most flourishing families will be extinct, while his memory will flourish; and may he be in *everlasting* remembrance!

The papers will have informed you of my having preached an anniversary sermon July 4th.⁴⁴ 'Tis now in the press, propose sending one to every general in the Continental service, could be glad if Mr. Pickering⁴⁵ had leisure and would send me their several names and how to send to them. Pray my respects to him, and other friends. Mrs. Gordon joins in affectionate regards to Your Excellency and Lady, with your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS⁴⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Aug. 7, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — This day 7-night I transmitted under cover to Mr. Hancock a number of anniversary sermons, printed at the request of the General Court, some of which were directed to those members of the Congress whose names I was acquainted with, others I requested might be directed, my design being to present one to each; yours I hope will be duely received.

The particular occasion of my writing is not the above, nor the loss of Ty[conderoga], which I am continually regretting, though providence may cause it to issue in the destruction of Burgoyne's army, nor the fear lest the continent should lose the service of my

⁴⁴ *The Separation of the Jewish Tribes, after the Death of Solomon, accounted for, and applied to the present Day.* Boston: Printed by J. Gill, 1777. It is said to be the first oration commemorating the Declaration of Independence. See Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II. 181.

⁴⁵ Timothy Pickering, Adjutant-General.

⁴⁶ From the Adams MSS.

friend Gen. Gates; but the depreciation of the currency and the excessive dearness of goods. This week things sold at vendue almost beyond belief, what originally in former times cost only three shillings sterling for five pound lawful, an inferior kind of broad cloth ten pound ten per yard, middling stockings six dollars, *etc.* But how shall we remedy these evils? That's a question I suppose the Congress has been hammering upon some time. Suffer me to give you a few thoughts that have lately occurred upon the subject. The Congress to raise the value of their currency are desirous we will say of sinking four millions lawful. Let them employ a person to negotiate with the merchants in Holland the loan of a million at four or five per cent interest, to be sent in teas, spices, checks, ordinary dutch cloths, *etc.* The Dutch to deliver the goods safe in our ports, for the risque of which they must have an advanced premium. Let us now see how this will operate. The Dutch East India company thereby feel the sweets of the American trade, and have their hopes of securing the whole by underselling others raised, which touching the main spring that actuates their dull souls, makes them our stanch friends upon interest. The rest of the Dutch traders have their advantage also in supplying other commodities. The Dutch being to deliver the goods in our ports, should the vessels be taken, no additional expence is thereby thrown upon the continent. But if the opportunity is improved, should the scheme be adopted, the probability of their getting safe into some of our harbours will be great, for they will be upon the coast towards the close of the year when the enemy's vessels will have quitted it in general, because of the weather. The Dutch should have some Americans with them who understand the coast and know how to come in in the winter season, they should be furnished with such sailors or masters till they have learnt for themselves. The quantity of tea consumed upon the continent, before the interruption by the war, amounted to more than six hundred thousand pound sterling. Let us reckon upon getting [*torn*] the amount of three hundred thousand. Prime cost, expences in negotiating, bringing it to market and selling it, [*torn*] amount to a dollar per lb. It sells at present by the chest out of the vessel at seven dollars, there is not a chance of its selling lower at Christmas or in Jany. 1778; but we will fix it at six, the gain to the continent will be a million and a half sterling, which may be sunk in the destruction of continental bills. The same as to other articles: on which the continent will be likely to receive on an average six hundred for one. Upon this plan the people may get supplied: their paper money with which they are overstocked will insensibly vanish, and the prices of provision be necessarily reduced; the hard money which

the merchants are sending out be retained; and the continent have to pay a smaller interest to the Dutch for one million, than they have to pay to the inhabitants of the different states upon several millions. In a word, I think the Congress must for the present turn merchants upon the credit of the Continent, and by selling their own goods to the country recover from the people those enormous sums which they have been necessitated to issue. They can do it to much better advantage than private adventurers, who will put the gains into their own pocket instead of appropriating them to the service of the public. Should this or a similar scheme be adopted, care must be taken to keep it from being made a job of for individuals, some honest, sensible man or men must be entrusted with the sale of the goods, and instead of commission let him have a salary, or let his commission be very small when the value of the goods is large. Oblige him to sell for ready pay and not upon trust, that so the continent may not be cheated, for many persons who pass for good sort of men make no conscience of cheating the continent. Should these thoughts be approved of, I would further propose that when the cargo of a vessel came to be disposed of, part of it should be sold at vendue, and to catch the cormorants who might design setting an exorbitant profit upon what they might there buy, another part of it should be sold to traders at a small advance, or without any, according to the quantity they were supplied with, to be by them retailed out upon fair and moderate profits to themselves, upon penalty of never being supplied more did they not do it.

If you can make any advantage of the above for the public good I shall rejoice; if they are not improvable nor practicable they serve at least to shew my zeal for the common cause. Should any measures be adopted in consequence, the profoundest secrecy ought to be observed; and it should not be known what has been doing till the merchandize has been disposed of, I have therefore avoided and shall continue to avoid talking of any such scheme, or trusting any but one or other of the Congress with my thoughts. Shall be glad to hear from you. Your sincere friend and, with much esteem, your very humble servant.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ⁴⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, AUG. 13, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR,—Your duplicate of May 1st. has been rec'd. Am obliged to you for sending the letters to London by a safe hand,

⁴⁷ From the Auckland MSS. at King's College, Cambridge. No. 261 in Stevens's *Facsimiles*.

and for your kind offer with respect to any future packets. Have taken the allowed liberty of accompanying this with a few sermons. Would have Mr. Sowden's⁴⁸ wait till an opportunity may offer of sending it on without any great expence, or he may think that the sermon stands him in more than it is worth. Be pleased to accept of one, and to present the others with compliments to Messrs. Dean and Lee. Condole with Mr. Dean on the death of his Lady.⁴⁹

On the 14th of last month being at Newbury Port forwarded a letter by a vessel to France acquainting you with flying reports about Tyconderoga. When at Exeter the next day being assured of its evacuation, waited upon the Committee of Safety and desired the Honbl. Col. Bartlet who had been and was one of the Congress to write you particulars and dispatch it directly for Newbury Port, as it might be of consequence to you to receive early intelligence of such an event. Since then Burgoyne has been driving on apace; hope he will make more haste than good speed and shortly run himself into a snare out of which he will not be able to extricate himself.

The Howes have been to the Capes of Delaware and back again. The royalists are upon Staten Island, and the generals, I suppose, consulting what to do next; for the Continentals under Washington are returned to Morris Town, and the Highlands secured. I now judge that the junction of the ministerialists will be prevented for this year: the opportunity seems to be lost, and *post est occasio calva*. May perplexity and disappointment ever await them, till they do justly and love mercy!

Do not imagine that this will bring you a word of news, as your friends in Boston will have the advantage of knowing the time of the vessels sailing and will not fail of writing: but I am getting in readiness, that I may not lose the conveyance. Propose sending duplicates and triplicates of the sermons, that so you may be likely to receive one or other of them. Should you be spared to negotiate a peace, which I wish you the honour and happiness of doing, pray remember the preacher, and secure him the right of visiting his native country without having his neck endangered. He would like to see G. B. again, but has not any notion of dying in the cause at Tyburn.

We have been waiting and hoping that G. B. would meet with a powerful diversion, and be called off from prosecuting the war with us. Can we oblige her to own our Independence; and would com-

⁴⁸ Benjamin Sowden, minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam.

⁴⁹ Elizabeth, daughter of Gurdon and Rebecca (Winthrop) Saltonstall. She died June 27, 1777, at Wethersfield, Conn.

mon sense incline her to lay hold of the opportunity of sharing in her trade, before alliances exclude her, I should like it best: but the decree of heaven may have determined her ruin; if so should I live to see it, shall weep over her remains. Wishing that your last days may be the most glorious, and be the prelude of greater glory in another world through the mercies of the Saviour, I remain with much esteem, your sincere friend.

For want of opportunity the above hath lain by till the 15th of September.

By Saturdays post received a letter from Mr. John Adams wherein he writes: ⁵⁰

TO HORATIO GATES ¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Au't. 13, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND,— By this time some men are I suppose nearly ashamed of their doings, and repent their having attempted to save the State of New York by effecting your removal. I do not imagine that had you been at Ty, you could, with no more effective men, have defended the place, but am pritty certain you would have provided for evacuating it in a much better manner. However, must it have been evacuated, am glad that it did not happen under your command. I could be glad of a two hours close conversation with you upon the subject. Do not take St. Clair to be either a coward or a knave; but on his part there appears to be something very unsoldierly and strange. Our papers have made too free with him, and I have displeased many, by not joining the full cry against him, and saying some things in extenuation. When I have heard the charge of treachery, *etc.*, I have answered, that if there was treachery, they would find it likely that it was not foreign but American treachery. I wish to have the whole affair examined thoroughly. Expect that our State will come in for a large share of censure, and justly, for not having furnished their quota, nor forwarded the enlisted to their posts. Numbers of men were loitering about for months in various parts of the country. In fact there has been shocking mismanagement. And I have had high words with one and another upon the occasion, tho' I have never sworn about it. I now tell them, that they must exert themselves

⁵⁰ See the letter to John Field, his brother-in-law, dated September 14, 1777.

¹ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

or perish; that had they acted with spirit and properly, they might have prevented these evils, and that they must smart for their negligence. I trust we shall be carried well through the quarrel, notwithstanding all our blunderings and stupid conduct; but my hopes are upon the providential interpositions of heaven to save us. I view the work as God's, who will therefore cause it to stand, tho' we by our follies should ruin it again and again could we do it. Was I at the commencement of the quarrel, and knew as much of individuals and states as I now do, I should sit still like Atticus of old, wish well to a good cause, but not embark self and property on board with such an ungovernable, selfish, thoughtless, designing and sleepy crew: not that I repent of the part I have taken, having acted from conscience and according to judgment; and being engaged, I shall contribute my utmost to bring the matter to a happy issue. You will find from my sermon (which I expect friend Hazard has presented you with according to my desire) that I never expect to see my native country again without having our Independency secured. The king will scarce ever forgive me; but no matter for that, should it be out of his power to hurt me. Send you another sermon, lest you should not have rec'd the former. *'Tis the first anniversary sermon that has been printed, if not preached, upon the occasion, hope it will not be the last.* But the present I am now going to mention, of which I pray your favourable acceptance, will probably be of more service and tend to make you more comfortable the ensuing winter than the sermon. The beginning of the year I secured a quantity of buttons, three full suits, which I designed for three particular friends, all generals, Washington, Gates and Mifflin. Had an opportunity of forwarding General Washington's the beginning of Jan'y. Have been looking out how to send the rest, but your various movements and the want of a trusty hand has prevented. At length the *golden* time is arrived; and you and Mifflin having been so long before you rec'd yours, 'twill give you an advantage over his Excellency, as you will have yours to figure away in, now that his are, it is probable, upon the decline.

Do let me hear from you; I will pay postage willingly. I could say a great deal about persons, affairs, communities, and I know not what all I have had time to recollect, but *litera scripta manet* and may be seen by some unhallowed eyes. I want to have that British Indian Burgoyne demolished. Events are likely to establish your prognosticating judgment. Hope that Howe will be baffled and that the communication will be kept open: then we may possibly see each other again. In the mean while may we enjoy that

keeping that can give safety tho' thousands fall at our right hand and ten thousands at our left. When you see or write to your Lady pray our respects to her. She is not Mrs. Cary, nor is Mrs. Cary your lady. One would chuse the latter for a companion to live with, the other might do well enough for a play thing to amuse a while. These are thoughts not to be known to every one. Jenny still at Andover. Trumbull lately at Lebanon following his genius. If he by practice attains to a masterly pencil and goes into the caricatura drawing he will make some great figures ridiculous. Adieu. With much esteem your affectionate friend.

Mrs. G[ordon] will be much displeased should I neglect presenting her respects to you. I have wrote in haste, and with a bad pen and am almost ashamed of my works.

Aug. 27. This has been in waiting for Major Pierce. Am going to Boston. Should he not call and take it away before I return, may crowd in a few more last words.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Esq'r, Philadelphia. By favor of Major Pierce.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 14, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I embraced the first opportunity of sending you an anniversary sermon, this day fortnight, but had no time to accompany it with a few lines. I took the liberty of covering a few to some other gentlemen. Do the like now, praying you to accept of half a score to dispose of among your Suite, which has been so changed that I have not the pleasure of knowing them. Should be obliged to Mr. Pickering, the adjutant general, could he give me the names of all the generals in the continental service, and how to direct to them, as I mean to pay my respects to each. The allusion in the sermon to a certain gentleman in whom we are all united, is easily understood by the generality, and yet I should not wonder, if your modesty and humility, making so amiable a part of your character, made you backward in applying it to your Excellency.²

² "I am greatly mistaken, or before the sword was drawn, they were both joined in one in whom we are all united, and to whom we are all more indebted than to any one man upon the continent — a — I recollect myself and name him not; 'twould be like shewing the sun after having described it." Page 33 of the Sermon.

We have had reports of conspiracies against your person.³ Should be sorry, that such villainy should be thought of, but if the execution has been projected and prevented by a timely discovery, I bless God for and rejoice in your escape; and shall by trusting to the same providence to preserve you, that hath hitherto done it, ward off those distressing anxieties that I should otherwise have upon your account.

I am at a loss to fathom the designs of the Howes in their late trip to the Delaware. Am ready to suppose that it was not a feint, but that they thought you had been deceived and was marched for New England, instead of Pennsylvania, and that finding it was otherwise and that you would be ready at Philadelphia to treat with them upon their own terms, they tackt about and returned back in hopes of getting up the North river. Understand, that they are too late; and if so, conclude that the junction of the ministerialists will not be effected this campaign. I regret the state of the Northern department; and do not expect that the New Englanders will have any satisfaction in serving under either St. Clair or Schuyler. The bad success of the former, together with his reflections, will for ever prejudice them against him. They can't bear reflections on their injury, even tho' they may be just. As to the latter they do not take him to be a fighter, and have no exalted ideas of his abilities, unless in the money getting way: and I can say in confidence to you, that he has wrote so unguardedly and injuriously of this State in a letter to Congress, that as the knowledge of it gradually transpires it will alienate the inhabitants more and more from him. In one paragraph as I have been informed, he is meanly cunning or grossly ignorant. He mentions his sending to Springfield for the cannon; but found they had been ordered another way. This he does in that connection that implys as tho' our State had ordered them, when he might or should have known that your Excellency had ordered them.

Before I forget, let me observe, that it is next to impossible that any thing in your Excellency's letters to our General Court should be long concealed or kept from the enemy. Among such a number of persons to whom they must be communicated, there will be some that cannot keep a secret, should they be all true to the cause, which may reasonably be suspected. And I doubt not, but there are persons about, to learn and transmit every thing to the enemy. I can scarce think, but that Howe knew what you wrote relative to your apprehensions as to his coming this way, going up the North river,

³ This may refer to the so-called Hickey plot. *Minutes of the Trial and Examination of Certain Persons in the Province of New York* (London, 1776).

or the like. However this channel of intelligence may be employed to deceive him, instead of serving him, so that he may be caught unexpectedly.

My warmest wishes for your success and safety constantly attend you. I am with the greatest esteem your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

Was much grieved at hearing of Dr. Leonard's fit of lunacy, shall rejoice at his being recovered out of it.⁴ How soon may reason be unseated! Let not the wise then glory in his wisdom.

If I sent any note to your Excellency with the sermon, it has quite escaped my memory.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, Sept. 2, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I have a letter by me which has been waiting some time for Major Pierce's conveyance, with a few trifles that may help keep you warm the next cold weather, should you receive them time enough to apply them properly. I was glad at hearing that the nomination to the Northern department had been left with Gen'l Washington, as from a few words in a letter from him before the loss of Ty I was led to conclude that he did not relish the change that had taken place. But what will you say, should you meet with Howe in the way as you advance northward. Many suspect that he is gone or is got to Quebec, for we can hear nothing of him that is certain; are told of a large fleet's being seen off the isle of Sable. Should he have formed a plan of joining Burgoyne by the way of Canada, I think he has added to his other blunders; and that their whole force will be obliged to winter in Canada. You have my heartiest wishes for success in your operations. Do let me know now and then by yourself or amanuensis how you go on: and procure me the best of materials for my history. If Col. Meigs⁶ is with you, pray my compliments, and renew my request that he would favour me with his journal thro' the woods under Arnold to Quebec; ⁷ you can send it under cover to me when you write to the

⁴ Abiel Leonard (1740-1777), pastor of church at Woodstock, Conn., and chaplain to the regiment of Artillery.

⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁶ Return Jonathan Meigs (1734-1823).

⁷ The *Journal* was early printed, without place, year or printer's name and extracts appeared in Almon's *Remembrancer*, III. 295, — "Printed from the American copy." It was also printed in 2 *Collections*, II. 227, apparently from the original manuscript.

Council of this State. Miss Jenny Tyler has been here upon the Plain for a few days on a visit, returns tomorrow to Andover: but is far from being cured. She sends her love. I write this to send by dispatches from Boston should any be going to you in a day or two: as Major Pierce's indisposition may prevent his setting off for some days longer, and I would have you ever believe me to be your sincere friend, and with much esteem your very humble servant.

Mrs. Gordon desires to be remembred. Have sent you, weeks back, one of my anniversary sermons; for fear it may not have reached you shall send another by Major Pierce.

The day I wrote the above heard that Howe was gone to the Chesapeake; hope we shall have a good account of him. Major Pierce is now waiting. Tis saturday afternoon. We have had further agreeable reports of Gen'l Arnold's having come up with and demolished the enemy; are waiting the confirmation. Do let me hear from you, tho' you have time only to say, I am well and remain your affectionate friend. The God of hosts prosper you, and make you an instrument of confounding that self-conceited quixotic general, Burgoyne. Once more Adieu.

A young gentleman from London in nine weeks, says that tho' Lord Chatham's motion was rejected in doors, the people without are calling for an accommodation, and that the Empress of Russia had positively refused the assistance of a single soldier.

[Addressed:] To The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Esq'r, at Albany or Elsewhere.

TO JOHN FIELD ⁸

JAMAICA, Sept. 14, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Your relations apprehend that they have missed of many a letter intended for them, but are thankful that by one means or other they now and then hear of your welfare. [Inters?] letter was rec'd in tolerable time. The letter designed for your sister by the way of Augustine did not come to hand till last night. The same post brought me one from the Honble. John Adams dated Philadelphia Aug. 31, in which he says, Mr. Howe has planned his operations in such a manner as to give us a vast advantage both of him and Burgoyne. General Washington is at Wilmington, about 15 miles on this side of him, with a noble army

⁸ A brother of Mrs. Gordon. From the Auckland mss. at King's College, Cambridge. No. 264 in Stevens's *Facsimiles*.

of continental troops, and a large body of militia, which is constantly and rapidly increasing. Whether the General will be compelled to depart from his Fabian system or not time will discover. A general action, successful to us is destructive to them, and even if they should be successful and keep the field, they will loose so many men, as to be cripled after it, whereas I think we should be able speedily to reinforce our army, notwithstanding the pain and consternation, which would follow a defeat. The loss of Tyconderoga is in a train of serious enquiry. Altho' this disaster is for the present grievous, yet I think, it has put Burgoyne into our power, so I hope he will not be suffered to slip out of it.

We are in hourly expectation of important news, but as I am going to Norwich on the morrow, the weather permitting, and shall not be back probably before the vessel sails, shall lose the opportunity of forwarding it, should it arrive in a day or two. Your sister is going to visit a friend near New London at Lyme, and proposes staying a few weeks. She enjoys very good health and spirits, and I think your brother is much better than he was a year ago. Being applied to, he preached an anniversary sermon July 4th which has been published by the request of the General Court. Possibly you will get a sight of it. General Washington is complimented in it. I am somewhat apprehensive that he was mistaken in supposing that the General was concerned in commerce. He hints a dubiousness while mentioning it. I would bless God that I am in good spirits, and not without hopes that sooner or later I shall enjoy my friends and acquaintance again in Great Britain. I wish to have matters accommodated; but have little expectation of it till the Independency of America is acknowledged by King and Parliament. You know my connexions and will present my respects, *etc.*, *etc.*, as due, without my going into particulars. I remain with real esteem your affectionate friend and humble servant

G. WILLIAMS. [*Fictitious name signed by Gordon.*]

Mr. Eckley's eldest son ⁹ has been here some weeks; he promises to make a useful minister, have heard him several times. He sets out tomorrow in company with your sister, designing to go home and then returning back, the church that used to meet in the Old South (which was turned by Genl. Howe into a riding school) having invited him to preach to them till the first of May. The

⁹ Joseph Eckley (1750-1811), born in England, son of Thomas Eckley, graduated at College of New Jersey in 1772, and pastor of the Old South Church 1778-1811. Hill, *History of the Old South Church*, II. 192, 355.

proprietors of the Kings Chapel have agreed to accommodate the congregation with the use of it, it not being now wanted for an episcopal assembly.

Mr. Pierce, nephew of Mr. Pierce of Maidstone, wishes to have his uncle informed of his being well and settled to his mind.

[*Addressed:*] to Mr. John Field, Apothecary, Newgate Street, London.

To ———¹⁰

[September, 1777.]

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a body of men within twenty miles of the city and Howe by the 22d of Augt. anchored his fleet at the head of Chesapeak Bay. If he kept out at sea designedly, in expectation that Washington would march to the north and get at such a distance as not to get back in time to oppose him, he has been mistaken. The inspiration of the Most High gave our General better understanding. If he would have arrived much sooner but could not by reason of the winds heading the fleet most of the time, providence interposed admirably on our behalf. W—n pushed on thro' Philadelphia to meet, oppose and counteract him, without waiting for his tents, *etc.* Our men know how to camp it in the woods without cover and frequently do in times of peace, making a cover with boughs, and when cold kindling a fire before the entrance of the hut, by which means they will keep themselves comfortable. We are waiting and expecting to hear something important from W—n shortly: the same from Genl. Gates, as the last saturday night Gen'l Lincoln was to march off from Bennington with some thousand men with a view of getting into a pass in the rear of Burgoyne beyond fort Edward. Genl. Arnold was to march likewise that night with about two thousand on the west side of the river with a view of meeting and joining Lincoln in the said pass; when Gates found these detachments had got into the rear he was determined to push Burgoyne in the front. The plan was to oblige Burgoyne to retreat with great hazard, or to fight with as great. Important news may and will likely arrive before the vessel sails. Affairs in both quarters appear to be at a crisis. We have appealed to the God of hosts, being forced to it by the proceedings of G. B: should events be answerable to the goodness of the cause, I am not afraid of what may happen; should they

¹⁰ A single leaf in the Auckland mss. at King's College, Cambridge. No. 480 in Stevens's *Facsimiles*.

be according to the characters of the people, we have little or nothing to hope for, as instead of reforming by the judgments we have been feeling we have rebelled more and more and are worse than ever: but I take it that the Lord is doing a great work in the world, setting up a new power in these western parts. I do not imagine any other than that our Independency will be established. If it should not be, wo to me for the sermons with which this is accompanied. You will take a safe conveyance for the sending them. One is intended for your son, with my respects. That for Brother Bingham you will probably send with Mr. Notcutt's in a vessel directly for Ipswich, and should none be going soon you can put it up with the rest that are to centre in G. B. for Mr. Thomas Field, to whom I must pray you to send this letter or a copy of it as soon as possible to be communicated to Mr. John Field, Dr. Wilson, and other friends, when they deserve the name and will write freely and fully. I will call them correspondents; but I can excuse their silence considering the danger they would run by writing to me. I know their affection to me, and concern for our safety: as also their prudence. 'Twill be a pleasure to them to hear that we are well and in good spirits, tho' not without our difficulties by reason of the dearth of provision and every other article through the plenty of money. My people have considered me something so that I have no complaints to make of them, but ninety seven pound in sterling now is not so good as forty was when I first settled. I had the happiness to bring over a good large library. I now expect to feed upon it, not as a student but as an animal; and shall exchange books for eatables when cash faileth. I shall have the more to receive from those who are under obligations to me, as they cannot now remit me their returns, so that I shall be able I trust to renew my library, and get as good as I part with. You will fear for us possibly from the reports you may have of the sinking of our paper money: but God has strangely ordered good out of evil in various instances, and I trust it will be so in this. The cast of the people in this part of the universe is not so much to prevent difficulties, as when they have heedlessly got into them to find the way out of them. The generality are now convinced of the necessity of having less money, and are prepared for heavy taxes. Committees from the Massachusetts, the Hampshire, the Rhode Island, the Connecticut, the New York States have met and agreed to recommend it to their several General Courts to call in all their money by some time in November, to lay heavy taxes, and to have a quarterly tax, which will be like taking in a book by numbers which a person pays a full price for without feeling, when he could not spare thirty shillings in the lump, care is also to be taken to supply the

families of the soldiers at a certain price.¹¹ Necessity is the mother of invention; and I don't find but that the Americans are as good as most at invention when necessity drives them to set their wits to work. Dearthness will make plenty, plenty will produce cheapness. Salt being a scarce and consequently a dear article, we are going into the manufactory of it in various places. In Connecticut the dearthness of saltpetre and the bounty for making it, encouraged the erecting of those works that are now carried on to the advantage of the proprietors, though the commodity is become cheap. We have been pinched for clothing, linnen and woollen, we must therefore manufacture. Amazing quantities of flax have been raised in all parts of the country. Wooll cards are made so as to be sold cheaper than they can be imported; and better than were used to be sent from England; for a machine has been invented that cuts off and bends a number of the wires with the utmost exactness at one and the same time. We should indeed have been wretchedly off again had it not been for the captures brought in to our Ports; but when we have been in the utmost straits some deodand or other has relieved us. Woollen cloths were become very scarce. We have lately had a prize brought into Newbury with 240 bales of woollen cloths besides linnens, *etc.* She was a French ship freighted by the British merchants for Leghorn; her cargoe cost about 75,000£ sterling. How is Great Britain become little, by being reduced to the practice of covering their property in foreign bottoms that they may trade with safety from American privateers. Is this the mistress of the Ocean, who prided herself on her thunder and lightening, and being capable of carrying it from one end of the Ocean to the other? Is this [*illegible*] country! To what has bad policy and a Butean influence reduced you! What! is all the British spirit ev[aporated]; are there no Hampdens, no patriots to excite the latent fire, and to provide Britania to practice upon her false and treacherous servants the Scotch maxim, *nemo me impune lacessit*? If so, let us renounce her, give her over to deserved destruction, and join ourselves to the soil where liberty, civil and sacred, flourishes in the highest degree.

I write in haste, without studying, and therefore shall insist upon quarter for all bad spelling, bad writing and bad grammar. If you

¹¹ The attempt to restrict prices and maintain the value of the bills of credit produced little effect. In Massachusetts the towns sought to comply and the regulations were issued. See *Collections*, LXXV. Nos. 2050, 2065, 2067, 2102, 2116 and 2120. The proceedings of the Conventions of the New England States at Providence, December 25, 1776, to January 3, 1777; at Springfield in July, 1777; and at New Haven, January, 1778, are in *Records of the State of Connecticut*, I. 585.

received a former letter, you have learnt that the Orrery at Princeton College was not destroyed by the Howites as at first reported. The damage they did to the college is less than has been done by the continentals. In barbarities the Howites have exceeded by far; and if retaliation had taken place early, and more spirit had been shewn, we should have been treated with more humanity. The English papers abound with ministerial lies; but how can other be expected when they are put into the mouth of him that speaks from the throne, and are passed upon the party in both houses for sterling truths. Should I live to accomplish my design and finish a history of the present times, many will think differently of both sides, unless they are monstrously prejudiced. I am resolved to keep to the truth, and to value her above friends as well as foes. We have lost an excellently brave Captain in Manly's being taken, as well as a fine frigate.¹² It seems to be universally agreed by friend and enemy, that he fought well, and that had Capt. McNeil done his duty the *Fox*¹³ would not have been retaken, the *Flora* would have been taken, and that the *Rainbow* would scarce have escaped. When Capt. Manly was about sailing he told my friend and informer, that he considered himself as going upon the forlorn hope, that [there] was an unhappy misunderstanding between him and McNeil which he could not help, that he expected to be taken, but that he would fight and do the best he could.

We had a successful skirmish at Springfield in the Jerseys last winter. The enemy had taken a Mr. Nath'l Norris and Wm. Richardson from their own houses as rebels, though not in arms; when they found a battle was coming on, they pinioned these two men, tied them together and placed them in the front. Heaven protected them, neither of them was even wounded, the enemy were routed, and the commanding officer has never been heard of since, and is supposed to be killed. After the defeat the Hessian officers drove into Elizabeth Town with all possible expedition, and were so excessively frightened that they hardly dared to go to bed. One of them appeared to be frantic, clapped his hands together and exclaimed O! de Rebel, de Rebel, de Rebel! He told the lady they were in close pursuit of him, pointed to the place where he thought he saw them, and upon her denying they were there, took her up stairs and threw up the sash of the window in order to shew them to her the more distinctly. This came from the Lady herself, who had 30

¹² The *Hancock*, Captain John Manley, was taken by the *Rainbow*, Sir George Collier, on July 7. News of the capture did not reach Boston before August 7. *Independent Chronicle*, August 7, 1777.

¹³ Captain Frothingham. McNeill was in command of the *Boston*. See *Proceedings*, LV. 90.

hessian soldiers besides officers quartered with her, and whose house was plundered of almost everything in it.

You are at liberty to publish what you think expedient. As more offers, ere I close my packet, shall add: but designing the next monday a journey with Mrs. G. to Norwich, shall be likely to finish on the morrow. Have done pritty well, in my humble opinion, for one day.

Collect for my use and service, from all your correspondents, all the anecdotes that can be depended upon, and that are more than problematical, and may be worth inserting or may guide me in compiling. I mean a work that shall abide for ages, and therefore must call out lustily, help, friends, help.

Saturday evening, Sept. 13. Besides the letter of Gates to Burgoyne alluded to above, I see in the Philadelphia paper of Sept. 3 the following to the President of the Congress.

HEAD QUARTERS, Augt. 28, 1777.

SIR, In the packet, I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency a copy of a letter I rec'd last night from Major General Arnold. The defeat and disgrace with which the enemy have been obliged to retreat from Fort Schuyler [the same at Stanwix], added to the compleat and brilliant victory gained by Genl. Starks and Col. Warner at Bennington, gives the brightest lustre to the American arms, and covers the enemies of the united states with infamy and shame. The horrid murders and scalplings paid for and encouraged by Lieut. Gen. Burgoyne, previous to his defeat at Benington, will for ever stain the honor of the British arms. In one house the parents with six children were most cruelly butchered: and this *polite Maccaroni* paid ten dollars for each of their scalps. Heaven has, I hope, in store, some punishment for such unheard of crime. I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

HORATIO GATES.

That paper tells us that on the 27 ult. the enemys advance moved to Elk town, and since that a few miles up the creek to Mayburys iron works; that nothing material had yet taken place in the shooting way; that our light parties had taken at different times about 80 prisoners; that about 15 or 20 had deserted from the enemy; and that on monday 7-night an American light horseman took and brought in some foot soldiers belonging to Howe's army.

The Honble. John Adams writes me:

PHIL. Augt. 31, 1777.

The loss of Ty[conderoga] is in a train of serious enquiry. Altho' this disaster for the present is grievous, yet I think it has put Burgoyne into our power, and I hope he will not be suffered to slip out of it. Mr. Howe

has planned his operations in such a manner, as to give us a vast advantage, both of him and Burgoyne. He is at the head of Elke about 55 miles from this city. Genl. Washington is at Wilmington, about 15 miles on this side of him, with a noble army of continental troops, and a large body of militia, which is constantly and rapidly increasing. Whether the General will be compelled to depart from his Fabian System or not time will discover. A general action, successful to us is destructive to them, and even if they should be successful and keep the field, they will loose so many men, as to be crippled after it. Whereas I think we should be able speedily to reinforce our army, notwithstanding the panic and consternation which would follow a defeat.

The reason of our having so few men killed at Bennington was the wretchedness of the enemys fire. They fire little better than at random, our men naturally take sight as oft as they can.

Sept. 1[5]. We have a report but not fully authenticated that Genl. W[ashington] was within 3 miles of H[owe] and had taken more than a hundred of the light horse and a hundred of the light infantry. I am much out or sickness, fever and ague, pleurisy, dysentery will [*illegible*] the foreigners and weaken H[owe]'s army amazingly. The Continentals will not be likely to suffer in the same proportion [*illegible*]. You will find an opportunity of sending the sermons to Dr. Franklin, *etc.*, without putting him to any great expense; the letter may go to him by post.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ¹⁴

October 6, 1777.

MY DEAR SIR, — I wrote you lately by the way of Holland, and sent to the care of Mr. Sowden three anniversary sermons designed for yourself, Mr. Deane and Mr. Lee. Hope you will receive them, but for fear lest it should be otherwise have sent three more on the same service. Pray you to forward Mr. Parker and Mr. Field's letters by the first post to London; and Mr. Jonathan Tabor's ¹⁵ by the first post for Holland, as the early receipt of it, may be of considerable consequence. You will have from others all the particular news; so that I shall only say, that our military affairs are in my apprehension in a promising way. I do not think that G. B. will reduce us this year, and if not this year, there will be less and less likelihood of it every year. Wishing that you may have much good news ac-

¹⁴ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.

¹⁵ In August, 1779, Samuel Tabor sent to Franklin from Rotterdam a letter for Dr. Gordon.

companying packet, and that you may live to see and enjoy the establishment of our Independency, I remain with much esteem your sincere friend.

The packet for Mr. Welch I wish to remain till it can be sent without putting him to any great expence: a safe opportunity by some private hand will likely offer soon after its being received.

October 25. The vessel not going so soon as expected I have now to congratulate you upon the great and important news that the express will bring you.¹⁶ God hath indeed done great things for us, and exceeded our most sanguine wishes. This event will I trust bring G. B. to her senses, unless her ruin is determined, which I apprehend will be rather a disadvantage to the American Continent. Mr. Austin¹⁷ being appointed to carry the dispatches I shall give my letters for Mr. Tabor and the Rev'd Mr. Sowden, to his care, together with those for Mr. Field and Mr. Parker. Mr. Sowden's has been wrote to day.

TO HORATIO GATES¹⁸

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 27, 1777.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I loved you before; the service you have lately done the country is an additional argument for an increase of love. I congratulate you upon and rejoyce with you in, your having caught the old fox and his cubs. I wonder with what lies he will exculpate himself to his Master and the ministry, but he will find it hard to devise any that will not tend to lessen their expectations of subduing us. Never has G. B. been so disgraced in your time. The British officers however I imagine felt less mortified when delivering up their swords, than they would have done had the commander in chief been a native American. I have a pleasure in thinking that he was a Briton, and that the cause of liberty hath been so essentially served by one that is my own countryman. I noted that in your general orders before you advanced, you brought in, though in a parenthesis, *by the blessing of heaven*; hope to see in some late general order the counter-part *through the blessing of heaven*. Heaven did indeed reserve a special punishment for the cruelties countenanced by Burgoyne, and has taken off the scalp, from his military head. What a pritty figure will he now make,

¹⁶ The surrender of Burgoyne.

¹⁷ Jonathan Loring Austin (1748–1826), son of Benjamin Austin.

¹⁸ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

thus disgraced and disfigured, in the parliament house the next session. He will be time enough to reach them by the opening of it, it is probable, and to assist them in their debates upon American cowardice and British bravery.

The expedition against Rhode Island I imagine has fallen through. Am not sorry, for I expected that Pigot would have made a greater resistance than was thought of, and that had we succeeded our people would have brought us under great disgrace by plundering, burning, *etc.*

I expect an opportunity of sending to France by the person that goes with the dispatches to Dr. Franklin, and design writing to Dr. Fothergil¹⁹ with a view of having my letter communicated, must therefore draw to a close; but must pray to be remembered to Gen'l Lincoln, Gen'l Arnold, and other friends, too numerous to be mentioned. If you cannot find leisure desire Major Pierce or some other amanuensis to send me a few lines in your name. Adieu. May you enjoy the keeping and blessing of the God of hosts. Your affectionate friend.

Yesterday afternoon I preached upon the occasion from Is. 28, 29. This also cometh forth from the Lord of hosts who is wonderful in co[unsel, and e]xcellent in working.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, January 8, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — The cares and fatigues of the campaign are, I hope, so far over, as to admit of your perusing the following lines without interruption, and of writing me an answer however short, as I am desirous of knowing the state of your Excellency's health, after all the many hardships and difficulties you have been called to pass through. I have been told that they have worn you greatly, but I flatter myself that the account is much aggravated. Wish I could contribute more effectually to your relief and comfort; but the most I can do, is to pray that your strength may be as your day. Had every one, who appeared warm for the cause of liberty at the commencement of the quarrel, been as truly patriotic and vigorous as yourself, humanly speaking the enemy would not have had a foot of ground all through the united States. Indeed they have nothing whereof they can boast; and I cannot but pronounce our affairs, all things considered, in a better situation than they were

¹⁹ John Fothergill (1712-1780).

this day twelvemonth. I have betaken myself to winter quarters — would that you had as good — go but little to Boston, and know not the prevailing topick of conversation: but I trust that the different States will strain every nerve, that you may be so strengthened as to have it in your power with the common blessing of God, to dislodge the enemy from N. York or Philadelphia, or both one after another. Governor Tryon seems to have lost his temper, and to have got mad, by which I am led to suspect that he begins to give up all hope of B's succeeding. May it come to his turn shortly to ship himself off for Europe. He has been the subtlest tool that ministry have had in that class of agents. The others did not want for inclination, but their zeal overset them for want of knowledge. Governor Hutchinson, I apprehend, despairs of seeing the *cowardly* Americans subdued. In a letter of his, designed for a relation in this neighbourhood, taken on board a prize, he commends the person for staying, wishes he had done the same, he always loved the country and the like. The gentleman who informed me of it, said the contents were *such*, you would scarce believe that Hutchinson wrote it, but by knowing the hand.

By the express that went from Boston the 30th of October for France with the news of Burgoyne's surrender I wrote to Dr. Fothergill — mentioned that I had not lost my *amor patriæ* — wished that the matter might be speedily concluded by a dissolution of parliament, declaring the British colonies independent, and a commercial alliance, said, that we could never love more as relations, we might as allies; that I was persuaded, upon that plan G. B. would in ten or fifteen years reap as great, if not greater advantages from the Continent than they had ever done; that there was no judging what ministry would do, as they were guided neither by policy nor reason: but if they meant to send over more troops to harass us, it was not to be thought that we should continually submit to it, some methods must be taken to bring the war nearer to St. James's: that such a plan was in contemplation; and that under cover of a foreign fleet of men of war a body of troops with a north west wind might visit some of the British dominions in a month. I meant that Dr. Fothergill should circulate the letter; and discovered what had been wrote to Ld. Dartmouth, Ld. North, and Sir Francis Bernard, by one and another warning against the measures that were afterwards adopted.

I am ready to conjecture, that if an apprehension of a European war does not oblige G. B. to confine her attention to self and West Indies, might have added and East, (indeed I view that event as almost certain) they will abandon the scheme of subduing the

country, but will attempt to regain possession of Boston, in hopes that having our capital cities they shall thereby oblige us at length to renounce our Independency and return back to the state of 1763; whereas I would sooner hazard our existence than do it. Nature has evidently designed independency for this Continent; and it is better now that the sword is drawn to fight on till that is established, than to leave an opening for a more dreadful and bloody war to be carried on by posterity.

How far it may consist with your Excellency's plan to direct that some thousands of the N. England troops should be collected in the neighbourhood of Boston to defend the town in case of an attack, or to be ready for transportation in case of a war in Europe is known only to yourself: but I wish that we may be fully provided against a surprise, by having all in readiness for action, and the beacons properly fixed to alarm the country. The last year, we proceeded so far in the cautionary line as to get the Boston Beacon prepared, orders were given as to others, but for want of persons to see to the execution of orders, I believe they have never been complied with.

Should an expedition against any of the British European dominions be undertaken, a manifesto should be printed to be dispersed among the people, setting forth the reasons for it, and containing a scheme for the recovery and securing of their liberties. Can't but believe, that such a scheme may be formed as would make the inhabitants more than neutrals, ever active friends. The lower order of Irish who have none of the *benefits* of government, think that we are right in fighting for our liberties and that they ought to follow our example. Vast numbers of Scotch are most disgusted that they are prevented choosing their own ministers, and have them imposed upon them by presentation. A large body of English are nearly tired out with working for placemen, pensioners, and whole armies of ministerial dependants.

What I have wrote will amuse you, shall be pleased should it divert you. Would explain myself more fully could I be sure that this would get safe to your hands. But though I have not heard of any posts being taken of late, yet the enemy may project the taking of the mail by some of their scouting parties: and should it be so and they succeed, I would not they should pick out enough from my letter to provide against and ward off an unexpected blow.

If the power of Britain must be destroyed or America be lost; let the first go for it; she has had her day.

I have been told that it was in contemplation among some of the delegates a little before Gen'l Lee was taken, to exalt him to the

supreme command of the army; and that it was first projected by a Virginian. You most probably know if there was any foundation for the report. Shall be glad to be acquainted with it, if so: for then I shall admire that special providence that let him fall into the hands of the enemy: indeed I have never thought very hard of it; and have been well pleased that the enemy have had the opportunity of learning that we can maintain the war without the presence of General Lee. All has been ordered for the best by infinite Wisdom, and I rely upon the divine power and goodness for getting well through the contest, and hope your Excellency will live to see and enjoy the comforts of it, accompanied with the honour of having been used as the instrument in the hand of God from first to last, for the salvation of the United States. Mrs. Gordon joins me in best wishes. I am with much esteem your Excellency's sincere friend and most humble servant.

Respects to all friends around and with you that I have the pleasure of knowing.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, January 9, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — Mons'r Le Baron De Steuben begged that I would make him the bearer of a few letters to some of my friends. Being in Boston the last week, learning that he had the best of recommendations, had been by some means neglected so as not to meet with the civilities that might justly be expected, and that he felt strongly the disappointment of the expectations he had formed of the manners of the people in this quarter, and knowing the heart of a stranger, I got introduced to him, endeavoured in the best manner I could to soothe his painful sensations, and desired the honour of his company to dinner; and yesterday I was favoured with it. As to what I could gather from conversation of his military abilities, did I think myself a judge, I should not venture to give my opinion, recollecting that I am writing to your Excellency: but I could not but think with him, when he said the war must be finished speedily, the prolongation of it would be our ruin, and that we must hazard the lives of a thousand or two of men that the close of it may be hastened. He is evidently the Gentleman, and a person of good understanding; but it is needless for me to enlarge on these matters as you will perceive them in a very short time. I wrote you a long letter yesterday by the post in which were several things

designed to alarm the enemy, should they by any means come across it. Wishing you the happiness of driving the enemy out of the United States before the close of April, and commending you to the special protection of heaven, I remain with much esteem your Excellency's sincere friend.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, Jan'y 9, 1778.

FRIEND GATES, — What mean you by neglecting me? Am I never to hear from you? If you do not take some method speedily to give me satisfaction, I will enter into a private correspondence with your Lady, and desire her to read you some curtain lectures — upon the nature of friendship. It is scarce bearable to be so served. I shall be almost provoked by and by, to fall upon and beat you; and then what a pritty figure you will cut in history, to be beaten by a parson, after having obliged the great Burgoyne and his army to part with their arms tho they declined *grounding* them. They boggled at the English word, but if I mistake not, it is, as we say, the same in the Greek. I hope to hear, that your success has over-set the ministry, drove off the Scotch Junto, and turned the heads of the English — right — and that you have no more scruples about a divine Providence. Mons'r Le Baron De Steuben is intended for the bearer of these few lines. He has pleased me the little time I have had the pleasure of his acquaintance. But if the person I suppose him, you will want none of my commendations to recommend him, your own discernment will read him sooner than I can describe him. Remember that the above contains a challenge, but the weapons are not to be other than pens, and I pray you to use yours well, and with it to write the state of your health, your Lady's and sons, the place of your residence and the post you occupy in the service of the United States, that so you may have a reply from your sincere affectionate friend.

Mrs. Gordon joins in respects. Miss Jenny winters at Andover.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, January 12, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was a stranger to the subjects of the present letter when I wrote last week, or should have mentioned them considering their importance. Mr. Hancock reports that your Excellency

²⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

designs quitting the command of the army. I hope he has no good foundation for what he says. I should dread your doing it, did I believe it probable, for I apprehend the cause would suffer amazingly by it, and that the continent would find it exceedingly difficult to unite so universally in any other gentleman. The conduct of multitudes has been such, that was not the cause to suffer I should not wonder were many a gentleman to withdraw themselves from the service of the publick; but there is no leaving the guilty to be punished for their misbehaviour without endangering the cause. I trust if at any time you have had thoughts of quitting you have for the good of the whole laid aside all such intention. I am not so mistaken in Mr. Hancock as the generality, and therefore *can* easily suppose, if he has any particular end to answer that he will propagate such a report upon the slightest foundation: but shall be glad to have it under your Excellency's hand that you have no thoughts of a resignation, and in the strongest terms, that I may strangle the report instantly.²¹

I have further to acquaint you, that an officer of rank and character among the enemy, informed a friend of mine in private free conversation, that the *silver* bullets flew plentifully at Tyconderoga, that ten thousand guineas was a strong temptation, that had not Gates been sent to command they had succeeded, that he was an *honest* man, that he had been *tried* alias tempted, that he believed Schuyler was not sorry that his house and buildings were burnt — the officer declared upon his honour that there was bribery and treachery. At present I can neither tell you my informer, nor the name of the officer, but shall probably have liberty for both when the enemy are gone. You know my informer well, and would believe him readily. I write to your Excellency with the utmost confidence, and leave it with your prudence to make what use you please of the letter. Your most affectionate friend and humble servant.²²

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 25, 1778.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — Could I have thought that the weight and multiplicity of business with which you was loaded, while serving the

²¹ The letters of this period are colored by the influence of Conway's cabal and Hancock's military ambitions. A New York printer, James Rivington, also issued the series of spurious letters attributed to Washington, which had appeared in London and which Washington believed to have been perpetrated by John Randolph, the last royal Attorney-General of Virginia.

²² Washington's reply, Feb. 15, 1778, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), VI. 377 n.

public in the field, would not have hindered your attending to private letters, or that mine would have met with so kind a reception and given you such pleasure as your favor of the 23d ulto. intimates, you should have heard oftener from me. I wish for your own sake, as well as for your Virginia friends, more particularly your Lady, of whose welfare you forgot to inform us, that circumstances would have admitted of your visiting your family during the winter season: but the disadvantages you have laboured under have prevented you that pleasure. I am grieved when I recollect how little you have been seconded and supported by those, whose engagements obliged them to exert themselves to the utmost. And setting aside the affection I have entertained for you on account of your personal accomplishments, I am pained with any slights that may be cast upon your Excellency, considering how you have acted upon the most patriotic and disinterested principles. Had all the sons of liberty been equally honest, virtuous, consistent and persevering, I think I may say we should not have had an enemy in arms against us in any of the united States. But what I have seen and observed of mankind has confirmed me fully, in what I before took to be revealed in the scriptures of their depravity; and I design to have less and less to do with the bulk of them, and to concern myself with the public no further than a sense of duty necessitates. I mean soon to withdraw myself, and, the ministry excepted, to apply myself solely to the business of a faithful and honest historian.

The greatness of mind you discover encourages me to write, what otherwise the tenderness of friendship would have prevented. Some harsh spirits censured the omission of a regard to the divine blessing in the general orders given before the battle of Brandywine. I could not account for the oversight, but from the hurry of affairs; and assured one and another of the high and strong sense your Excellency had of a providence and the government of the supreme Being. I have seen it asserted in letters:

The fault lies entirely in the general officers of the army who are the principle wheels of the great machine — all the cowardice, idleness and drunkenness of the army originates with them. The disorders of every department of the army are of a most distressing nature; Discipline is neglected, or wholly unknown. A gentleman going into Howe's camp, was struck upon his approaching the lines with the vigilance of the sentries and picket, was examined by nine or ten inferior officers, was not permitted to enter the camp till an officer of distinction was sent for. In passing through General Washington's army he had the mortification to arrive at the head quarters of a general on an outpost without being

challenged by a single sentry; saw soldiers straggling from the lines in every quarter without an officer, exposed every moment to be picked up by the enemy's light horse; heard of 2000 who sneaked off with the baggage of the army; was told that they would not be missed in the returns, for as these were made out only by sergeants they would be returned on parade, and that from officers' neglecting to make out and examine returns General Washington never knew within three thousand men what his real numbers were; heard General Gates's army compared to a well regulated family, General Washington's to an unformed mob. In General Washington's army it is no uncommon thing for pickets to remain five days and guards twenty-four hours without relief; and destitute of provisions except such as they plunder or buy. There are really as many officers as men in our army. Every surgeon and mate has a servant drawn from the ranks to attend them, who is exempted from camp and field duty. I have been told that the General has forbidden it a hundred times, but the evil continues; and no wonder, for officers ride up to his quarters with soldiers behind them in the capacity of servants. At Germantown battle an officer low in command gave counter orders to the commander-in-chief, and the commander-in-chief was passive under that circumstance.

Your Excellency's heroism, in allowing your own character to suffer rather than disclose such truths as may injure the public cause, convinces me, that you can read the preceding accounts, whether true or false, in some or every part, and improve upon the information, without being distressed for any time, or I should not have ventured to transmit them. It may be proper to mention, that not one of the letters in which they were contained was wrote by a military man or chaplain. I have gone after Colonel Marshall several times, but have not had the pleasure of seeing him.²³ He is at Hingham for the present, not very well. General Lincoln is at Boston, waited on him yesterday, is in a good way and fine spirits. Your opinion as to Boston has satisfied me with respect to that particular; but our affairs in general I apprehend to be very threatening. What are my thoughts you will see in the Thursday's paper, Powars & Willis — The signature A naturalized American.²⁴ Unless a speedy change takes place I propose removing Mrs. Gordon to Europe by the opportunity of a Dutch vessel going to Amsterdam in three weeks or a month. Hope your battalions will be recruited better

²³ Thomas Marshall (1718-1818), colonel of the 10th Mass. Regiment. The officers of his regiment petitioned the General Court from Stillwater, Sept. 15, 1777, requesting that clothing be furnished them from the store of clothes found on board the prize captured by Capt. Lee (p. 346, *supra*), as their clothing and baggage had been lost on the retreat from Ticonderoga. *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution*, x. 265.

²⁴ See p. 381, *infra*.

from other states, than I suspect they will be from this. Our patriotism has almost burnt itself out. The general court are *not labouring* to get the army filled. Towns I fear will be trickish and hire any thing and any body, that they may have it to say that they have furnished their quota, without caring whether the men serve or desert. The continent may be charged with the *full* number, should the *half* be found in actual service two months after the inlistment we shall be as honest as I expect. Methods must be devised to make us exert ourselves and act honestly. It might have a good effect was you, my dear Sir, to lecture them well upon those sins of omission and commission, you know the state to be chargeable with, point out the inevitable ruin that must follow if they will not support the cause with spirit, and that the Massachusetts has of all others the most to dread from Britain's succeeding. I do not know how it is with you; but as to myself, tho' I repent not of the part I have acted having been influenced by principle, yet I am so mortified by what I see and hear, that was the affair to begin anew and it was possible for me to be acquainted with matters down to the present time only, I would be no principal and decline meddling with the cause; but being engaged, it shall not sink for want of what support I can give it: And then should it sink, I have nothing in that respect for which to blame myself; shall submit to the wise orderings of heaven; and look out for ways and means of escape for myself. You will probably pronounce me low spirited and vapoury. I am indeed distressed to think that when God has wrought so amazingly in our favor, has put such advantages in our hands, and we have the means of saving ourselves with his common blessing, we are destroying ourselves: not but that I hope we shall be saved after all, to the glory of the divine goodness. I frequently think of you — in my most serious moments especially. Mrs. Gordon joins in respects to self and Lady, and wishes to hear some good news soon to prevent her leaving America. What a horrid attempt has been made upon Dr. Franklin! ²⁵ Hope he will recover, and that the villain and his employers will be discovered. Suspect British instigation.

Compliments to Messrs. Harrison and Gibbs,²⁶ and other gentle-

²⁵ "A Letter from Bourdeaux of December 12, mentions, That the illustrious Patriot Dr. Benjamin Franklin, has been assassinated in his Bed-Chamber, at the instance of Lord Stormont. The villain left him for dead; but one of the Doctor's Ribs prevented the Stab from being instantly fatal, and he lay in a languishing Condition when the Vessel sailed that brings this Account." *Boston Gazette*, February 23, 1778.

²⁶ Robert Hanson Harrison (1745-1790), Secretary to Washington. Caleb Gibbs (d. 1818), one of the General's aids.

men with whom I have the honour of being acquainted, Generals Greene, Sullivan, *etc.* I remain, my dear Friend, with much esteem, your Excellency's affectionate humble servant.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb'y 25, 1778.

MY DEAR HORATIO, — A military man is obliged to habituate himself to a certain callousness of temper, that so he may be prepared for meeting with the dreadful shocks given him by the frequent and repeated deaths of intimates and acquaintance: but by this means he loses the tender feelings of friendship. And thus I am ready to account for my not having rec'd a line from you since you repaired to Philadelphia to demand satisfaction for your being dishonourably superseded. I have exercised long patience and must now insist upon your obliging me with a few lines, tho' the multiplicity of your business should not admit of it without your sitting up till midnight. Whenever it is necessary I will keep out of bed to the dawning of the morning in order to please you. No more delays or procrastinations then, but an immediate answer by return of post; and if our friend Mifflin is at hand pray remind him of the lengthy letter with which he fed my expectations by a message to Miss Jenny Tyler, who is still at Andover *in statu quo*, without having obtained the desired cure. You have contributed greatly towards our salvation by captivating Burgoyne; but unless you or some others can free us from that selfishness, and spirit of oppression and negligence by which we are captivated we shall be soon lost notwithstanding all your labour of love. I almost despair of succeeding, with all the amazing advantages that providence has conferred upon us, unless some very material change takes place speedily either upon the continent or in Europe. And in this state of mind have thoughts of shipping the best half of me for Holland by a vessel from Boston to Amsterdam, that was taken and sent in some time back, but justly escaped condemnation. My wife who wishes not to leave America for the present hopes to hear some good news in a few weeks to prevent it. It is hoping against hope, and yet I am partner with her in it. Have you any thing important to communicate, that may justify an alteration of sentiment? if so, fail not of writing the same, tho' under the seal of secresy, and she will respect you more than ever, and with a fresh burst of affection desire to be remembered to you, your lady and the fruit of your amours. I have another favor

²⁷ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

to beg of you, and must be gratified in my own way. You are justly to be honoured with a golden medal. I must have one to keep for my friend Gates, which I must pray you to procure; but insist upon paying for it myself. The times are bad enough: but I am not so reduced, but what I can purchase it, and would part with my shirt off my back rather than not have one. Gen'l Lincoln is safe at Boston. Heard of it and paid him a visit yesterday. He is in good spirits and a fine way. Wish our general court was the same. Expect they will do no better than the last year: shall be glad if it is not worse. Was you their governor with sufficient powers it would I believe be a great mercy to the continent. To congratulate you upon your being placed at the head of the board of war after what preceded, would be like congratulating a father upon the birth of a thirteenth son, little more than an insignificant compliment.²⁸ But if it falls within the line of your department provoke, if possible, the Massachusetts to a spirited exertion by representing to them the horrors that must overtake them in case of subjugation. Burgoyne has been amusing himself, soldiers and the public, with the trial of Col. Henley. Gen'l Heath I doubt not meant well, but many account it an illjudged gratification of Burgoyne in suffering the Col[onel] to be tried. Was present when Burgoyne sum'd up the evidence against him. The General spoke well, but laboured to blacken Henley to the utmost, and in doing it used those arguments which might be turned against himself and the British ministry to great advantage. But what I resented most was an attempt to make

²⁸ November 24, 1777, the Board of War had a conference with General Mifflin on the conduct of the war department and Mifflin expressed "a warm Solicitude that Major General Gates should be appointed President of this Board, from a Conviction that his military Skill would suggest Reformatations in the different Departments of the Army essential to good Discipline, Order and Economy, and that his Character and Popularity in the Army would facilitate the execution of such Reformatations when adopted by Congress; a Task in the opinion of this Committee more arduous and important, than the formation of any new Establishment, however wise it may be in Theory!" Three days later Gates, Joseph Trumbull and Richard Peters were elected additional members of the Board, Gates was appointed President of the Board and the President of Congress was desired to inform Gates of his appointment, "expressing the high sense Congress entertain of the general's abilities and peculiar fitness to discharge his duties of that important office, upon the right execution of which the success of the American cause does eminently depend; that he inform General Gates that it is the intention of Congress to continue his rank as major general in the army, and that he officiate at the board, or in the field, as occasion may require: and that the general be requested to repair to Congress with all convenient despatch, to enter on the duties of his new appointment." *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), ix. 959, 971.

the auditory believe, that he and the officers believed, there was a design of picking a quarrel, that so we might have an opportunity of massacring the troops. The insinuation was base, but it afforded him a copious field for oratory, and he told us that it would have been such a blot in the first page of our new history, that all the future faith, bravery, humanity and the whole catalogue of national virtues would not have been capable of effacing.²⁹ What a shocking attempt has been made upon our friend Dr. Franklin! I hope the good old gentleman will recover, and that we shall be able to trace it up to the original. I suspect British instigation. Should Gen'l Washington want to have his hands strengthened, afford him your assistance as at Cambridge. It is no reflection on him to think that he may be aided and assisted by one that has been *trained* up in the military. In some cases errors are the offspring of virtues suited to another line of duty. Never suffer him to be slurred. He has deserved too well of the country to be so treated. Good and bad success are often tho' not always accidents. You have done great things, by the blessing of heaven, but the want of future success tho' lying wholly at the door of others, would with the mobility (to which class belong gentle and simple, high and low) prove your loss of character. Before the necessity was known, I was obliged to defend you against the illnatured remarks made upon the too lenient terms, as they were called, granted to Burgoyne. Adieu. Omit not answering as requested. My parting or keeping my wife may depend upon it; and this to a married man well yoked is as you know a matter of great consequence. I empower you to remember me to all friends; and am with much esteem your very affectionate friend and humble servant.

I have heard in a particular way, that you was *tried*, but was not to be *bought*, and was an honest man. You must know whether any overtures were made; if so, I shall be confirmed as to some other secrets that remain to be revealed. I have frequently recollected some few words that were uttered in confidence at Ty.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General & President of the Board of War, York-Town, Pennsylvania.

[From the *Independent Chronicle*, February 26, 1778.]

To the Inhabitants of the UNITED STATES

Excuse, gentlemen, the liberty taken by an individual, of thus addressing you at this perilous and alarming period. 'Tis necessary that you

²⁹ *Proceedings of a General Court-Martial, held at Cambridge, . . . upon the trial of Colonel David Henley.* (Boston, 1778.)

should be apprized of your danger, while, with the common blessing of heaven, you have the means of saving yourselves, will you but improve them. Are you at length lost, after having contended thus far, you will be as chargeable with *suicide* as ever was any single person. That you will be lost before many months are at an end, unless a speedy and very great change of public conduct commenceth, or the political state of Europe is soon altered, so as to afford us relief, I will venture to predict. The simple may censure me for thus exposing our present circumstances to the enemy. Gentlemen, I do not *expose* them. Can it be thought, that, with so many British officers, of the keenest and ablest capacities, among us — with hard money at command, to purchase commodities of all kinds, intelligence, service and influence, not excepted — with so many eager hands among our own countrymen to catch at gold and silver — they are ignorant? Impossible! As well think of keeping Burgoyne from learning what passeth in the House of Assembly, by shutting the doors of the gallery. They must be children in politics, or worse, that can believe it. Gentlemen, the critical moment is upon us, and calls for various and spirited exertions, do you mean to retain and establish your liberties. With great advantage in our hands, we are in a most threatening situation. And yet I have to congratulate you, and I do heartily, on occasion of the British king's speech to parliament. Providentially, for us, it was fabricated and delivered before the fate of the northern army was known, which hath given us the opportunity of learning, that neither sovereign nor servants had abated of their rancorous designs against us — were as determined as ever upon subduing us to unconditional obedience, and the acknowledgment of parliamentary power *to bind us in all cases whatsoever*. Hence the royal language is — “the continuance of the *rebellion* in North America, demands our most serious attention — I am persuaded that you will see the necessity of preparing for such further operations, as the contingencies of the war, and the *obstinacy of the rebels* may render expedient; I am for that purpose pursuing the proper measures for keeping my land force compleat to their present establishment; and if *I should have occasion to increase them by contracting new engagements I rely on your zeal and public spirit to enable me to make them good* — I will steadily pursue *the measures in which we are engaged*, for the re-establishment of that constitutional subordination, which *I will maintain* through the several parts of my dominions — the arbitrary tyranny of leaders.” We have here an authentic answer to those visionary sentiments, that have been lately circulated by the weak and wicked — that if we would but renounce our independence, we might be gratified in every other respect, and that the Howes had power to treat. The commissioners have no greater powers now than at first — to grant pardons and hear grievances. Every man of sense that runs over the royal speech, must read this truth in it without spelling, that we must either support our independence, or be reduced to abject slavery — there being no other alternative. By the blessing of God, we may support our independence, do we act wisely, honestly and bravely.

Wisdom dictates a *reform* in all our departments, but forbids a capital change in the military, which would occasion distrust among our European friends, dissensions among our American, and have a fatal influence on our whole cause. A scheme for effecting this change, I am told, is in agitation. I believe it, and what and if I was to add — I know it; but the Massachusetts, I hope, will never take the lead in such an affair, either directly or indirectly, and make themselves as notorious for their ingratitude, as they are for their bravery. It hath been suspected, that De Lisle's letters are a part of the scheme. The sentiments and expressions of what was printed the last Thursday, are in many instances so exceeding similar to what are in manuscripts under *my* keeping, that I am assured the author is no Frenchman, though he formerly resided for a while in France, but an American, and genuine son of liberty, notwithstanding his desire of accomplishing the change alluded to. It is wished, that the electors in the several States, where these letters are printed, may be upon their guard, against an Old-England artifice, that otherwise may be practised in America, viz. the having their minds first prejudiced by their own Representatives, and then being induced to instruct their Representatives just as these would have them. In this way a delegate at Congress may have his conduct justified and supported by a public instruction, when only acting on his own opinion, which, by intriguing, he hath got his constituents to father. If our southern army hath not succeeded equally with our northern, there are other ways of accounting for it than by reflecting on the commander. Were they not without a head to the Quarter-Master's department, ever since July? Did not the unhappy removal of the Commissary-General, in its consequences, distress them in every movement, and in every shape, for want of provisions? Probably various other circumstances existed, which cannot at present be divul[g]ed without damage to the public; but I am convinced, that the commander possesseth such a noble mind, that he will leave his own character to suffer, till they can be disclosed with safety. I am sensible, that there are many abuses in the army that want correcting, and several changes that ought to be effected. But they may be out of the power of a single person to accomplish; and his seconds may fail. I should rejoice, therefore, to hear, that Congress had appointed General Gates, and another, to join their abilities and influence with his; and would leave it with this triumvirate, to determine upon all the movements and operations of the army, after the propriety, or impropriety, of them, had been canvassed in a council of general officers. When I recollect the friendship that subsisted between a Washington and a Gates, at Cambridge, and the honourable manner in which I have heard them speak of each other, I cannot but promise myself, that they would unite heart and hand in promoting the comfort, the discipline, the strength, and the success of the army — for they aim at one and the same point, the freedom and prosperity of the Continent. General Gates's military character is at its zenith. Do what he will, he cannot raise it higher. All he could expect, was he to command ever so, could be only to keep up the lustre of it, without making it more or better; but from henceforward in supreme

command, he must *hazard* it — and how many casualties are there in war, and how much dependance on others, through which a General may lose, or have his character lessened, when no one military accomplishment or manœuvre is wanting on his part. Let us reform *abuses* with spirit, but make *alterations* with the utmost caution, lest we war instead of mending — and let us push our alterations no further than can be done without hazarding dangerous confusions. As to abuses, they are enormous and almost without number. Instead of having our affairs conducted with economy, the Continent hath been plundered, and business carried on at the most expensive rate, that Jack, Tom and Harry might make fortunes & live like gentlemen; and getting money apace, without pains to teach them the value of it, they have spent it extravagantly, parting with it as though it was nothing worth, and thereby have contributed to raise the price of commodities. I have the best authority for saying — *the fraud, the peculation, and the profusion, that have been practised among us, have done us more injury than the whole force of our foreign enemies.* Men have thought, that there was no great hurt in cheating the Continent, and that the Continent could easily pay all expences. We now begin to feel the horrid consequences of such sentiments, and are almost at a stop for want of credit and supplies. Temporary expedients will not save us; our disorders must undergo a radical cure, or we are only struggling with the agonies of death. The wealth of worlds could not support us in carrying on the war under the present circumstances. It is not regulating trade — till the opinions, manners and conduct of the people, are regulated, all such attempts will be likely to increase our calamities. The Northern States have already tried the experiment, and found that it only made bad worse. And I can scarce rest[r]ain my indignation, when I reflect, that gentlemen, acquainted with the tryal, should agree upon recommending the plan to their constituents, while they wrote to Congress that they did not imagine that the scheme would answer, and that other methods must be taken to lessen the price of commodities. When lately in conversation with the Hon. John Adams, Esq; he expressed his concern, that the thought of attempting to regulate trade was revived, and said, “it is as plain as any demonstration in Euclid, that trade cannot be regulated, it must regulate itself.” Make men in their actions honest, virtuous and patriotic, by convincing them it is their interest so to be, and wished-for practicable regulations will follow. Of these matters more in a subsequent letter, wherein I mean to point out ways and means for saving the country — for raising the supplies for the current year — for lessening the circulation of the paper currency, and of course encreasing its value.

I am, gentlemen,

your very humble servant,

A naturalized AMERICAN.

February 26, 1778.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 2, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I wrote you by the Baron De Steuben, and by an express that went from General Heath. In the last I mentioned Mr. Hancock. Do not find out in any way whatsoever, that he hath concerned himself at all about the late subject of conversation; and expect from circumstances that the scheme of changing is dropt, from observing that the voice of the public is against it. There were a few hints also upon the head of treachery in a certain department. And if you have never received any prior intimation, you will be thankful to me for taking the liberty of saying, that tho' no one does or can suspect you, yet it is thought that you have some treacherous person about you, that betrays you and our officers to the enemy. It is more than a twelve month back since I heard it from a gentleman very conversant with the army tho' not belonging to it, a native of Pensylvania. I could not bring my heart to write to you, upon the subject, it being a matter of so delicate a nature. But having heard the like lately from one of considerable note and well known to your Excellency, I cannot in faithfulness be longer silent. Jealousy has fixed upon the late Colonel now General Joseph Reed Esq'r.³⁰ Should he be that thorough-paced lawyer, you may possibly, my dear Sir, by laying circumstances together — his endeavours to acquaint himself with your sentiments, designs and other secrets, with many other particulars that may occur — be able to satisfy yourself, so as to gain an opportunity of detecting him. I remember that when he returned to Philadelphia after his first coming with your Excellency to Cambridge, he wrote you a long letter of a very discouraging cast, which was judged by some of your friends to be the effects of great imprudence. I know that, before the commencement of hostilities, he was a writer in the Philadelphia papers, but concealed it from all his connexions in that [quarte]r, which makes me conjecture that he was none of the heartiest on the side of liberty. But what I lay the most stress upon is, conversation that passed between him and an officer of rank when you was in the neighbourhood of Haerlem. They were riding in company; and the officer talked with him freely upon his conduct

³⁰ Joseph Reed (1741-1785), first military secretary to the Commander in Chief. His letters formed the basis of Lord Mahon's charges against Jared Sparks, of modifying the text, and Bancroft raised question on certain later conduct of Reed, which proved to have no foundation. Gordon's insinuation rested upon some fact but is carried beyond the possibility of truth. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of President Reed*, I. 240.

in exclaiming so against and reproaching the New England troops, and told him that he took the readiest method to break the army into pieces. He answered, the sooner it was disbanded the better. What did he think that we should stand it against G. Britain! We could not do it. They would be too much for us. Many things to this purpose he said in his conversation to the officer, who from the strong complexion of his discourse, from that time, put him down in his own thoughts as being no very true friend to the cause. Should you think proper to ask him whether he ever said any thing of this kind in the neighbourhood of the heights of Haerlem, I have the officer's consent to give you his name, who is a gentleman of veracity and courage, and not to be intimidated. Should General Reed have left the army to sit in Congress, I shall be fearful whether his real or pretended prejudices against the New Englanders will not operate there to the producing more hurtful divisions than what were occasioned by them in the army. He either means ill or knows so little of human nature, that he is not well qualified for conducting to public advantage, in a body composed of persons drawn from the several united States, having their peculiar manners, and different modes and sentiments, owing to education and the circumstances of the people where they lived. Though it was acknowledged that you discouraged the reflections cast upon the New Englanders, yet such was the manner in which they were abused by Colonel Reed when Adjutant General, that the disaffection between the southern and northern troops in consequence of it, got to that height, that those of Pennsylvania and New England would as soon have fought each other as the enemy. The Field Officer from whom I had my information had never been ill-treated by him, but declared that had he been used by him as others, he would have been the death of him. I would humbly recommend it to your Excellency's consideration, how far General Reed, when his conduct has been so partial and prejudicial, and he appears to be more formed for dividing than uniting, is worthy of your confidence, whatever assurances you may have of his integrity.

March 3. When at Boston yesterday was informed that a couple of men from the neighbourhood of Dartmouth went upon Rhode Island got the countersign, mixed with the people unsuspected, learnt that Lord Howe had sent home all the women and children with the invalids, and that the troops were to be ready to embark by the 20th inst. to go and join General Howe at Philadelphia. Mentioned it to Mr. Merserau³¹ and desired that as an express was sent off from General Heath's to day for your Excellency, he would

³¹ Joshua Mersereau, Deputy Commissary General of Prisoners.

take care that you was informed of it. This proposed movement looks as tho' [it was] the intention of the enemy to collect their whole force together, bef[ore recr]uits can reach you. Am much afraid, that this State will fail y[ou] both in time and numbers. Unless our public affairs are conducted with m[ore] disinterestedness, I cannot conceive how we shall be able to make a stand much longer against the enemy, if no change in E[ngland's po]lity prevents their bending their whole force against us: I sent you a long letter the last thursday in answer to your favour of January 23d. And from that greatness of mind which shewed itself in yours, was induced to communicate certain paragraphs out of letters I had seen, which otherwise the tenderness of friendship would have prevented. I observed to you that they were not wrote by any military man, and should have added nor by any one of the Congress.

March 5. The present morning reminds me of the glorious manœuvre of your Excellency's, this time two years, which will be handed down to posterity from age to age. I must congratulate you afresh on the honours of that day. Wish you had equal advantages to what you then enjoyed for driving the enemy from Philadelphia. But it is Omnipotence only that can work without means. I hope to see Colonel Marshall in town to day. Mrs. Gordon is so disinclined to parting, that I believe she must remain upon the Continent and take her chance. The Americans act too much by fits and starts; I hope before matters are become irremediable they will give into some spirited exertions that with the blessing of God will prove our deliverance. Colonel Quincy charged me to present his respectful compliments to you. Mrs. Gordon joins me in the like to self and Lady. I trust that I shall ever be mindful of you, and pray that besides seeing the salvation of the country, you may see the salvation of the Lord to your own eternal happiness. I am with sincerest esteem and affectionate regards your real friend and most humble servant.

Respects to Messrs. Harrison and Gibbs.

[From the *Independent Chronicle*, March 5, 1778.]

LETTER II.

To the Inhabitants of the UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN, — In my former letter, I spoke of abuses. I am reminded by the time of capital ones committed the last year. The Continent was charged with thousands of men more than were to be found on the returns made by officers on duty. Proper care was not taken with regard to the

persons inlisted, numbers of whom deserted after receiving the bounty, while others, by inlisting in several corps, cheated the *public* (most likely) of large sums. Many hundred, instead of being at their station in season, were working or loitering about the country, and disturbing their quiet neighbours. It would be tedious to enumerate abuses, I prefer rather to prevent the repetition. Let men *in* office act more carefully and honestly. Let men who are *out* watch them, and upon a detection of mal-practices, turn informers for the good of their country, bravely disdain the effect of hush money or hush places, and despite the cry of interested villains, though they may open upon them with foul mouth. Much of the money obtained unfairly, hath been expended profusely and wantonly. Where individuals have acquired fortunes in that way, squeeze them till reduced to their primitive circumstances — they are not entitled to a remainder equal to what might have been fairly got. The taking away their whole gains is but a slender punishment for their knavery. But as the *strictly* virtuous, honest and patriotic, are not of themselves and alone sufficient to save the country, I shall address the interested and selfish, in order to obtain their assistance. Yes, I am inclined, that so our power of acting against the common enemy may be increased, to offer a few hints to those who are biased to their side. I am not so bigoted, but I can believe that there are in each party, men equally conscientious, honest, understanding, humane and virtuous. I would, therefore, ask those who are so biased, whether, gentlemen, it appearing from the king's speech that we must support our independence, or be reduced to unconditional submission, and there being no alternative, you and yours will not be much happier in the former case than in the latter? Is there any encouragement for you, from what you have met with, to hope for special favour? Was the Continent subdued and enslaved, could you be callous to the number of executions and calamities it would groan under, that would overtake your neighbours and acquaintances, and that you would not dare to censure as cruel, lest the shew of tenderness should make your loyalty suspected? Would you not feel in common with others, the rudeness and brutality of officers and soldiers, quartered about you to keep down the country? Would not the swarms of tax-gatherers, custom-house officers, collectors, inspectors, with a numerous train of &c. &c's. devour the fruits of your labour, and gradually eat up your inheritances? Would not your posterity be reduced, and your lands and houses be occupied by another generation? How have you been used already? Wherein hath the enemy spared you in general? They have made no distinction. You have been blended in one common calamity with the rest.. It may be, have met with special insults for not taking an active part. When gentlemen of the British house of commons, influenced by motives of humanity, proposed your being excepted from the rigours of the prohibitory bill, administration pronounced, that no distinction could be made, for that you had preserved at best, a shameful neutrality, and deserved to be subject to the common calamity of your country. "This was the liberal reward bestowed on men that espoused their cause. They have been left to share in the common distress of their

countrymen, which beams no lustre on the characters of those by whom they were neglected, betrayed and sacrificed." For a fuller account of this matter, I refer you to the parliamentary register, No. 19.

I shall now direct my pen to those who shrink at the *necessary* expences of the war — think, that if they must pay taxes, it signifieth nought whether they are independent of, or dependent on Great Britain, and therefore are become languid. Gentlemen, I have proposed lessening the expences by a thorough reform of abuses, and therefore have inserted the epithet *necessary*. The expenses of the war are of two kinds — those that run us in debt among ourselves, and those that make us debtors to foreign powers. Debts contracted among ourselves can never ruin us, will we be at the pains of discharging them by prudent and repeated taxes, an absolute exemption from which would hurt the body politic, that like the natural, must have its drains to carry off redundancies, or an ill habit will ensue. The debts we may have contracted with foreign powers, and may be obliged to increase, cannot equal the resources we shall enjoy, from the establishment of our independence, for the paying them off, as every judicious man must be convinced, who will look over a good map of America and see what amazing tracts of country are already in high cultivation, and what yet more amazing ones are unlocated. When once the debts due to, and among ourselves, are discharged, the others will be of small consequence.

The difference between paying taxes to establish our independence, and paying them to Great Britain, is next to infinite. In the one case we are free; in the other slaves — In the one, taxed by our own representatives, who are acquainted with all circumstances; in the other, by a foreign jurisdiction, whose interest it is to load us to the utmost, that they may ease themselves — in the one our own countrymen, friends, neighbours or relations, are the collectors, officers and servants of the States in the other, strangers to our manners and customs, who, by the mode of appointment, and the authority from whence they derive their commissions, assume the *insolence* of office — In the one, we pay less than will be imposed in the other; we pay in paper instead of hard money; and can retain our patrimony clear of incumbrances; and when our dwellings swarm with a numerous progeny, can, upon easy terms, procure new freeholds for our children, which, by their industry, they can work up into valuable plantations. But let Great-Britain prevail, and what must follow? The lives and lands of all who have personally engaged in the present glorious struggle, with those who have aided, assisted and abetted them, i.e. of all the patriotic members of Congress, State Governors, Counsellors, Representatives, Committee-Men, &c. &c. are forfeited. Yea, in the opinion of the British parliament, who have pronounced America in rebellion, all the lands of the landholders through the United States, those few alone who have submitted to the commissioners, and have come in and taken the advantage of Howe's proclamations excepted, are under the like forfeitures, and have reverted to the crown. What direful vengeance will be executed upon the persons of rebels, may be fairly inferred from the cruelties that have been already

exercised, especially the starving of more than a thousand of our men, relations, sons and brothers, the winter before last, in New-York, for want of fuel and provision, the scanty allowance of which induced the living to conceal the dead as long as possible, that they might draw their rations. The landholders, whom they may mean to be merciful to, will be obliged to pay for new grants. The golden opportunity will be seized for loading the Continent with an annual land tax. The honest, industrious planter of small estate, will be obliged to sell or mortgage, that he may pay his taxes. Large estates, and tracts of country, will be given to their partizans, whom they will ennoble and constitute Lords of manors, to destroy that equality and independence which hath occasioned such opposition to the despotic measures of Great-Britain. No lands will be purchasable for young beginners, who are looking out for new settlements, but on terms that will bind them down to a state of existence, little better than that of slavery. The country will be much drained of its youth to serve as soldiers in the East or West-Indies, in Gibraltar, Port-Mahon, Great-Britain and Ireland, while Scotch, Irish, and the dregs of England, are quartered among, and supported by Americans. The present paper currency, loan-office tickets, and Continental debt, will be nullified — The fortunes made by privateering and the present war, be seized — The purchases of estates for a time back, be declared void — The Continent be charged with the twenty millions sterling that have been already spent, and what may be further expended in subduing us — General distress, misery and bondage, commence, and the lowest class of inhabitants be worse off than those of Great-Britain. An authentic account of what these endure, you have in the following quotation from the late Josiah Quincy, jun. Esq's Journal, when in England, viz. "December 6, 1774. About 10 this morning, commissioner Morris ³² waited on me, and stayed about an hour and a half. In the course of conversation he said, Mr. Quincy you can have no idea of the taxes of this kingdom, and *the distress of our poor*. I don't mean our manufacturers, but our hedgers and ditchers and threshers. They have not now their 12d. 10d. or 8d. a day, but they are glad to get 6d. a day, for their labour; and may be, once a week, they may have a little kind of something given them, by way of charity, for dinner. *They are extreme poor and wretched indeed: — every thing here is taxed to the utmost — the colonies must relieve us — they must ease us of our taxes, &c.*" ³³ The above Mr. Morris was, and probably continues, one of the commissioners of the customs, the supposed framer of the annual ministerial budget, and a choice friend of the ministry. He artfully excepted the *manufacturers*, that Mr. Quincy might not imagine they could be injured by American non-importation agreements. But I lived long enough in England and in London, to be acquainted with the amazing hardships that class of men endured, through the multiplicity and heaviness of the taxes on every article of life. In good King George the 2d's time, the infamous Dr. Shebbeare ³⁴ was pilloried for

³² Corbyn Morris.

³³ The italics are Gordon's. The entire Journal is in the *Proceedings*, L. 433.

³⁴ John Shebbeare (1709-1788).

one of his letters to the people of England. He asserted upon calculations, I think it was, that every five strokes out of six, which the labourers gave in his work, went to the support of government. Have never seen his assertion disproved. However, he is now in such favour with the ministry as to be pensioned, and propagates jacobitism, and vilifies the revolution with impunity. What can American whigs expect from such a ministry, if successful, but a tortured, wretched life, instead of a speedy death? Should not the seeds of that free spirit which animated us at first, be wholly expended, sure they will shoot out this spring, and yield that fresh increase of patriotism, that will surmount the present difficulties, and fix us in a state of safety. We may expect the aids of heaven. May it not be asked, *what could God have done more for us, that he hath not done*, unless he had wrought real miracles? If he is at length so wrath with us as to give us up, we may reckon as one of our great sins that hath provoked this anger, our neglecting to improve his special interpositions on our behalf, and refusing to follow, with renewed and unabating ardour, the leadings of his providence into a state of independence, upon any other than the King of kings.

I meant, gentlemen, to have finished with this letter, but the subject hath insensibly increased under my hand; I must beg, therefore, that you would patiently and candidly admit of one more address, from

Your very humble servant,

February 28, 1778.

A naturalized AMERICAN.

[From the *Independent Chronicle*, March 12, 1778.]

LETTER III.

To the Inhabitants of the UNITED STATES.

GENTLEMEN,

Let us recollect that blaze of freedom, which burst forth upon the Continent, on the approach of tyranny, and like a fiery comet, put the whole world on gazing with astonishment. Surely it was not a vapoury meteor, a northern light, foreboding a storm; but will be proved by its speedy return, to be a substantial part of the American system. Congresses, conventions, counties, towns, and individuals, were strongly imprest with a sense of danger — were animated — nobly resolved, That they would expend their blood and treasure, to secure their liberty. Numbers have lost sight of the original object — are fascinated with the charms of riches — are in pursuit of imaginary fortunes, regardless of the public. Let us return to the point we had first in view — act up to the resolutions we published to mankind, and, by the blessing of heaven, we shall still be free. Shall the rebellious town of Manchester, that hath fattened upon American commerce, offer their special assistance for subduing us — shall the vile example be followed, probably by all the Jacobite party of Great-Britain — shall the Charleian attempt of employing

Irish papists be renewed, and we remain stupidly inactive? Then the American glory is departed, and all Europe will despise us for our folly, and pronounce us fit for slavery. Gentlemen, our case is not desperate, unless we neglect it. The case is in our own hands — a speedy application of the proper remedies will effect it — let us set about and follow it up with spirit and unanimity, and the British court will be shockt more than by the capture of Burgoyne and his army. The management of a war is as much an art, as the management of an army; we are young at both, mistakes must therefore be allowed for with candour. It is not he who hath the *strongest sword*, but he who can hold out *expending the longest*, that will conquer. Could we beat and captivate all the additional forces Great-Britain may send over annually, unless we can clear the Continent of their troops, still we shall be obliged to submit through the load of our expences, do we not devise ways and means for raising the necessary supplies. The hopes of our enemies are now built upon the expences they are putting us to. The question is no more who are poltroons? but, whose resources will fail soonest? We must put the trial upon this issue. Great-Britain, when hostilities commenced, had a debt of not much less than one hundred and forty millions sterling; which hath been increased considerably. Her taxes are universal and amazingly heavy. She can send neither transport nor ship of war to this Continent, without first drawing the materials from distant markets. She hath neither pitch, tar, hemp, nor masts, of her own growth. Her wealth depends on a foreign commerce, which hath had an excessive burden clapt upon it by high insurances. She is forced into additional expences, through an apprehension of a rupture with France and Spain. Her trade hath been much lessened by the loss of the American market, and other circumstances. Her West-India islands are by much less profitable than heretofore, and will be less and less through the present contest. In a word, her resources for carrying on the war are not sufficiently internal; while the seat of war being so far removed greatens the expences prodigiously. The debt of America, though much larger than it need to have been, had honesty, economy and good sense prevailed in every department, is not in itself alarming. The Continent, from its different climates; and being so well cultivated, hath those internal advantages, that most of the necessaries wanted may be furnished out of its own produce; and were patriotic societies to be formed in every State, for encouraging the most *useful* arts and manufactures, within a few years it might support itself without going to any foreign market whatsoever. But it will be inquired, how are the high prices of things to be reduced in the mean while, without which the war cannot be carried on much longer? This brings me to the main source of our present difficulties — the depreciation of the currency — which must be remedied, or we are undone. I doubt not to assert, that the *grand* occasion of such depreciation hath been a *redundancy*, through the amazing quantities that have been emitted. New emissions must decrease its value yet more. Borrowing what hath been emitted upon loan-office tickets, bearing interest, and then circulating it afresh, continues the evil while it increases our debt. The

only sovereign remedy that can produce a radical cure, is, the lessening of the currency till there is barely sufficient for circulation — all others are mere temporary palliatives. It is to be feared that the currency exceeds the quantity wanted for circulation by two-thirds, if not four-fifths. Let the Continent agree then to sink the redundancy: or that will sink the Continent. We shall be no losers, the remainder will be worth the whole nominal sum. Can an individual with a single dollar purchase after the proposed diminution what he must otherwise give five for; and with equal ease can he procure the one as the five; he is no real sufferer by the diminution, while the public is a great gainer, for the *fluctuating* value of the currency is cured. But how is this diminution to be fairly brought about? I humbly apprehend, gentlemen, it may be done as follows, viz. Let one or more, or all the emissions of the *United Colonies*, after certain days, be no longer legal tenders through the Continent — let the bills be paid by every holder to his town collector, as a part of his tax for the current year, or if more, for future ones, till the whole is exhausted (whatever may be advanced not to be taxed as a part of his estate, and in case of his death to be accounted for in like mode to his successors) — let the bills thus collected be paid to the respective Treasurer of each State, to be by him defaced, and then to be put into the hands of the Continental Treasurer, who shall credit the State for the same, as its quota for past, present or future taxes. There would be still in circulation all the emissions of the *United States*, which, if not sufficient, would leave room for all that might be further necessary. By collecting in after this sort, from time to time, the old emissions, the redundancy that may be annually flowing in upon the Continent, by paying the army, *etc.* will be drained off, the par of the circulation be preserved, the main of the supplies be raised, and the rapid increase of the standing Continental debt be prevented. The scheme, gentlemen, is practicable, have we but spirit to adopt it, for we have *all* the paper among us, the circulation being confined to ourselves. The matter is near a crisis, we have our choice, either to part with our paper, and so save our estates and liberties, or to retain it, and so doing lose all. We must either submit to the necessity of the day, and tax ourselves voluntarily, or we must submit to the parliament of Great-Britain, and be taxed for the little property they may leave us, just as their *omnipotence* shall direct.

But besides attending to the currency, we must attend to *our army*, while the enemy have one among us. A very sensible writer in Mr. Gill's last paper,⁸⁵ who evidently saw further South than some delegates that repaired to New-Haven from the North, and refers to the masterly letter of the convention of the State of *New-York*, pertinently wishes that the greatest attention may be paid "to compleating the Continental battalions, and their due supplies and supports," and hints, "that each State should supply the officers and soldiers which they respectively have or may have in the field, with certain enumerated articles, at the prices

⁸⁵ A communication by "Aetrape" in the *Continental Journal*, March 5, 1778.

proportionate to the wages and bounty given them." I beg leave to add, let each town be made to furnish its quota of men, and to answer for every man's serving, on the penalty of sending a fresh one in case of desertion, then the towns will take care who they enlist, and exert themselves to recover and return deserters — let each town supply the families of the soldiers sent, with corn, &c. at a fixt price — and let every officer that dares to countenance the vile practice of enlisting the same men for several towns, be disqualified for ever serving more as an officer, either in the army or militia, and be compelled to turn into the ranks, and serve as a private for the remainder of the war. I have, gentlemen, freely communicated my thoughts, in hopes of serving the public; I mean not to throw burdens on others; I am willing, if necessary, to forego the privilege of exemptions, even to personal service, that so the country may be saved,

*And am, with much deference,
your very humble servant,
A naturalized AMERICAN.*

March 7, 1778.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Mar. 16, 1778.

I have cleaned my stable, watered and curried my horse (for I cannot afford to keep either man or boy), have made a good breakfast, and now sit down to write to my worthy friend Gen. Gates, whose favour of the 21st ult. was rec'd the last thursday. Would you, my Dear Sir, have any of your letters delivered me very soon after arrival, you must write upon them *on publick Service* and order them to be sent over. If the contents will admit of their lying by, till I happen to be in town, direct them to be left at Wm. Phillips's Esq'r Boston; for there is no special intimacy between me and the brave Gen'l Heath, nor do I suppose that he will put himself to any great difficulty about the careful delivery of any of your letters to me. Wrote the last thursday by the post to Mr. Gerry, and sent my love to you. If you receive Powars & Willis's paper at Yorktown, you will see what are my thoughts on publick affairs in the three letters inserted in the three last papers signed a naturalized American. Should any part of my conduct seem mysterious, censure not till you have asked for an explanation. I do not class *you* with those ambitious men that will endanger the Continent, but with that patriotic band whose ambition leads them to push for the harbour of Independence as fast as possible, and who will sacrifice punctilios rather than hazard the vessel by striving to get the helm.

³⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

The violence of the storm, the weakness of the vessel, the shortness of the provision, and the ticklish state of the crew, call for union and exertion. I am for promoting peace. When we have got safe into port, then if individuals will bicker and quarrel let them do it. The danger will be chiefly personal. At present, *Blessed are the peace makers*. I suspect what you mean when you say, *I have been very near being drawn into a very disagreeable point of view*, having been told of some letter wrote to you containing censures. Censures that would frequently be just upon the supposition that such and such circumstances existed, are often unjust because that they existed not — and where persons have not the opportunity of knowing whether they do or do not exist, they should be very cautious how they censure. Was you at hand I would shew you a letter of Gen'l Washingtons of Jan'y 23 which would make you love him more than ever. He therein says, "If the expectation of the public has not been answered by my endeavours, I have more reasons than one to regret it; but at present shall only add, that a day may come, when the public cause is no longer to be benefitted by a concealment of our circumstances; and till this period arrives I shall not be among the first to disclose such truths as may injure it, however my character in the mean while may suffer." He discovered that greatness of mind in it, that made me venture upon the mention of some particulars I had seen in letters, but I assured him (that so no mischief might ensue) that said letters were wrote neither by any member of Congress, nor by any military man whatsoever, which was the truth, and I have so concealed the matter, that the persons cannot be discovered unless they betray themselves, or have publicly talked as they have wrote. I always make a point of concealing my informers; and of using my information for the purpose of doing good; and not of evil, which is devilish. We old Countrymen judge by a different scale than the American. I have long laid it down in conversation as a truth, that G. B. will endeavour to possess themselves of our sea-ports, and to revenge themselves on those places that have fitted out privateers and insulted their naval dignity. Should they attempt Boston and the neighbouring heights and Islands, and carry them, they will soon perfect the works upon them, and make the whole as strong as Gibraltar. Castle Island I am told is well fortified. Governor's Island, which is on the opposite side of the channel and overlooks it, *is fortifying*, and when taken by the enemy *may be finished* and employed in the reduction of Castle Island. If the brains always directed, whenever we went head foremost, it would be best: but as in such a motion the common position of the brains in relation to the body in general is much altered, going head foremost is a censurable mode of proceeding.

You can't be more tired of mankind than myself. These times have sifted many a ones principles and their patriotism have failed them. The late Josiah Quincy Esq'r conjectured rightly of the then set of sons of liberty, before the commencement of hostilities; and told his Lady (as she has since informed me) that they would never save the country, it must be others. I am a little like Abraham in expecting that the Continent will be saved notwithstanding the avarice and ambition of men, had I a divine promise to go upon as he had, then I should have a sufficient ground for *hoping against hope*, whereas now it is owing partly to my desires and partly to the strange appearances of providence for us in former difficulties, when we had *much worse weather and the gale in our teeth*. Should Mr. Gerry shew you my letter you will there see, that I shall rather go off with the standard of liberty in company with a noble band of patriots and set up an independent State where the British navy cannot come at us, on the banks of the Mississippi, than truckle to the tyrannic omnipotence of a British parliament. I am told that the sun shines as bright, that the air is as wholesome, that the water is as good, that the ground is as fertile, and that the climate is as fine there as in any part of America. You, I hope, will be of the same mind, and will assist, if need require, in laying a nest egg in West Florida, that shall in a length of years produce the emancipation of all America, if heaven has decreed that the present States shall not as yet obtain it, because of their iniquities.³⁷ I shall be looking out for news from you. What you would have kept secret enclose in crotchets. You have obliged me greatly by promising your papers, and raising my expectations of some excellent and curious garnish. I am likely to possess the best materials, tho' I shall not have the best pen; but in history truth is the diamond; fine composition is but the polish — laboured elegance and extravagant colouring only brings her into suspicion, hides her beauty, and makes the cautious reader afraid lest he is in company with a painted harlot. Tho' ever so naked, yet if as well proportioned and as truly wrought as the Venus de Medicis she will enrapture in the private retirements of the study: but being designed to appear in public she must be decently and neatly appareled so as not to offend the eye. I will seek to dress her in a colour that shall suit her complexion — in a taste that shall please the present and future generations — and in a dress that shall improve instead of concealing her beauties. Mrs. Gordon sends respectful compliments

³⁷ Probably a reference to the Military Adventurers who had proposed to settle on a tract of land on the Mississippi and Yazoo Rivers. General Phineas Lyman had been the ruling spirit.

to self, Mrs. Gates, and other friends and therein is joined by your affectionate friend and very humble servant.

Miss Tyler still at Andover. Wrote you a long letter by the post 26th of Feb'y. The small pox has broke out at Boston in several places; so that the inhabitants have concluded upon inoculating. The general Court have adjourned till tomorrow fortnight and then are to meet upon the Plain.

Mar. 17. Am told that Mr. Hancock and Mr. S. Adams set off for Congress the 1st of Apr. The Gen'l Court have chose in the room of Mr. J. Adams Dr. Holton,³⁸ I believe him to be a good sort of a man, but I am informed he is no original only an echo. Should the enemy come to Boston do not expect that the inhabitants will make any vigorous opposition, or that any great numbers would quit the town. The country made such a prey of them before, have plundered them so since by their exorbitant prices, and have so reduced them, that they would venture themselves upon the mercy of G B I imagine sooner than stir. Partial men, who have their ends in deceiving may tell you the contrary; but I write what I believe, grounded upon what I have heard and know. Labourers in the farming way propose having besides their board a hundred a year lawful. Many deserters get on board the privateers. An acquaintance mentioned that some time back, when a privateer was gone out and got down the bay, they mustered thirty who had been concealed and made a fine set of marines: he supposed there were five hundred on board the different privateers. Will endeavour to get out more particulars, and send you.

[*Addressed.*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Esq'r, President of the Board of War, Yorktown, Pensylvania.

TO THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS AT PARIS ³⁹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Mar. 16, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — We have been relieved from the concern we were under thro' a report of your having been assassinated, by assurances of your being well after the time that black attempt was said to have happened. May you be preserved till you see America in the peaceable enjoyment of Independency! I am uncertain till I go to Boston on the morrow, whether this will go by the way of Bilboa or Rotterdam; if by Bilboa, shall enclose a letter for my friend

³⁸ Samuel Holton (1738-1816).

³⁹ From the Adams mss.

Mr. Sowden, which I pray you to forward by post. Boston is under a fresh exercise by the breaking out of the small pox, however, the people have agreed upon inoculation, so that in a month's time it will probably be cleared of the infection. The reason of my troubling you with these few lines is, an apprehension that others may omit writing to you upon the subject of a Dutch vessel that has been sent into Boston by one of our privateers, and which may occasion probably an application from Holland to our Commissioners at Paris. I have endeavoured to get at the truth of the case, which I take to be nearly this. The vessel was bound from Demarara (I may have spelt the name wrong not being acquainted with it) to Amsterdam, loaded with coffee. One of our privateers (the name I know not) fell in with, took her and sent her into Boston, supposing she had British property on board. A house there of which the Greens at Boston, and a brother of theirs in England or the English West India Islands are partners, shipt a quantity of coffee. The fifth, the share of the last Green, was to be sold in Holland and the amount, after a deduction of charges, to be transmitted to England on his account. The letter relating to it mentioned its being shipt in a neutral bottom that it might be secure from being captured by either side. The vessel is the property of Mr. Hope, the Captain says he was utterly a stranger to its being British property. At the Court of Admiralty the Jury condemned the fifth of that quantity which the aforesaid house shipped as belonging to the said Green and therefore being British property. The Captain appealed to the Superior Court. The Greens of Boston agreed with the libellers for the delivery of the other four-fifths to their use as partners at Boston. The jury after trial ordered that one-fifth should be given to the captors, and that the other four-fifths should be delivered to the Greens at Boston. They also ordered that some bags of cotton belonging to a person at Barbadoes should be delivered to the captors. The detention of the ship some months (believe it is a brig) has occasioned the remaining cargoe's being much damaged, and has put the Captain to great expence. The affair will be likely to make a stir among the Hollanders. The owners of the privateer would be glad, by what I can hear, to make it up with the Captain, but this he cannot do. What methods the Dutch will take, upon the vessel's getting home, cannot say; probably should there be any American vessels in their ports they will stop them, till they have received satisfaction, but this information, should you receive none other, may be of service to you, in any application to you upon the matter.

Our continental affairs, thro' the unhappy cast of the people,

and the floods of money that have been emitted, have not the most promising appearance. One of your friends at Yorktown writes me: "if the tide of avarice and ambition continues to flow on at this prodigious rate, nothing human can save the U. S." The honble. John Adams Esqr. will I trust be safe at Paris ere this arrives. Pray my respectful compliments to him. Was at his house this day sennight, the family all well. May all success attend you and your co-adjutors, in negotiating for the good of America! With sincere and earnest wishes for your happiness, I remain your very humble servant and faithful friend.

Mr. Parker is likely to suffer with many other innocent persons in the general wreck of private property by these calamitous times.

Mar. 27. Nothing material from Camp. Had a letter from the Honble. John Bayard Esqr.⁴⁰ of March 14, dated Lancaster; says nothing of public affairs, suppose therefore that there was nothing important. If all the Jacobites, tories and deluded whigs of G. B[ritain] unite in pushing us hard this summer, we must secure the assistance of France, tho' the ruin of G. B. should follow. Self-preservation is the first principle of corporated as well as corporal bodies. Boston is exercised afresh with the small pox; the General Court meets therefore upon the Plain next wednesday. Expect trouble enough with them. Several of the Council to lodge and board with me. It will be a great interruption to my private and family happiness, but we must submit *pro bono publico*.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, April 15, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — When you have perused the enclosed, pray you to put it under cover and forward it to General Gates. Should not General Burgoyne have practised bribery and corruption, he might propose the question, from what he had seen, heard and observed while at Cambridge: but the question reminded me of what was wrote you the 12th of January. Some things I have heard since have tended to corroborate my suspicion. I have been assured, that Fort Stanwix was within an ace of being lost for want of powder — that a part of Colonel Weston's regiment was in the Fort — that repeated application was made at Albany for ammunition, but none sent — that Colonel Weston's Lieutenant Colonel being down, de-

⁴⁰ John Bayard (1738-1807), merchant of Philadelphia, member of the Pennsylvania Board of War and Speaker of the House of Assembly.

terminated upon having it, went and saw to its being put into the boats and accompanied it up the Mohawk river, but was too late to get in every boat, the last falling into the hand of the enemy — that upon the Lieutenant Colonel's getting into the Fort, he told the commander before several of the garrison, that it was reported below that the Fort was to be given up, that he would defend it while the garrison would stand by him, and that if he (the commander) went into any measures to deliver it up he would immediately put him under an arrest. However there was not any thing in the conduct of the commander that ever shewed an inclination of surrendering it.⁴¹ But it is said, that an Oneida friendly Indian with the enemy, before Ty was taken, gave another Oneida friendly Indian the opportunity of hearing the enemy officers declare when together in consultation, that Ty and Stanwix were to be given up. I remember that I left Ty October 5, 1776, got to Albany the Monday following, at the desire of General Gates, mentioned on the Tuesday morning that he was expecting the powder *etc.* — received for answer that it was going to be sent off that very day, but for several days after the engagements on the Lake, the last of which was on the 13th, he had not more than two ton, from whence I infer that he had not received it. The mention of these things I think may be of service, as your Excellency being commander in chief is concerned in the whole plan of operations offensive and defensive.

I wish you may not suffer for want of the re-inforcements. Very unhappily, our General Court instead of applying themselves the last winter to the business of providing for the opening of the campaign, were employed in framing a constitution. They have now been sitting a fortnight, but I do not learn that any thing effective has been done. Possibly several may be afraid of going into vigorous measures, lest it should endanger their approaching election. 'Tis vexatious and melancholy to see how strangely and absurdly men act. However infinite Wisd[om will] bring good out of their foolishness. The scheme of a change being laid before the publick ere it was ripened, tended to prevent it, and the voice of the people was so against it, that no one would dare to own that there was any such design — it was denied by some that I am morally certain were seeking it. Had not Colonel Marshall's absence from Boston prevented my conversing with him, I should have omitted some

⁴¹ The English account of the attack on Fort Stanwix is in *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, VIII. 718, and in no way reflects upon the commander of the fort. Col. Daniel Claus, the British officer in charge of the expedition, says that it miscarried, "merely for want of timely and good intelligence."

particulars which I informed you had been wrote respecting the camp, as I afterwards learnt from him that they were not truths; however it might be as well that your Excellency should know what had been circulated.

I most heartily pray that you may be preserved and succeeded this campaign to the utmost of your wishes. Mrs. Gordon joins in sincere respects to Self and Lady, with my dear Sir, your Excellency's most affectionate friend and humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, April 25, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — I cannot omit the opportunity, Col. Henley's return to the camp gives me, of congratulating your Excellency on the late glorious news from France. (I sent you the last Thursday sennight the conversation that passed between me and Gen'l Burgoyne the first instant.) Dr. Cooper had a letter from Dr. Franklin which he shewed me, and from that I gathered that He and I together had no small hand in forwarding the affair. By the express that carried to France the news of Burgoyne's captivation I wrote to Dr. Fothergill of London, wherein I urged the plan of parliament's declaring us independent and entring immediately into a commercial alliance with the United States before we had connected ourselves with France. I shewed the letter to Dr. Cooper. The Doctor finding how the French Court hung back, played the politician wrote by the same conveyance to Dr. Franklin, asked why the French did not come forward and enter into treaty with us, that now was their opportunity, and that if they missed it they might lose it irrecoverably for that a gentleman of some influence, *etc.*, had wrote over to his friends in G. B. advising as above. Dr. Franklin sent the letter to the French minister of State, and the Doctor writes and repeats it that it was of great service. Britain must thank herself for suffering such blunderers to steer the political vessel; she is now aground, will not get off without lightening, and if great care is not taken will go to pieces. As a Briton I cannot but regret the danger my native country is in of being ruined. There is one way in which she might escape it, by making peace with us and sharing in our commerce with other powers. She would by reason of special advantages retain so great a proportion as to continue her in prosperous circumstances. But her pride, the obstinacy of king and ministry, I do imagine will plunge them into a war with France and Spain. This appears to me most probable:

however we shall doubtlessly be relieved; and it may be best for us, that we should not yet enter into the full enjoyment of peace. I hope the treaties will put the Continent upon exerting themselves in such a manner as to enable you to make the enemy quit the American territory and put again to sea. The news will fix the wavering, convert many secret enemies, damp all the measures of the Tories among us, and it is likely cause Howe's army to moulder away by desertions, as the soldiers whether British or German may totally despair of being furnished by the ministry with lands, and may not like to continue fighting here only for blows, or to re-cross the Atlantic to fight new enemies in Europe. The news has already occasioned a great fall in foreign articles. The sellers are numerous under an apprehension that the French will convoy their ships into our ports and that the market will be well stocked after a while. This will be the case more to the southward than here. The southern colonies (I have wrote in a hurry, should have said States) have rice and tobacco to pay for purchases. We in this quarter have at present scarce any staple. Ma[st] lumber will go but a little way. However goods will be cheaper and the value of money rise. Upon the arr[ival of the] news I mentioned to Gen'l Ward that methods should be taken to forward the news into Canada. He accordingly sent to Col. Allen to the eastward a copy of Dr. Franklin's letter to the Hon'le Tho's Cushing, Esqr.,⁴² and mentioned his sending off a runner with the like to Canada immediately. I am sorry that the articles sent from this State for the soldiers under your Excellency's command can get no further than Fishkill for want of teams. I hope the Connecticut and Massachusetts States will not let that post be so unguarded as to admit of the enemy's forming and executing a scheme for the destruction of the stores there. I am an entire stranger to the ground, and am not likely to see it this summer. Should the success of the campaign be such together with the diversions the enemy may meet with as to admit of your Excellency's visiting your own dwelling and your papers be lodged there, I may attempt if spared paying you a visit in Virginia. I am more and more sensible that to make my proposed history as complete as possible I must travel thro' most of the Continent. Your Excellency has my warmest wishes and daily prayers. Mrs. Gordon joins in sincere respects to Self and Lady. I remain with great esteem, my Dear Sir, your affectionate friend and humble servant.

⁴² *Writings of Benjamin Franklin* (Smyth), VII, 110.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴³

JAMAICA PLAIN, Ap'l 28, 1778.

FRIEND GATES, — I expect an opportunity of forwarding this by Col. Henley to Head Quarters, from whence I imagine it will have a quick passage to the Board of War. I congratulate you upon the late news from France. Providence hath laid hold of us just as our heads were sinking under water. They that know the distressing and difficult circumstances which we were under cannot but admire the good hand of God. The vessel was driving apace and was near to the breakers, but this sudden shift of wind will I apprehend carry her safe off, and give us an opportunity of anchoring — of mooring her, in the harbour of Independence. But what will become of our native country! Alas I pity her; however I have nothing for which to reflect upon himself [myself?] on her account, having given my friends and some in authority fair warning, and, what the event shews would if it had been taken have proved, good advice. The late proceedings of ministry and parliament shew that they are completing their system of blunders, and must make them yet more odious and ridiculous. I wonder whether the treaties will be kept private till the commissioners have sailed upon the fools errand.⁴⁴ If so the whole world will laugh at the ignorance and stupidity of the British Court. Britain might have retained the chief of her prosperity, with the power of increasing her internal happiness, tho' she must have abated of her pride and insolence, had she declared us Independent and submitted to get what share of our trade, the goodness of her commodities and the influence of old connexions might have procured her. Some promise themselves she will make peace with us. I say that the obstinacy *etc.* of King and ministry will plunge them into a war with France and Spain; then she will shake to her very foundations, and may probably become the tail instead of the head of the nations. We have this comfort, our British friends may find an asylum in America. I rather expect that many of them will find their way over. We hear, how far to be depended upon I cannot say, that the American prisoners in G B are released and have liberty of returning home; if so, 'tis by way of coaxing; but as young as the Americans are they are too old to be caught by such chaff. Hope you have received or will

⁴³ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁴⁴ The Commissioners were Frederick Howard, earl of Carlisle, George Johnstone and William Eden, with Adam Ferguson as Secretary to the Commission.

receive in a day or two the account of my conversation with Burgoyne.

By the liberty I have taken in lashing the General Court and late Convention for the mal-transactions they gave into,⁴⁵ I have incurred the resentment of many of their High Mightinesses, but care not for that and console myself in an apprehension that I have contributed and shall still further contribute towards preventing the stealing in upon the Bay people a most, or at least a very, imperfect constitution. Some may not get to be Governors so soon as they expected, nor be suffered to go on governing so long as they ardently desired, and therefore may be full of wrath; but let them plunge and flounce, if I can but fetter them so as that they cannot do mischief I shall have done some good. Unless they are clog'd, they will leap the bounds of the peoples' rights. I can observe that popular men, are ambitious men, and tho' called the sons of liberty can act inconsistently, for themselves and families.

Tell friend Mifflin I have heard by means of Major Chase that he has wrote me a letter: but I have not yet rec'd it. Adieu. Respects to all friends — Mrs. Gates especially, together with your son. Yours affectionately.

Begin to be uneasy for Mr. Hazard, having heard nothing of or from him for months.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Esq'r, President of the Board of War, York Town, Pensylvania,

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 11, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — William Carmichael Esq'r, a Maryland American,⁴⁷ who has been long abroad aiding and assisting the grand cause of this Western world, being on his way from Paris to Congress, is desirous of being introduced to you should an opportunity offer. His conversation hath been pleasing and informing. Learning that I had the honour of an acquaintance with you, he hinted his desire, which I could not but readily and cheerfully comply with. Mr. Carmichael returned in company with the

⁴⁵ Gordon had written a series of papers, addressed to the "Freemen of Massachusetts Bay" and printed in the *Independent Chronicle*, April 2, 9, 16 and 30.

⁴⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁴⁷ (d. 1795).

Hon'le Tho's Cushing's son, and will travel I apprehend in company with Messrs. Stevenson ⁴⁸ and Hurlock ⁴⁹ both friends to the Continent, the first a native, with whom I have had much conversation, he having been acquainted with and knowing several gentlemen of Bristol known to me; I shall use this medium also for their introduction. Adieu. Heaven continue to succeed you! Possibly before the winter sets in, you may see your humble servant and sincere friend.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Esq'r, Major General and Commander in the Northern Department, Fishkill or Elsewhere. By favor of William Carmichael Esq'r.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁵⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 14, 1778.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — When I put my letter into the office last thursday yours and Mifflin's of Apr. 4th were not rec'd. They came to hand just before the post was sent off and I desired Mr. Hastings to write on the outside of a packet — acquaint Gen'l Gates that Mr. Gordon has rec'd the letters alluded to. I am very glad they got safe to hand. I was well persuaded, that you had no design of superseding and said as much; yours of Feb'y 21st. convinced me that I had judged right; and Mr. Yancey by relating what passed between him and you at Albany confirmed me in my opinion: but I am glad that I have it in my power to use your own words for the satisfaction of others. I hope that neither you nor Mifflin, nor any officer will be sacrificed to a Junto. Am sorry that favouritizm should be admitted. We had been repeatedly told how high the gentleman mentioned stood in the opinion of his superior. I could not account for it to my own full content. But was accidentally and unexpectedly acquainted with some privacies, which the person relating them could not but know, before your key arrived. Was informed that certain gentlemen when at councils in this neighbourhood were careful to give those opinions that they thought would be most pleasing. The changes that have taken place within these few weeks will I trust be a counterbalance to the pernicious influence of favorites, and produce the needful alterations in other matters. I believe you — that you was never concerned

⁴⁸ Perhaps James Stevenson, Commissioner of Accounts for the Eastern District.

⁴⁹ This name is struck out and Holker written in the margin.

⁵⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

in any such plan or plot as you refer to, but you are mistaken in thinking that no such plot ever existed. I had a letter the last winter from a certain gentleman (a warm friend to the cause and who I am persuaded was the author of De Lisle's letters,¹ but I have carefully concealed his name for I will not needlessly do an injury or expose a person to resentments) of a peculiar nature, who wanted me to use my influence with our Assembly to make inquiries that might lead on to the removal of general officers. I [was] rather startled in my own mind at some expressions, but saw not to the end of the design, which, from many other circumstances I have since come to the knowledge of, I am persuaded was not short of the change that has been talked of. It is not unlikely that the said gentleman was in the small circle of Mifflin's presumptive friends — I take him to be a real friend of Mifflin, tho' he may have hurt him accidentally, probably by talking too freely of many *Faux Pas* which Mifflin might have mentioned. When Northern delegates returned from Congress, the scheme began to open, hints were dropt, men were talked of and talked about, and pulses were felt. I was surprized at being asked a question whether such a gentleman was not aiming at a change. Answered could not believe it. But afterwards when I came to lay all things together, to hear more, and to be informd what was dropt in Connecticut on the road to this state, I had not a doubt of what was in contemplation and how it was designed to proceed. I was, as were many others alarmed at the apprehension of fatal consequences, and therefore published under the signature of the *Naturalized American*. The publication went far towards breaking the measures that had been entered upon. All designs were disavowed, tho' fresh and late information from some of the first character in this state and in the council have strengthened my convictions of their existing. There are Statesmen who to carry a point will hazard their friends, no less than their foes, and that have no such strong personal attachments but that they can sacrifice them all when a favorite scheme is to be accomplished.

¹ There appeared in the *New Jersey Gazette*, a brief communication signed H. P. stating that a French gentleman had lately favored him with a sight of a collection of historical and political letters to his friends in France and given permission to translate and publish a few of them. "The author of them has been near two years in America, and has been introduced to the first characters on the Continent. His real name must be a secret — The name by which he has chosen to be known to the public, will be seen in the conclusion of this letter." Two such letters, signed De Lisle, addressed to "My dear Count," were reprinted in the *Independent Chronicle*, February 5, and 12, 1778. The first letter, dated June 9, 1777, dealt with the attitude of the British monarchy and the conduct of the British generals in America; the second, dated November 20, 1777, was highly laudatory of Gates.

If you have rec'd all my letters, you will recollect my having guarded you. When some gentlemen came from the army I made inquiries. Was told that Mifflin had got disgusted, went about finding fault, *etc.* Said very little, was sorry and wanted to hear more fully, but had entertained too good an opinion of him to give him up, and therefore was very sparing in speaking about him. Had I been inclined I could not have went about censuring him, not having had an opportunity of acquainting myself with the facts. I wished for a letter from him, he was indebted to me. I am glad that he has at length wrote. Design answering unless I learn he is coming this way; if so shall be exceeding glad to see him. Acquaint him with the contents of this, and assure him of my continued friendship. I have acted as a faithful friend upon what knowledge I have gained; and hope may have done service in the army. I write in a manner that must be greatly unintelligible to any but yourself that should a miscarriage take place evils may not ensue: for the prevention and correction of evil is the great desire of your sincere and affectionate friend.

Mrs. G sends respects.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General & Commander in the Northern Dept., Fishkill or Elsewhere.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

BOSTON, July 2, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — I just catch a few minutes before the post goes off, to acquaint you that Lord Chatham is dead; ² that no troops whatsoever are coming either from G. B. or Ireland; that tho' an English fleet of 1-90 guns, 9-74 and 1-64 may be sailed from St. Helens, a powerful provision has been made for counteracting them when they are upon the American coast; their opposers may possibly be at the Rendezvous before them. A vessel arrived from France yesterday.³ My prayers are daily offered for your Excellency's success, and tho' you have not met with so early or so full a support as you had a right to expect, I hope Clinton's army will by your military skill be speedily rendered as harmless as Burgoyne's. With great esteem I remain your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

² Lord Chatham died May 11, 1778.

³ *Independent Chronicle*, July 2, 1778.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 23, 1778.

MY DEAR SIR, — It's with great pleasure I congratulate you upon our late success, on a double account — the advantage it is of to the Continent, and the honour it reflects upon your Excellency. I hope this happy beginning will, thro' the blessing of heaven, be productive of so glorious a campaign as to admit your changing the toils and hazards of the field for the repose and safety of domestic happiness. I shall rejoice to have the war terminated, and a stop put to the effusion of human blood, and I pray God to crown you with the glory of finishing the great work of securing those American liberties for the defence of which you offered yourself so willingly, and have so perseveringly exposed your life, I may add also your reputation, when the country hath failed in affording you the promised and necessary support. In this world character depends more upon success than any thing beside: And how often doth the want of success flow from the neglects and carelessness of others? By fixing yourself in the winter as you did, you gave the united States an opportunity of enabling you to have demolished the British army before the arrival of spring, but they were too languid to embrace it. Thro' the like languor we have lost many a golden opportunity, the war hath been prolonged, and we had nearly lost our cause; but the timely interposition of France hath changed the face of our affairs, and filled me with the pleasing expectation, that the British troops will quit our shores or have their weapons taken away from them before the setting in of winter.

I should with the highest satisfaction pay your Excellency a visit this fall, but apprehend my affairs will not admit of it: but notwithstanding personal absence am ever mindful of you. When your Excellency can retire to y[our ha]bitation, and have your papers about you, must then apply for the honour of being admitted [there] for a few weeks, that I may collect the proper materials for my intended history, which I propose shall be a narrative of facts and not merely an entertaining tale. Mrs. Gordon joins me in tendering you our best wishes, and in desiring to be respectfully remembered to your Lady. With great esteem I continue your Excellency's most affectionate friend and very humble servant.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb'y 4, 1779

MY DEAR SIR, — I must pray you, amidst the multiplicity of important business that is continually crowding-in upon you, to pay an attention to the enclosed (of consequence to Mr. Parker) so far as to forward it by a speedy and safe conveyance. It relates entirely to his ship.

Mr. Deane has been imprudently making a bustle, and spreading uneasiness.⁵ His publication in the beginning of a campaign instead of the winter might have done an irreparable damage. Men of sense I think will deem him imprudent; I am mistaken or it will not redound much either to his popularity or credit.

Too much paper and too little hard money has been an amazing damage to us. A loan must be obtained if possible, that so by drawing for the merchants at a high exchange we may sink a considerable part of our currency. There have been appearances in our army akin to what were in the old England civil wars; but its being composed of troops from different States will prove our security, were any ambitious designing men to form dangerous projects. The astonishing prices of all articles increase our difficulties considerably: but the wisdom of Congress and the assistance of France will I hope furnish a remedy for this evil. We are wishing to hear good news from Count D'Estaing, and also from Europe, and among the rest that arrives may there be an account of your and your colleagues health and successful negotiations. W[e've] no particular news in this quarter. Friends in general are well, which you will [be] glad to hear of. Pray my respects to Mr. Adams. With much esteem I am your very humble servant and sincere friend.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Ap'l 17, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I congratulate you, your Lady and family upon our glorious naval success, and the prospects of further advantages it is likely to draw after it. The *Warren*, *Queen of France* and *Ranger* were sent out a few weeks ago. They took a New York privateer, from whom they learnt that nine transports were about

⁴ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.

⁵ *Deane Papers* (New York Historical Society.), III. 209 ff.

⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

sailing under convoy of a 20-gun ship, for Georgia. They way-laid them, and have taken the convoy and seven of the transports, having on board 45 field officers, 3 or 4 hundred soldiers, provisions, and apparatus of various kinds to the amount of a hundred thousand pounds sterling prime cost. They got into our Bay yesterday, and are all expected up to day.⁷ What a kind appearance of Providence! Heaven be praised! We may now hope for a speedy evacuation of Georgia, with multiplied disgrace, and hearty bickerings between British officers and ministers for the pursuit of measures that have weakened their cause, and exposed them to tories and Indians. This will accompany a letter to Gen'l Warren, with a hint to him to send the express carrying the news to Congress round by Providence, that you may be informed of it, and have the pleasure of acquainting Gen'l Prescott with it. Whether mentioned or not, always consider my letter as closing with sincere regards to you and yours from your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM GORDON *for self and Partner.*

Should an opportunity offer of conveying this by a safe hand going by, shall embrace it.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Major General Horatio Gates Esq'r, Head Quarters, Providence.

TO HORATIO GATES⁸

JAMAICA PLAIN, April 22, 1779.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — My stock of paper lowers apace, and I must therefore give you *multum in parvo*: should I receive my package safe by Col. Sears's ship, shall launch out into a half sheet. Yesterday morning yours came to hand — transcribed and went to town as you will gather from the news-papers, unless the printers have been worse than their words. I believe we are in no danger of a speedy peace. Tho G B may have opened the treaty I am persuaded they mean not to finish it, till they have tried another campaign, and whether they can give us or the French a fatal thrust; which were they to do, they would prolong the war and might put out a formal declaration against both France and Spain: but should the summer pass over without their gaining any special

⁷ *Independent Chronicle*, April 22, 1779. The three commanders of the continental ships were John Burroughs Hopkins of the *Warren*, Joseph Olney of the *Queen of France*, and John Paul Jones of the *Ranger*.

⁸ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

advantage, in the fall they might heartily agree to a peace, with the thoughts of which I suspect they are only amusing us. I do not think that they will be able to amuse France and Spain, and the policy of these two courts I expect will under God prove our security. We are young in politics, or we should not have *trumpeted* about our *transports* at the gleams of peace, which must lead them to rise in their proposals; but I cannot apprehend, that we shall be brought to consent to a peace without a share in the fishery, which was a benefit not to the Eastern States only, but to the whole Continent, as the money procured by the fishery and its chain of connections, went to the southward for flour and rice.

If the enemy will let you live in peace till the middle of May, or give you an opportunity of drubbing them into quietude, I flatter myself with the pleasure of seeing you and your Lady at Providence, to whom with your Son, whom we look for in a day or two that he may accompany Mr. Sears, *etc.*, to Newbury, we desire to be kindly remembered. You are not more *mine* than I am Yours affectionately.

Thanks to Major Pierce, may he abide in the like good mood. He and Major Armstrong⁹ and your French Gentleman Secretary Monsieur Clajon alias as it should be spelt, share in my esteem, with some others of your family who are not named, tho not nameless. Pray my respects to them.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Major General Horatio Gates Esq'r, Head Quarters, Providence.

TO BENJAMIN FRANKLIN¹⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN May 5, 1779

MY DEAR SIR, — This may probably convey to you a painful article of intelligence, viz. the death of that great man Dr. Winthrop, who expired on the 3d instant, and is to be buried on the saturday. The College, the State and the Public have sustained a great loss in his death;¹¹ but the Orderings of Heaven are all right; and it is appointed unto man to die, no less than to be born. Do we perform the parts allotted us upon the stage of the world; so as to meet with the approbation of our Creator; it sufficeth. Indeed we all perform so illy at certain times, that we need that his pardon should be extended to us, through the Lord Jesus Christ.

⁹ John Armstrong (1758-1843).

¹⁰ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society.

¹¹ Professor John Winthrop (1714-1779).

No material occurrence besides hath happened within the circle of your acquaintance in this neighbourhood, that I at present recollect. The prints will announce to you the capture of a number of vessels going to Georgia with provisions, *etc.*, which have been brought into Boston. What makes the event the more remarkable is, that most or all the troops at Providence and other posts round Rhode Island would have disbanded by the latter end of the week, had it not been for that provision. Flour is excessive scarce. Through neglect somewhere, no sufficient magazine of that kind hath been collected either in this or the neighbouring State: None being to be had, the brigades, having been without several days, mutinied; and Gen'l [torn] was with difficulty prevented going off last friday morning. Gen'l Gates now stationed at [Providence] sent down immediately, and large quantities of flour designed for the British forces at Georgia [torn] travelling by, ever since Lords day morning, so that all things are right again. Mr. [Deane] has made a mighty bustle since the beginning of Dec'r; but a letter from Philadelphia says that he is now down and that the Lees are more exalted than ever. Your friend Common Sense¹² has detected and exposed him, and I believe he and his party in and out of Congress will be found to be no better patriots than Ashley who sold punch in small quantities *pro bono publico*. I must apply afresh for your assistance in forwarding the enclosed, which if they get safe will be of real advantage to Mr. Parker, as there are two bills of exchange for a hundred sterling each payable in London. Duplicates and Triplicates shall send immediately from Boston to Holland. Have not heard from you or Mr. Adams in answer to what I have wrote once and again: but my letters may not have been received. Pray my regards to Mr. Adams. His family is well. Expect to see them on the friday. With much esteem I continue your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS¹³

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 8, 1779

MY DEAR SIR, — We are just returned from visiting your good Lady at Braintree, where I had a complaint exhibited against me for not writing to you, which I mean to answer *totidem verbis*. But before I proceed further must mention, in brief, that news which will

¹² Thomas Paine.

¹³ From the Adams MSS.

be the most important and agreeable of all you will meet with in the letter, viz. that Mrs. Adams and children are well and as chearful as can be expected while you are at such a distance from them. We spent the evening and lay at your villa, and returned immediately after breakfast; having to attend in the afternoon the funeral of Dr. Winthrop, who deceased the last monday, to the great loss of the College, State and Continent. The late General Court died the same day with Dr. Winthrop. Some of their last acts I think are not the most honourable or equitable. I have my eye particularly to that which confiscates the estates real and personal of all absentees that withdrew, without leave, after the 19th of April, 1775, into any parts and places under the acknowledged authority of the king of G. B., or into any parts and places within the limits of the united States being in the actual possession of the fleets or armies of the said king; or who before the 19th of April, after the arrival of Thos. Gage Esqr., withdrew from their usual places of habitation into the town of Boston with an intention of obtaining his protection and have not returned and been received as subjects of the United States.¹⁴ To confiscate the estates of *all such absentees* without distinction or exception I must deem, till I have more light, cruel — cruel, superlative cruel. Besides there is a gross absurdity in the act, for the preamble sets forth as the reason for the confiscation, their withdrawing when it had become their indispensable duty to unite in defence of their common freedom, in consequence of the king's having declared the people of the United States to be out of his protection and levying war against them. Now the king did not declare the people of the United States out of his protection nor levy war against them, till long after the 19th of April, 1775. It might have sufficed to have confiscated where absentees had been in arms, or had subscribed towards raising wherewithal to subdue us, or had withdrawn after the declaration of Independence. But the State wants money; and individuals who have made a great deal of paper money during the war want to buy estates, and turn their nominal riches into real, ere they expire in their possession.

Monday morning, May 10. I could get no further on the saturday, and am now in a great hurry, having a journey to Providence before me, in order to pay Genl. Gates a visit. Our currency is our greatest difficulty for the present; and what it will soon come to is hard to say. I wish it was all burnt to ashes, never to rise again. It will not be the true policy of France to attempt dividing the fishery with G. B. to the exclusion of the Americans. Such a manœuvre will disgust the New Englanders to that degree, that if G. B. is not

¹⁴ *Massachusetts Acts and Resolves*, v. 968.

downright *folly* she may take the advantage of such disgust and make it turn much to her own account and equally so to the damage of France. I have wrote you several letters, and have received not one from you, while I have heard once and again from Dr. Franklin; but while I consider the interruption to which the present correspondence is liable, and how few letters Your Lady hath received out of the many you have wrote, I suspend all censure. The *man*¹⁵ whom you thought would be governor, I apprehend never will be. He sinks daily; and the world begins to know a little more of him. Would time permit you should have more words; but I am straitened, tho' I got up before I could see to read. Believe me to be with much esteem, your sincere friend and very humble servant.

It is pretty well over with Deane; he and his colleagues outwitted themselves. Paine hath done or will do for them; for he will tell the truth. I could write you more about them, but it might not be safe.

TO HORATIO GATES¹⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 3, [17]79.

DEAR GENERAL, — When I read in the beginning of your letter that I should find some *good* intelligence, I thought you meant *good news* and went on with eagerness, but I soon discovered that you intended such intelligence as might be depended upon. Our errors are so many and capital that I am almost wearied out. In the month of February our State might have got its quota filled up at a tolerable expence, that being a dead season: but the General Court neglected it; and now I am told there will be no possibility of doing it, even at the greatest charge, the hay season being at hand. We are our own enemies, and deserve to suffer: but tho' I may be out of all patience at the stupid management of public affairs, it is not any thing you can say or write, that shall provoke me, I hope, to swear. We have but a bad prospect, what with the nothingness of our money, through the amazing quantity of it; what with the loss of our virtue; and what with the increase of our vices, and the situation of our affairs to the southward: and yet I promise myself, that we shall be saved: however it may not be till we have had another severe flogging. If the whipping will make us good boys, we shall get by it.

As you can not now for some considerable time have the happiness

¹⁵ John Hancock.

¹⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

of seeing Mrs. Gates with your son as well as *her* son; wish you the pleasure of hearing good tidings from them time after time. Must myself take a journey soon for my health, but it must not be to the southward. Am very little, if any thing better than when at Providence. Have no cough, but great weakness. Riding, change of air, *etc.* will probably carry it off after a while.

Mr. Hancock has got to be chosen Speaker. His vanity will be pleased: but I am no prophet, if by the close of the year his influence is increased. Gen'l Warren and Mr. Sam Adams are both in the house. It was wished by some to keep Gen'l Ward and Dana ¹⁷ from being again of the Council, but they were in the first choice. After voting two or three times Cushing ¹⁸ squeezed in by a majority of one. The papers told us that Mr. Hancock was chosen Speaker unanimously, than which nothing was more false, for there were fifty-three votes against him. And the late Speaker Mr. Pickering's ¹⁹ friends were so disgusted at Mr. P being *unexpectedly*, I apprehend opposed, that all the political plans of the H[ancock] party were deranged, and they have lost ground or I am mistaken: Respects to your Suite. Forward kind remembrance to Virginia from self and company, and believe me to be ever your sincere friend.

Communicated your letter to Ward, Dana and Warren.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁰

J[AMAICA] PLAIN, June 8, 1779.

MY FRIEND GEN'L GATES is extraordinary in sending intelligence, two days together; but hath herein approved himself so much to my satisfaction, that I hope continuance in thus well doing will render it quite common.

I have returned, *i.e.*, when I have enclosed it in the present, Gen'l Washington's letter, am obliged to you for the sight of it. Gen'l Heath has been making preparations, I apprehend, to proceed; but should there be any likelihood of its being very hot upon the North River, *à le mode de* Germain he will scarce ride hard lest he should blow his horse. There could be nothing material at the Ferry this day sennight or you must have had certain intelligence of the gen-

¹⁷ Francis Dana.

¹⁸ Thomas Cushing. Caleb and Nathan Cushing were also chosen.

¹⁹ John Pickering (1740-1811), brother of Timothy Pickering.

²⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

eral event. Had we lost any fort or pass, we should at least have boasted of the noble defence we had made and of the numbers that had been killed in the attack. The militia move so slowly, that Fishkill like Peekskill might be lost before their arrival. There are many feints in war, so that it is hard to determine what a General means; but if the knight means to get our stores at Fishkill and should succeed, the public will blame some body for not being more careful. We have suffered pritty well already for having stores in the neigh[borhoo]d of places where the enemy can come with their shipping. Want to know [somethin]g certain from the southward. When you can, give me information. The air [of Provid]ence may be as good as any other air in America; but as I am getting better, I shall give myself airs, and tell you that *I have never yet spunged upon the Continent; like yourself* I am suffering *pro bono publico*; but it will puzzle you and your whole house to make it out, how I live with so little, without being in want of meat drink or clothing, or disgracing myself by acts of meanness. Had you been upon your own farm and at hand, your generous proposal might probably have been accepted. I could have quartered myself upon you in private as a friend, when I could not do it in your public character without subjecting myself to remarks and observations. However when Count de Estaing arrives, and you let me know that you are *really* about going upon Rhode Island, I shall most likely contrive to be at the reduction of Newport. *Sat sapienti verbum*. Mrs. Gordon is obliged to you for your kindness to her husband, and joins in sincere thanks, with respects to self and family in the way to Virginia. Gen'l Ward is chosen a delegate for Congress. Gen'l Warren will I suppose be chosen. Dana I suspect will remain here. The H[ancock] party weaken apace. The head had a severe basting in the house by two able speakers for not going, nor declining;²¹ and one of his friends had no other way of getting him off but by desiring that the matter in hand might be waved. Yours very affectionately.

In looking over my letter I have observed a paragraph that was it not for the stop would be truly Pythian; but tho' without the stop it might be read much to your disadvantage, having placed the stop as I mean it, it is to your honour. This ——— underneath it will explain the whole: Have since added it.²² Write in haste.

[Addressed:] The Hon'le Major General Horatio Gates Esq'r Providence.

²¹ *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 106.

²² Underlining the word *really*.

TO HORATIO GATES ²³

J[AMAICA] P[LAIN], June 10, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Shall contrive when I go to Boston to get a sight of your letter. Don't like the knights proceedings; promise myself however that he will not succeed in his grand scheme, and that you and I shall escape hanging as hitherto. We have been saved all along by Heaven in spite of our foolish dilatory conduct. However ready the southern Lords may be, yet I trust they will have no opportunity of bowing to Baal. The scene that hath opened at Philadelphia will I flatter myself be of great service to the Continent. The monopolizers, *etc.*, must go to pot, or amend and pay for past villainies. All is right: and we may hear by next express that G W is at West Point. Gen'l Heath and the Boston Officers have been scratching one another, as you will see by the papers.²⁴ 'Tis too trifling to admit of more than a contemptuous laugh. Shall let Gen'l's Ward and Warren know your desire. Continue writing and you will oblige yours most affectionately.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁵

June 13, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Your favour of yesterday morning I rec'd about six this morning. The express told me, that he did not come out till the evening, and pleading that his horse was tired, urging me to lend him one if I could, and promising to take good care of and

²³ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

²⁴ General Heath had been relieved of the command of the Eastern Department and ordered to join Washington's army. The "address" of the officers on his departure is in the *Boston Gazette*, June 14, 1779. "Last Friday [11th] sat out from this Town on his journey to camp, the Hon. Major General HEATH, escorted by the military gentlemen belonging to this Department, together with a very large and respectable body of the Citizens of this Town — The pleasure which each individual felt in this opportunity of testifying his esteem for an officer of such distinguished merit, was allowed [alloyed?] only by this disagreeable idea of a truly painful separation — At the close of the entertainment, the General, in the most polite, affectionate and pathetic terms, took his leave of the company — The ceremonious rews [*sic*] of pomp and pageantry, are often nothing more than vain and idle ostentation; but the expressive countenances of almost every gentleman in the assembly, evinced the presence of those feelings, which it is not in the power of artifice to counterfeit, and which we trust are a happy presage of his future glory and success." *Independent Ledger*, June 14, 1779.

²⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

be back with him soon, I have trusted him with mine, partly upon the strength of your employing persons who know their business and will do it well.

From your not having a syllable from the North River, we may infer that West Point is safe.

We have nothing new in this quarter. Perhaps it may be news to you that our friend Sears has purchased his house.

We ought to be prepared for predatory visits; tho' I am in no great expectation of them.

I never write *all that I know*, lest by some means or other it should leak out. In many cases its safer talking than writing. When I have any thing material to communicate, that I chuse not to clothe in black and white, you may expect a visit from your sincere friend,

WILLIAM GORDON

but when that will be can't say.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Major General Horatio Gates, Esq'r Providence.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 17, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — You are very obliging; at present I can make but small returns. Gen'l Ward declines going to Congress. Gen'l Warren has been chosen; from what he said yesterday afternoon apprehend he will not go. When I visit Providence shall hope to be entertained with some more delicious morsels than turtle — Mr. Lovel's letters. Thank you however for your invitation. May you have confirmed the reports of our friend Lincoln's success before you sit down to table on the tuesday! Particular business requires my being at home the next week; so that I cannot share in the pleasures of the day. The Americans are naturally improvident — like L'd Whartons puppies, open their eyes just as they are drowning. Now that they have almost ruined themselves by money making, they will apply themselves to the business of making the money better to prevent their ruin; which will give an opportunity for the cunning subtle long headed gentry to play another game, and advance the value of that depreciated money which they rec'd in great abundance for a small consideration. The major part of mankind are either knaves or fools, and God suffers them to be punished by and for their vices. Friends are well, and always desire to be re-

²⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

membered to you. Miss Jenny is Miss still. Adieu. Yours affectionately.

After sealing my letter rec'd your other packet by the Col. Shall introduce him to Dr. Cooper, Mr. Spooner not at Court; must consult Dr. Cooper about a substitute.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 24, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I congratulate you sincerely upon the most merciful and timely appearance of providence for us to the Southward. The British ministry have or are about taking leave of the Parliament, and will by the mouth of their Sovereign or Servant trumpet from the throne the glorious successes they have met with in Georgia, and the promising prospects they have of subduing the Carolinas and then Virginia and so till they reach New York: but how little will they appear; and what will the public think, when they hear that their southern expedition is ruined, and the troops employed in it are killed or taken? I cant but augur well from this important victory. Your turtle before this has I apprehend fallen a victim to the joys occasioned by it. I could not partake with you, being under the necessity of attending yesterday at Boston upon special business.

Mr. Spooner not being in the way, we supplied his place by the choice of Gen'l Ward, and I told the general you did not name him as you apprehended from what I wrote that he was gone or going to Congress.

The enemy have begun at Penobscot. News arrived yesterday that a 32-gun frigate ²⁸ with some other smaller ships were arrived from Halifax, had landed six or eight hundred men and that they were about building a fort. Americans are not eminent for foresight but for after-wisdom, alias post-sight. I don't mean that they are as blind as a post.

I herewith return you the papers. Fed my eyes with the last markt paragraph of friend Lovell's letter, wrote in confidence. The hot weather the beginning of the week was almost too much for me. Was poorly indeed. Find myself better to day. Could I see Hazard upon the Plain (I don't know what's become of him) should contrive to travel with my Rosinante towards Casco Bay. Continue to

²⁷ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

²⁸ Under the command of Capt. Mowatt.

communicate, for thereby you brighten the chain of friendship and smooth the thread of life. When I have paid my respects to your family and handed in my good wishes among them, I shall bid you Adieu and subscribe myself your sincere and affectionate correspondent.

The papers have announced your being placed in the corps of Doctors.²⁹ I congratulate you upon the respect intended thereby to be shewn you. Our friend Cooper I believe was the person that thought first of and moved it in the corporation, much to the satisfaction of corporation and overseers.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 22, 1779.

Pray, Friend Gates, what can be the reason of your late conduct? You know that I like a piece of good news better than the best turtle in the world; how came it about then that the express was not ordered to call upon me with a few words containing the substance of such agreeable intelligence as you sent to the Council? ³¹ News you know is always best while piping hot: besides Hazard is now one of my family; so that you have missed making two of your warm friends extremely happy in the success of our American arms. Methinks I see Clinton, Tryon, *etc.*, gnashing their teeth in fury, at finding that the Yankees dare storm forts and can do it with such adroitness. What a pitiful figure will they now cut at home and in the courts of Europe! British courage will sink below par and American rise. The capture of a strong fort (well provided and garrisoned by Britons) with insignificant loss, will form a fine contrast for the friends of America in our native land to work upon, when they come to compare it with the burning of unfortified defenceless towns and villages. I hope to hear or see that Ludgate is decorated with the heads of the present corps of rascals that constitute the British ministry — the ring-leaders of them. The corporation have prepared and will soon send you your diploma. We made your son a batchelor of arts yesterday.³² Dr. Cooper was the *primum mobil*[e, the] fore-horse in these movements, and the others followed his lead with the greatest willingness. It may tickle the

²⁹ Harvard College conferred upon Gates the degree of LL.D. June 18, 1779.

³⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

³¹ The taking of Stony Point by Wayne.

³² Also an honorary degree.

Dr. if you take notice of it, when you write to him; we all like tickling, some one way some another. You will tickle me, by letting me hear as oft as possible from you. Hazard and all join in sincere respects to Self and from thence onwards to Lady and son, with your affectionate friend.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General, Providence.

TO HORATIO GATES³³

29 July, 1779.

AND DEAR DOCTOR IN RETURN,—for by this time, or post, I think you will have rec'd your diploma. We will not agree to a *truce*, but to a firm and lasting *peace* without Hazard. The letters convinced me of one thing that I before supposed, viz. that your friend Hay was your informer; and I take him to be an honest fellow, and those who are not so I hope will be found out in season, be they who they may. You are very orthodox, in believing that *the Governour of all things must make us good*; and yet whether it availeth or not I must as a parson say, that each must account for his own badness.

Could we make a due use of Col. Hazens intelligence I should rejoice, but am in no expectation of it. Should we succeed at Penobscott, and get our spirits raised we might have some inclination to try, but before the Gen'l Court could meet, and the requisites be got thro', the opportunity would be likely to have elapsed. May we hear well concerning Sullivan and his corps! Should the enemy receive a re-inforcement from G B, and the burning scheme proceed, shall not think Boston or the Plain very long places of safety, unless Count De Estaing should pop in soon, which I rather wish than expect. Should he succeed in taking Grenada, the merchants will clamour in London. Byron must do something, or he will follow Howe. Mrs. Gordon and Hazard, Sears and Jenny wish to be remembered and send their respects under the care of your sincere friend.

Not going to town yesterday Hazard took and shewed your letters to Dr. C and S. A. and then brought them back.³⁴

Dr. Gates but not Rev'd.

³³ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

³⁴ A letter from Washington to Gordon, August 2, 1779, in reply to a letter from Gordon, July 22, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), VIII. 1. It concerns the attack on Stony Point, and mentions another letter from Gordon of December 15, 1778. Neither of the Gordon letters can be found.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN 21 Au't, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL GATES, — You have been very good in your last packet, which the express delivered about five o'clock yesterday. Do not send the letters back, before thursday by Mumford, as I shall not see Dr. Cooper till wednesday. On the tuesday Hazard and I went and dined with Mr. John Adams, who communicated to us the copy of a long sensible letter he had sent to Congress, wherein he had given the political state of Europe. His letter was so in unison with what you rec'd from Paris, both in sentiment and stile, that upon recollecting it and attending to some internal marks I was immediately reminded of the author of Junius Americanus,³⁶ to whom I wrote lately beginning thereby a correspondence with him. Mr. John Adams shewed us also some letters that passed between him and Mons'r Vergennes after Dean's address first made its appearance in France; from what Mons'r Vergennes wrote him you are obliged to believe that the reports spread concerning Mr. Lee's being distasteful to that minister must be false; and that either the minister hath not wrote about him, or that what he hath wrote, has been separated from the context and perverted to answer a purpose, as is done at times by designing priests when they handle the word of God *deceitfully*.

Mr. Adams has sent a copy of the whole correspondence to Congress. Mr. Lee's defence is at Congress, and Lee has given orders to prosecute Dean for defamation. The affair I hope will be sifted to the bottom, and every honest man who has a grain of influence with the members of Congress should push them on to do it soon; for the sooner it is done the better. The public will never get right till the wound is searched, and the corrupt matter is removed, then we shall heal again. I shall make no comments upon Penobscott. I was prepared for the worst, having expected it. However for the present we are saved, tho' we deserve it not. We parsons can do but little towards ridding the country either of our enemies, our avarice or our idolatry.

You will hear of a number of Jamaica ships being brought into Boston, if the news of the afternoon proves true.³⁷

Have not yet seen Mr. Sam'l Adams, since his leaving Providence. You two when together I conceive were as intimate and as happy as your similar political hearts and heads could make you.

Mr. John Adams seems much pleased with the new French Am-

³⁵ *Lee Papers*, (N. Y. Hist. Soc.,) III. 359. ³⁶ Arthur Lee (1740-1792).

³⁷ Seven ships were sent in, taken from the Jamaica fleet by the *Providence*, *Queen of France* and *Ranger*.

bassador.³⁸ Hope you will see him in his way, and plan an early removal of the enemy through the assistance of French or Spaniards, or both. Great Britain I am afraid is in a galloping consumption. Let her be reduced, and her pride humbled, but I wish her to live.

Pray desire Dr. F[ranklin] to inform you of the happy effects of Saratoga Convention for America, not generally known. My intended history will be defective without them. You may plead a right to be acquainted with them, as you gave rise to them.

When did you hear from Mrs. Gates and your Son? Why don't you let me know that they are well? Mrs. Gordon and friends are in *statu quo*, and would be remembered to you.

I am using up your waste paper fast, that if you can send me a bundle by the next opportunity, you will do well in doing it. Hazard is so busy in transcribing himself into a man of note and character, that he continues to put off writing to you. When you send again, rap his knuckles — moderate discipline will mend him.

Cannot conjecture when he and I can come and see you, but probably it will be in company before winter makes the roads bad. Whether here or elsewhere, you will find me a steady hearty friend and your humble servant.

Have wrote in great haste.

[*In another hand:*] As Cornwallis has arrived will he not probably have the Command? If he has, will not Clinton return to England? Is it not equally probable that Tryon (being superceded as Gov'r) will go too? — that they will both go together? — and in no larger a vessel than a Frigate? — should this be the Case can not you lay a Plan for catching them?

[*In Gordon's hand:*] Lords days $\frac{1}{4}$ after nine.

TO HORATIO GATES³⁹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Au[gus]t 29, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — The other day I saw a petition in behalf of one Mark Meyers signed by several gentlemen of my acquaintance, whom I knew to be men of veracity, and stanch in the American cause. Did you know them as well as I do, you would depend upon their representation, and suspect that mistake, zeal without or beyond knowledge, or private resentment had produced that in-

³⁸ Chevalier de La Luzerne.

³⁹ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

formation which justified you in the orders given concerning Meyers. I have not examined into the merits of the cause, it not being a concern of mine, but if you make it so, by directing me to inquire into particulars, I will act with faithfulness. Would not have you betrayed into any measure that may lessen you in the esteem even of a babe, for I would have the rising generation grow up into life with a prejudice in favour of him who brought on, and obliged to a compliance with, the convention at Saratoga.

I shall endeavour always to shew that you may depend upon your sincere friend.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General, Providence.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴⁰

[JAMAICA PLAIN,] 3 Sept., 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — I doubted not the propriety of your Conduct upon the information given you respecting Mr. Meyer. You have put the matter into a proper channel of inquiry. After reading the letter brought me about nine, or half an hour after, I put a wafer under the seal and forwarded it by the Express; have been expecting his return all the morning past; am upon the point of setting out for Medfield, and shall therefore leave this for him.

A letter from Mrs. Gates to Miss Tyler afforded me the pleasure of hearing that she had got well home, and was with your Son well at writing, tho' he had been much out of order. Hope his health will be established, and that you will have from time to time good news from Virginia. When you write remember us.

A person just arrived from Penobscot, brings word that the enemy had rec'd an account by packet of Arbuthnots arrival at N York with several ships of the line, which from the conversation that passed on board ship were intended for the West Indies; this is not improbable; but our ally should be made acquainted with it in time. Could Count De Estaing get early notice of it, he might way-lay them. Your most affectionate friend.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Sept. 23, 1779.

DEAR GENERAL, — Your Diploma has been prepared for some time back, but they are waiting for an opportunity of conveying it to

⁴⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

you by the hands of some gentleman, as the corporation do not think it so polite to send it by the Post. You are likely to have college evidence of your being a Dr. sooner than I, for I have rec'd no diploma, and have not learnt whether the trustees have prepared one or intend doing it. But for these things we are neither the better nor the worse; they are only the fashion of the world that passeth away. The President of the Council being at our house on the thursday, got him to take the letters. Saw him on the monday, he told me that the person whom they employ to translate all their German letters said there was nothing in them of a public nature. Expect to receive them to day, if time enough will enclose them in this and send them by Mumford. Hazard went to Portsmouth the last monday sennight. Expect him back this or the next week. When Count De Estaing and you join your forces against Newport, probably shall pay you a visit. Poor old Britannia! She is in imminent danger. I would wish her to live, tho' lessened and humbled. What Heaven orders I shall submit to: but it is no reproach to me or any other to love their native country, tho' they may hate the wickedness and tyranny of it. May you soon have an opportunity of acquainting me that the Count is in Newport Harbour, riding safely and triumphantly! Your sincere and affectionate Friend.

BOSTON. The letters are not yet translated. The translator is busy upon a letter sent by Gov'r Trumbull which came from Holland and is, the president tells me, of great importance.

[Addressed:] The Hon'le Horatio Gates, Major General, Providence.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴²

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 7, 1779.

DEAR DOCTOR, — Pray what is the reason that I can only hear *of*, and not *from* my good friend Gen'l Gates? Is he so busy in preparing for Count De Estaing that he hath no time to write? Or is he disgusted at my not having returned the German letters? I do not think I am to blame in that matter. As I mentioned to him, I put them, as I apprehended, into the best train for getting them immediately translated. When they were found to contain no news of consequence, they gave way to a letter from Gov'r Trumbull. I have made application again and again for them, but have not got them: when in Boston the last week I made application to Mr.

⁴² From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

Avery,⁴³ and he understood the person, that they had been sent me, I told him it must be a mistake; I urged him to see after it, that it was using you not quite well: he said he would do it. Have not been in town since, the weather has been exceeding bad: shall go near to be there on the morrow, when I shall pursue the business. Am longing for news from Europe. Would have G B chastised, but not destroyed. The Philad'a paper of Sept. 18. contains a curious publication from the London *Morning Chronicle* of May 25. ascribed to Mr. Mauduit. Have you seen it? It will please you. It shews the necessity of acknowledging American Independency, and of being at Peace with America, with France, with Spain with the whole world. Hazard is returned; desires me to apologize for him. Have recommended it to him to write you a long letter by the next post. A few words more and then Adieu. Go on to assure me by repeated subscriptions that you are, as I am, your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 14, 1779.

Mumford brought me no letter yesterday from Gen'l Gates — what can be the meaning of all this long silence? Inquired of Mr. Avery about the letters, who told me that the interpreter had forwarded them to your Honor. This was not a regular proceeding. Yesterday seeing Col. Beatty,⁴⁵ the commissary general, in town, upon old acquaintance and out of regard to his deceased father, I asked him to breakfast with me this morning in his way to Providence, as yet have seen nothing of him, tho' he had engaged to be with me early; it is now upon twelve. Would have you learn from him when you see him, whether he called upon me. My reasons — these, viz, some several weeks back there was a high wrangle between me and Carter and three or four of his *goodly* associates — had it not been for my character, I might likely have tried the strength of my arm upon some of them, unless I found that they intended to make a joint attack, which probably would have been the case, could they have done it without exposing themselves to ill consequences. Apprehend I mortified them severely. The story is too long to write. Col. Beatty was in the company of one of them —

⁴³ John Avery, Deputy Secretary.

⁴⁴ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁴⁵ John Beatty (1749-1826), Commissary General of Prisoners.

an Erskine from Philadelphia ⁴⁶ — from what I see and hear of him, should be ready to take or mistake him for an Irish adventurer. Should he have prevented Col. Beatty's calling, should be glad to find it out. With the following materials, you may be able to pump it out from the commissary, as they will enable you to put on the appearance of having conversed with me much about him and his connections. His father, Parson Beatty ⁴⁷ of Shamminy, 18 miles from Philadelphia, was over in England in 1760 to collect publick charity for ministers widows, *etc.* He lived some considerable while with Mrs. Gordon's brother, the bookseller, and received particular favors from her family. When he made his circuit through Suffolk, he was at my house at Ipswich, and I forwarded his design and our people made a handsome collection. We travelled together from London to Bristol, where he heard of the present queen's arrival at Harwich. Mr. Beatty was after that again in England (during my residence at London) on account of a disorder Mrs. Beatty laboured under, which proved her death. I then renewed my kindness. When we came to America, the commissary was apprentice to Dr. Rush, who was our first host upon the American continent. Mr. Beatty's father as soon as he heard of our arrival, came down to Philadelphia, shewed himself grateful, returned former kindnesses, and discovered true friendship. I wished to shew respect to the son in grateful remembrance of the father; but should he prove so little of the gentleman, after having agreed to breakfast with me, as to pass by without calling, upon only tittle-tattle of little souls whatever their bodies may be, I shall be able to gather the dimensions of his mind, and should wish him to know it in a way that may mortify him.

I have something still more curious to acquaint you with, when we meet *propria persona*, but shall not write a single word by which to explain my meaning. I am, dear General, your sincere and affectionate friend.

Hazard feels himself ashamed — intends to write soon — and wants me to apologize for him, by setting forth in large black and white characters, that he has been busy, very busy, very busy indeed.⁴⁸

[Addressed:] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General, Providence.

⁴⁶ Perhaps Robert Erskine (1735-1780), appointed geographer and surveyor of the roads in 1777. He was to "take sketches of the country, the seat of war, and to have the procuring, governing and paying the guides employed under him." Authorized by Congress, he held his appointment from Washington. *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Ford), VIII. 580.

⁴⁷ Charles Beatty.

⁴⁸ "Dr. G[ordon] has lately got his people to consent to pay him his

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 1, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — The last week I was designing to send you a friendly letter, without introducing into it any of my own concerns but Col. Henly calling upon me on the saturday afternoon, with a most extraordinary letter from Col. Hamilton hath reduced me to the necessity of altering my plan.⁴⁹ In some stations moral character is of little importance, but in *mine* it is next to *All*; and like female honour must be defended at all adventures. I have sub-

salary (the *peace sum*) in *produce*, at peace price. This guards effectually against depreciation, and does no injustice to the people." Hazard to Belknap, January 4, 1780. 5 *Collections*, II. 30.

⁴⁹ Some time in July, 1779, Hamilton heard a story of an alleged seditious speech, said to have been uttered by him at a public coffee house, in the presence of a number of officers. He traced the story to Francis Dana, a member of the Continental Congress, who denied any recollection of the statement, but gave Gordon as the author, to whom Hamilton applied for the authority on which Gordon rested. Gordon's evasive answer, dated August 25, 1779, with Hamilton's retort of September 5, 1779, is printed in Dr. Allen McLane Hamilton's *The Intimate Life of Alexander Hamilton*, 360. Writing to John Laurens, September 11, 1779, Hamilton said: "Apropos, speaking of a Caesar and a Cromwell, don't you think the Cabal have reported that I declared in a public house in Philadelphia that it was high time for the people to rise, join General Washington, and turn Congress out of doors. I am running the rogues pretty hard. Dana was the first mentioned to me. He has given up Dr. Gordon, of Jamaica Plain. You well [will] remember the old Jesuit. He made us a visit at Fredericksburg, and is writing the history of America. The proverb is verified — 'There never was any mischief, but had a priest or a woman at the bottom.' I doubt not subornation and every species of villainy will be made use of to cover the villainy of the attack. . . . You who know my sentiments will know how to join me in despising these miserable detractors." Moore, *Materials for History*, 155. Some further letters passed between Gordon and Hamilton, in one of which (December 10, 1779) Hamilton, as a parting word, speaks of Gordon's "notorious bias of your disposition to duplicity and slander," and laments that "respect to myself obliges me to confine the expression of my contempt to words." See p. 432, *infra*. Gordon then wrote to Washington the letter of March 1, 1780.

Hamilton had used Col. David Henley as a means of sending his letters to Gordon. Henley wrote, September 1, 1779: "I do think, Col. Hamilton, you will find Doctor Gordon the cause of this mischievous and false Report — the other Day he was prov'd a Lyar in the publick Street, and had it not have been for his Cloth, I am sure would have been more severely dealt with — he more than once has occasioned Quarrels by his Conduct." And again, "Yesterday I delivered your Letter to Doctr. Gordon and hope you will receive such satisfaction, as is due you either in wounding him in his honor, or by treating the man with contempt that has endeavored to injure your Reputation." Hamilton, *Intimate Life*, 359.

mitted to the trouble of transcribing all that hath passed between the Colonel and myself, which I shall enclose. I must make some remarks upon his last letter, but shall not be bitter in my expressions, as I would not add to the pain, I apprehend, your Excellency will feel upon the perusal of it: If in the body of the letter he alludes to any matters I have said or wrote, with a view of informing gentlemen, in particular departments, of facts or reports that they should not be strangers to, he shews himself to have been unworthy of that confidence which was put in him when entrusted therewith. I have gone upon justifiable principles in what was done — have designed to serve the public and individuals. In consequence of my connexions thro' the Northern States and down to Philadelphia, with persons in and out of Congress, in civil and military life, I have had opportunities of seeing and receiving a variety of letters and of knowing many secrets, and, had I been villainously inclined, might have occasioned irreparable damage to the common cause; but I have made it my business to improve my knowledge to other and better purposes; and had all acted upon my plan, there would not have been those long interruptions of friendship and harmony that have subsisted in some instances. I have been obliged to mix myself with different companies, but I have carefully avoided intermixing myself with some of their particular disputes, and have carried it respectfully to all, which some may deem duplicity. If the Colonel alludes to reports, I have nothing to observe, but that there is no answering to those that are general: let them be reduced to particular allegations, and I doubt not but that I can clear myself. But in the present times, he who will boldly attack the vices thereof must expect to go thro' bad report as well as good. The best of characters must submit to this tax upon their virtue.

The Colonel in his last letter writes, "I at first suspected, that you are yourself the author of the calumny;" his singular proceedings have not in the least tended to prove the report a calumny; or to confirm me in the opinion of his innocence. But if he suspected it *at first*, why did he not comply with my terms, upon which I promised to give him the name of my informer? This would not have been so improper for a gentleman, as to write in the manner he hath done. If he thought I made a feint of involving Congress, where was his subtilty in not catching me in my own tra[p] by desiring me to follow the mode I proposed in the close of my letter? In stiling the affair *a business little worthy [the] attention of Congress*, he forgets that on September 5 he wrote: "The crime alleged to me is *of such enormity*, that if I am guilty it ought not to go unpunished, and if I am innocent I should have an opportunity of vindicating

my innocence. It is incumbent upon you, Sir, to afford the means, either by accusing me to my civil or military superiors, or by disclosing the author of the information."

I mean now to take him at his word, especially as he hath no objection to *any* part of his conduct's being canvassed before any tribunal whatever. Should it be asked, how came you not to mention the affair in Congress before? I answer the hon'le Mr. Dana was one of our delegates, and having spoken of it to him I was absolved from going further. I shall now *proceed*, by communicating the correspondence to several of the delegates, to be by them brought into Congress, if they judge it expedient. The Colonel hath reduced me to the necessity of taking measures for my own vindication, which I might otherwise have avoided. I shall leave it still in his power to prevent them: but it is upon the sole conditions, That he makes to your Excellency or myself satisfactory acknowledgment for the injurious treatment I have met with in his letters to me; and will declare upon his honour that he will not represent me as the *author* of the report concerning him, and where he hath done it will candidly own that he was mistaken. I expect that Colonel Henly will call upon me and convey this to you. I shall shew him the whole letter from which I extracted the paragraph in my last to Colonel Hamilton, covering and concealing the name of the writer and the place of his abode: but should any misrepresentations or insinuations have wrought so upon your Excellency's mind as to make you the least dubious of my integrity, upon your intimating your desire of it I will send you both, and leave it with you to request of him copies of what I wrote and he answered. I do not by anything herein contained mean to pronounce for certainty that the Colonel is guilty of what he hath been charged with saying; but that I am not the author of the report, know of no cabal or plot in the matter, and have been designed by acting *no* part in any ridiculous farce.

I am sorry that I have been obliged to give your Excellency this trouble upon so disagreeable a subject, but think I cannot with decency as an American citizen under the strongest obligations to you for your patriotic exertions and military services, or in consistency with the friendship I have always sincerely professed, go into the steps I propose, without first acquainting you with my design, considering the Colonel's being one of your family.

I congratulate you, my dear Sir, on the favorable appearance of affairs in Europe; which I apprehend must have that influence as to lessen our difficulties. Should the revolt of Ireland be general, and come fully authenticated, the Irish in the British service upon

this Continent will not be very hearty in making further opposition to the Americans. The efforts of Count De Estaing to recover Georgia tho' unsuccessful were exceedingly beneficial to the common cause; and have eventually as I suppose been the saving of Carolina; for had the British troops commenced their operations when they first intended, I fear no effectual opposition could have been made to them. I am in great hopes, that Heaven by the storm on December 28 and 29 hath scattered and destroyed the force destined to the southward, so as to have rendered it unequal to the service on which it was sent. Had not remarkable Providences interposed, notwithstanding the egregious blunders of the enemy, and the bravery of the Americans, our multiplied difficulties must have ruined us. I wish a speedy, safe and honorable peace may take place. Or the unhappy state of our currency and finances may occasion some internal convulsion among ourselves: and should G. B. by foolishly persisting, bring on her own ruin, we shall not be equally secure as would be otherwise the case. Let foreign powers (and interests) be so poised, as that each may serve to protect us from being assaulted or crushed by the other. We have the pleasure of hearing that Messrs. Adams and Dana got safe to Europe in eighteen days: shall rejoice to hear that negotiations are commenced. They will not be likely to agree upon any treaty leaving each to hold what they at present possess. Had G. B. embraced the proposals of Spain upon that plan, they might have gained the opportunity of ruining our Independence: for thro' the sameness of language and religion, by intermixing their officers and tools with our people, forming family connexions, improving jealousies and a proper application of money and titles, they might have divided us so completely, that we should not have united again at the close of the treaty. But happily for us, their pride led them to reject, what their interest should have induced them to have accepted with eagerness.

I rejoice that your Excellency has been carried safely and honorably thro' the fatigues and dangers of another year, and wish you to live and enjoy in peace the blessed fruits of your patriotic exertions. Your Lady I conclude is at present with you. Mrs. Gordon joins in affectionate regards to her. Colonel Sears's family is well. Did he know of my writing, he would insist upon being remembered to you both: which Mr. Hazard does, being present and one of our family while he remains in this quarter. Miss Jenny Tyler has changed her name to Cook, having married Captain Cook of the artillery.⁵⁰ I do not perceive that matrimony has cured her lameness.

⁵⁰ David Cook, of Col. John Crane's regiment of artillery.

Shall be much obliged to you for a letter, and am happy when I hear from you. Commending you to the care and blessing of heaven, I am with great esteem, Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.¹

TO JOHN ADAMS AND FRANCIS DANA²

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 8-II, 1780.

MY DEAR SIRs, — You are so united by commission, in mind, views and principles, that there is no writing to the one without the other; for which reason I address you *jointly*. I rejoiced when I heard, that you were safely landed upon the *Terra Firma* of Europe; and hope that you have had a secure journey over the Pyrenean mountains, which I suppose to be as high as any you ever crossed in America, tho' not so bad to pass, nor quite so woody. From the first I considered *your* appointment as a happy circumstance, but I have been more fully confirmed in the thought since receiving a letter from the Honble. Arthur Lee. Mine to him in return I send enclosed, as he may have left Paris. Should he have quitted France and be upon his return to America, be pleased to open and read the same. The letters for Europe are no less precarious than those from thence; so that I am discouraged writing so frequently and fully as I should otherwise do: But I promise you to be a faithful correspondent in *return* to what you send me, upon the receipt of it. Friend Dana I know to be an *able*, but I can't add a *willing* and *ready* writer. He has established his character for being very *backward* at his pen. How far his secretariship may improve him, can't say: but am dubious lest should he be desired to continue the correspondence in behalf of the partnership, he will *plead* off, by

¹ To this letter and another of February 29, 1780, Washington replied May 3, 1780. He said he had placed Gordon's letter in Hamilton's hands and received a reply dated May 2 *Writings of Alexander Hamilton* (Lodge, Const. Ed.) ix. 189, which he sent to Gordon, with comment which to any other man than the clergyman would have seemed severe. "While I must ascribe it to your politeness, I regret that the consideration of Colo. Hamilton's being a member of my family should have been a motive for bringing so disagreeable a business before me. The Gentlemen attached to me are upon the same footing with the other officers of the Army, and equally responsible for their conduct. You will pursue such a mode in the present case as you deem most effectual, but if you should think proper to exhibit any charge against Colo. Hamilton cognizable by a military tribunal, you have only to signify your wish and the time you will be able to produce your witnesses, and I shall proceed in it accordingly." *Writings of Washington* (Ford), viii. 260. The matter does not appear to have been carried further than is described in Gordon to Washington, June 12, 1780, *infra*.

² From the Adams mss.

alleging that the appointment of Congress respected nothing more than the negotiation. *Argue* and settle the point as you may between you; if I do but hear from one or other of you I shall be satisfied, for I do not pretend to give either the preference, any further than as nature has set you one before the other, by priority of existence. I shall expect that your answer contains news, and private articles of intelligence that may be committed without danger, to one who is not troubled with a laxness, but can keep secrets even from the wife of his youth: be it also considered, that I am historiographer, and mean to go out of the common road by assigning reasons and motives and causes that are not known to the generality of the scribbling tribe. You will naturally conclude, from my drawing thus upon you, that I mean to make a proportionable advance. I will attempt it: but am at a loss to judge what commodity will be reckoned most valuable: shall therefore send you an assortment.

I shall appear singular, should I not mention what every body for the present will insert, our having had a very hard winter, by which many of the islands in the Bay, Rhode Island, Long Island, *etc., etc.*, have been joined to the Continent; the Sound has been frozen over, and the town of Boston has been exposed to the oppressive incursions of the country, who have extorted a hundred and a hundred and twenty pounds, lawful not old tenor, per cord for their wood, and who made the poor parson, the father of this production, pay the last saturday four dollars per lb. for veal, wherewith to feed — not his children — but family. The winter has been breaking up for some time; and hitherto Heaven has ordered so mercifully, that the amazing quantity of snow has been dissolved so gradually, that I have heard of no damage having been done by floods. A rapid thaw must have carried off bridges, mills, *etc.*, in an abundance. The Convention is adjourned till June; and I am in good hopes that the gay cards, in and out of the pack, will lose the game, and that we shall at length carry it for a good constitution. There are in the Council [some] who want not an alteration, that they may retain the chance of continuing in. There are in the House [some] who wish not to have an independent Senate. There are in both honest men and real patriots. My earnest prayer is that they may be *greatly* multiplied. The Convention went over the report of the Committee without making, I apprehend, any very material alterations, excepting the addition of a saving clause for the revision of the Constitution by a *new* Convention in 1795; which saving clause will probably prevent the rejection of the form the *present* may finally agree upon. I could not fall in with the proposal of my friend John Adams, a little before he left Braintree

when he took his first voyage to Europe, to admit of a most notoriously defective plan that should be perpetual, tho' it was urged in the *strongest* terms: but tho' I may esteem the present defective and materially so, yet with this wise and wholesome proviso I will give it my utmost support. The Convention have ordered what they have concluded upon to be printed and circulated thro' the State, and to be considered by the people, who are to return their thoughts upon the whole and particular parts of the plan, by the time to which they have adjourned; that so they may be the better able to determine what shall come forth finally, for the reception or rejection of the publick. I have never attended but the once you saw me at Cambridge. My informer told me that Paine, Parsons, and Lowell³ behaved well upon the whole and acted like honest men; but you will wonder where was the forethought of the last, when I mention that he moved that Parsons should be declared ineligible, for which the *dry* parson of Dartmouth rubbed him down very cleverly. Whether Lowell was the cats-paw or — he missed his aim and lost the chesnuts. The following is a copy of what is said to have been found in Mr. Poillman's pulpit: "The prayers of this congregation are desired for our paper currency, in a weak and low condition by reason of its depreciated and fluctuating state; that indulgent heaven would of its infinite mercy be pleased to restore it to its former value, or speedily fit and prepare it for its great and last change." The subject is too serious and sad to be made a jest of; or the writer might have credit for his humor. Our money does not grow better. A convention of gentlemen from several states have met at Philadelphia upon the business of regulating trade; they have adjourned to April, that so there may be an opportunity of having representatives from every state. I promise myself no lasting or real advantage from regulations. I am sick of them from past experience; and till the *fact* proves the contrary will not believe that the country people of N. England will ever come into one, so as to *adhere* to it. Our finances are in a horrid situation; heaven grant that those of G. B. may be proportionably bad, and that the want of cash and credit may reduce king, lords and commons to submit to the acknowledgment of American Independence.

The state of the army makes it a mercy that the force of the enemy has been much lessened by the detachment sent off about Christmas. Our men are fully equal, I suppose, to our magazines. How far the Congress are loaded with business and difficulties you will hear in a more certain and direct way from some of its mem-

³ Robert Treat Paine (1731-1814); Theophilus Parsons (1750-1813); John Lowell (1743-1802).

bers. My journey to Greenwich, to pay my respects to General Gates before he went to Virginia, prevented my seeing you before you sailed. He is returned to his own house, without having met with all that respect from every Northern State, that his services entitled him to.

Mr. Dana can supply all that is wanting to complete the history of which the following is a part:

TO COLONEL HAMILTON.

JAMAICA PLAIN, NOV. 15, 1779

SIR, — In my last of Sept. 23 I mentioned my having sent to my informer; have received an answer from him wherein he writes: "As to the subject of your letter (for which I have now an opportunity to return my thanks) what was said was very confidential, and influenced by nothing but an anxious regard and attachment to our public cause. To affect the character of any one from a malignant principle is unbecoming the title of a gentleman; nor do I know when I have been induced to make any unfavourable representation from personal prejudice. Your sense and delicacy will point the propriety of prudence in an affair of this nature." Should you be inclined to pursue the matter further, will be at the trouble of transcribing all that hath passed between us and of sending it to Congress, with direction to my correspondent to mention the name of my informer (who is known to several of the delegates) should Congress conclude upon examining into the affair. I am, Sir, Your most obedient servant.

SIR, — As your letter of the 23d of September offered nothing conclusive, I delayed acknowledging it 'till I should receive the result of your pretended application to your informer. This is contained in your last of the 15th of November, which arrived while I was absent from Head Quarters. The unravelment of the plot, in the ridiculous farce you have been acting, proves, as I at first suspected, that you are yourself the author of the calumny. Such I consider you and such I shall represent you. The representation, I am sure, will find credit with all who know me, and the notorious byass of your disposition to duplicity and slander will give a sanction with all who are acquainted with you. I shall use the less ceremony, as I am well informed you have established a character which, in the opinion of every man of sense, has forfeited all title to the delicacy of treatment usually attached to your function. I only lament that respect to myself obliges me to confine the expression of my contempt to words.

The feint you make of involving Congress in a business little worthy of their attention, I regard as a mere trick to elude my demands for a discovery which you are unable to make. And as I have no hope of

bringing the affair to a more satisfactory issue, I now put an end to the correspondence on my part. I shall only add a repetition of what I before said, that I have no objection to any part of my conduct being canvassed before any tribunal whatever. I am, *etc.*

A. HAMILTON.

MORRIS TOWN, December 10, 1779.⁴

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Col. Henley called the Lord's day last (when I shewed him the letter alluded to) and took mine to Gen. Washington, which he promised to deliver into his own hands.

It is long since I was at Boston; and the roads have not admitted my going to Braintree or Cambridge. I design seeing both when the travelling will admit. The Corporation have chosen Mr. Gannet⁵ Steward; at present I can scarce think that Mr. Hastings has been treated with the utmost propriety. I have exhausted my budget; when I have added that I sincerely wish you direction and success in the important matters committed to your management; and am with sincere respect and much esteem, Gentlemen, Your very humble servant and real friend.

March 11. I had purposed including a letter to Dr. Lee but understanding he is recalled and expected soon shall keep it to be forwarded by the post. Should Dr. Franklin be deceased, please to open his letter, which you may then read and forward what is enclosed for Mr. Tabor of Rotterdam. Mr. Parker's contains a state of his affairs, *etc.* I wish it to get safe and soon to him, without being subject to the inspection of any of the British ministry or their agents.⁶

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 12, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your obliging favour of May 3d came to hand this day fortnight May 29th. I waited with a degree of solicitude,

⁴ *Writings of Hamilton* (Lodge), ix. 188. There followed a copy of a large part of Gordon's letter to Washington, February 29, 1780.

⁵ Caleb Gannett (1745-1818) served as Steward of Harvard College from 1779 to 1818 and succeeded in that position to Jonathan Hastings, chosen in 1750.

⁶ Letters to the Freemen of Massachusetts, in the *Independent Chronicle*, May 4 and 18, were by Gordon, and another in reply to his critics appeared in the same paper, June 8, 1780. See Morison, "Massachusetts Constitution of 1780," in *Proceedings*, L. 393, 394.

as I could not proceed consistently without hearing first from your Excellency. It was a very busy week what with the annual election on the following wednesday, and the convention of ministers the next day. However I have since then transcribed all the correspondence between me and Lt. Colonel Hamilton; Mr. Dana's letter; what I wrote to you February 29th so far as related to the affair; your answer thereto of May 3d; the copy of yours to Lt. Colonel Hamilton with his answer; and a copy of the enclosed; all which I have sent, the last thursday, to the Massachusetts Delegates with a complaint against Lt. Colonel Hamilton for the treatment I have met with from him in consequence of the information given to Mr. Dana, requesting them to use their influence that the whole affair may be examined into by Congress, at large, or a committee. I have not mentioned to them the name of the writer of the enclosed, nor his place of abode, but have acquainted one of them therewith and desired him to communicate the same, can they get the matter inquired into. The enclosed I send to you in *confidence*, shall inform the writer what I have done.

I am sorry that I have been under the disagreeable necessity of bringing the business before your Excellency; but having taken the above step shall have no occasion to give you farther trouble upon it.

It is so evidently the interest of the European powers to keep the American continent from becoming again a part of the British dominions, that it is not probable, that they will interfere against us. But the temper of the king and ministry is such, that they will not desist from the contest till a fatal necessity obliges them. When their resources fail, and they can carry on the war no longer, they will think of peace, and not before, unless to deceive. Thro' the assistance of France and Spain I hope we shall be enabled to continue the war longer than our enemies, notwithstanding what has been and still is the wretched state of our money. Selfishness has so far prevailed over that patriotic spirit which at first wrought wonders through the Continent, that I have little dependance upon the virtue of the people. Congress must build their schemes upon the interest of individuals forming the community, and that not an interest too far distant, which will in general be treated as a *distant heaven*. I doubt not, but that the expectations which our enemies have built upon the depreciation will fail them, as we have gone too far ever to think of retreating and must contrive ways and means for supporting the cause. Safety and interest will operate strongly, when patriotism fails. I wait with earnest longings to hear that Clinton has been obliged to raise the siege of Charles Town, and that the fleet and troops destined by our good ally to aid us in our operations are arrived and have cut off the communication between

New York and Clinton. I congratulate your Excellency upon the honours conferred by the king of France; but am persuaded that you feel more pleasure from the opportunities he is likely to afford you of serving your country than from the honours in themselves considered. I wish you may meet with suitable support from the several states, and may not have your former disappointments repeated. Our last General Court should have provided the men in February and March, but they left the business as usual to be done by a new General Court, and the men are now to be procured at a *busy* season of the year.

The peculiar situation of affairs in Britain makes me desirous of private intelligence from thence; but I have not had a line of a later date than last April twelve month. When once the power of ministry is so broken, that the spirit of liberty can exert itself with the prospect of success, I doubt not but that it will fall heavy upon some certain offenders; and let them suffer as examples to succeeding generations. Suppose that the parliament is kept sitting in hopes of good news from Clinton and Cornwallis. May they be prorogued, thro' the delay of it: and may the *Gazette* after a while furnish the members with the reverse; and such as shall kindle a flame thro' the nation [*torn*] ministry in all their [*torn*]! Your Lady, I conclude, is still at Morris Town. Mrs. Gordon joins me in best respects to her and your Excellency, wishing, with you most fervently that peace may be restored to this distressed country, that you may both live long to enjoy the comfort of it, and that it may not be lessened by any ungrateful returns. Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 22, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — I take this method of introducing to your Excellency Lieutenant Colonel Weld ⁷ (generally pronounced Wells) one of my parishioners, a gentleman, on whose prudence, activity, courage and zeal for the public good, I apprehend, you may rely without danger of disappointment. On the 5th of March 1776 at night he was honoured with a particular service at the lines next to Boston neck, and had the thanks of Generals Ward and Thomas for his conduct. I should be sorry was I by writing thus in his

⁷ Eleazer Weld (1737-1800). See *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, xvi. 820. Weld named his son William Gordon Weld.

favour to be the distant occasion of his or his family's suffering. But it may be of use to the community at large, for your Excellency to have the knowledge of individual officers. He was out upon the Lakes the last war, and has done more military duty than many of the militia. I trust he will approve himself to your full satisfaction however and wheresoever he may be employed.

I have heard with pleasure, that the French troops at Rhode Island behave with the greatest regularity, so as to surprize the inhabitants — no damage done to fences, or fields with which they have not an immediate connexion — no indecencies towards the female sex, who may walk about till nine at night the same as if there were no troops there. I pray that the greatest harmony may subsist between them and the Americans, that our internal enem[ies may] have no advantages for prejudicing weak minds. The present campaign I hop[e wi]ll answer your expectations and prove decisive in favour of America. I regret the loss of Charlestown, but even that may be an injury to the enemy, by weakening their other posts so as to occasion their falling into our hands one after another. May your Excellency have the divine direction in the cabinet, and the divine protection and blessing in the field! Mrs. Gordon joins in most affectionate regards to Yourself and Lady. Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS ⁸

JAMAICA PLAIN, July 22, 1780.

MY DEAR SIR, — The beginning of March I forwarded to you and friend Dana a joint letter, which I hope, if received, will be answered by one or other of you. The people, you will have heard before this can get to hand, have agreed upon a form of government, not so good as the Report of the Committee, but better than I expected. We begin to think of the ensuing elections. It is thought that Mr. Bowdoin or Mr. Hancock will be chosen governor. Heaven grant that it may be the former and not the latter, who is one of the most egregious triflers I know! He hath not yet settled his accounts as treasurer of the college, and probably never will by *fair* means. The corporation and overseers have the comfort to infer, that he means not any particular affront to them, from his serving every one else in the like manner. A hint has been given me, that he would serve as Lieut. Govr. under Mr. Bowdoin, but no one else; and this is not a little stoop for his ambition. I would have him kept out of the chair. He can't, as Lieut. Govr., do much

⁸ From the Adams mss. See following letter of John Eliot.

hurt. I mean therefore to propagate the hint that has been given me; and possibly some may by that be taken off from voting for him as Govr. The most knowing and sensible, I apprehend, will not be for him, unless any of them should be induced by sinister views; but the common people who are ignorant of his character — his *true* character — and have had his name so often dinged in their ears, will be likely to pitch upon him. Should he happen to be chosen, may he do for himself before the Spring election, so as never more to be re-instated, till he is qualified! ⁹ Imagine care will be taken to get [*torn*]ame sake as one of the council of State, that so we may have an Argus to watch ov[*torn*] Massachusetts' Palladium of liberty. I mean to promote among persons of the first character for honesty, ability, and attachment to liberty, a Massachusetts constitutional Society, designed to support government while acting agreeable to the constitution, to stand up for the privileges of the people, when infringed, and to promote *revisions* from period to period, by new Conventions. Unless future Conventions can be secured, this State will go the way of all others, and the people after a run of years will have no more liberty in New England than they have in old. Some good and sensible men are, from principle, against them, lest they should prove dangerous opportunities for ambitious, crafty, popular men; but I am persuaded it will be far more dangerous to omit them, and that after they have been omitted, tyranny will shoot out its cancerous fibres and at length possess the whole body.

We are looking out for the arrival of the remaining force destined by our good ally to our assistance, and promise ourselves a successful campaign. May God of his great mercy grant it, or we shall get into greater difficulties. Twelve and fifteen hundred pounds lawful a man have been given in paper money for a three months tour of duty, reckoning from the time of their getting to the place of destination.

Intend going soon to visit good General Lincoln. That Charlestown could not be preserved longer was not his fault. May it prove like the taking of Tyconderoga, and may Genl. Gates do as effectual service in the Southern as he has done in the Northern States!

Mr. Storer goes on to increase and multiply. His wife the last monday charged another daughter to his account. Friends in general well. Pray my respects to Mr. Dana and Mr. Thaxter.¹⁰ You will oblige me by forwarding the enclosed to G. B. If you doubt

⁹ See *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 135.

¹⁰ John Thaxter (1755-1791), secretary to John Adams.

my virtue, break it open and satisfy yourself that my correspondence is harmless. I continue with much esteem your sincere friend and very humble servant.¹¹

JOHN ELIOT TO JEREMY BELKNAP¹²

BOSTON, Septemr. 11, 1780.

What my mind is most full of is the case of poor President Langdon.¹³ You have heard without doubt by busybody rumour something of his situation. I shall be very particular in informing you of every circumstance, for I know you to be a very particular man, and that you are accurate in collecting things in order to form an opinion, and as accurate in your judgment when all circumstances are before you. The President has been long growing unpopular, more especially among the students of the College. So disgusting hath he been in his whole deportment that they would have held him in detestation if this sensation had not been absorbed in meer thorough contempt. Yet after all which can be said, (this is not a meer effusion of pity,) all his foibles did not amount to a vice when compleatly converged unto one point of view; much less unworthy doth he appear when these are separated from each other and blended with his good qualities. I mean a vice that will shade his moral character. As to the total disqualification for the office he sustained, I always had the same opinion, which I hold now, that he was no ways proper to appear in the station; and that no man who wished well to him or to the interest of Harvard College would, with the same opinion as mine own, not rather have seen him elsewhere's. *Sed sic visum est superis*, — at least to the Corporation, who were the immediate electors. His resignation was as surprising to me as it was to any person the furthest distant from the College. It happened, it seems, in this manner. The scholars unanimously formed a petition which was to be presented to the Corporation, begging them to remove the P[resident]. What the articles were can be known but imperfectly, as they come to a determination to conceal the contents. Among other things tho', I hear that his unbecoming way of addressing the Deity was one. There was a committee chosen to acquaint the P[resident] with the petition, who addressed him in these words: "As a man of genius and knowledge we respect you; as a man of piety and virtue we venerate you; as a President we despise you." Dr. Langdon now added another to his many

¹¹ In the Lee MSS. (VII. 40), Harvard College Library, are two letters of Gordon, September 15, 1780, introducing Arthur Lee to Ezra Stiles and to Benjamin Lord, of Norwich, Conn.

¹² From 6 *Collections*, IV. 195

¹³ See 2 *Proceedings*, XVIII. 223; Quincy, *History of Harvard University*, II. 176. Samuel Langdon (1723-1797) had been President of the College since October 14, 1774.

imprudences. He declared to the scholars that he was sensible of his incapacity for the office, imputing it to the weak state of his nerves, and gave them a promise that he would resign. He prepared his resignation to be presented to the Board of Overseers at their meeting last Thursday. The *forthputting*, officious gentleman, Dr. Gordon, now suffered his zeal to boil over, and persuaded the President (*ut credo*) that he might still remain in his office, and that he would be his advocate at the Board of Overseers. At the meeting Mr. Bowdoin read the resignation. It was well drawn up. Nothing was said of the uneasiness with the students. One would suppose the whole originated with himself. He said the place was disagreeable to him; that he found himself so debilitated by nervous disorders that he could not go thro' with his course of duty. "My memory fails," said he; "my taste for academical studies decreases; my fondness for shew and public notice is lost; and I wish heartily to retire." He then described very pathetically the disadvantageous circumstances of his coming to Cambridge, and the many losses and troubles he had met with during his continuance there; requesting that he might live in the provincial mansion house, *etc.* He is really an object of pity. Even the scholars who have been so active in his dismission think so. They attested to his good character in a unanimous vote presented to the Overseers, wherein they mentioned him as a man of learning an[d] a man of most excellent character, rendered him many thanks for his past services, and expressed the most earnest desire that the remainder of his days may be comfortable and happy. This vote is also accompanied with a subscription for something by way of present. I believe that many thousand dollars will be subscribed for him, if Gordon don't spoil the whole by his impertinence and nonsensical reveries. He blazed away at the meeting; insisted upon it that this whole proceeding arose from the meer malice of one of the governors of the College (Mr. W.,¹⁴ the Librarian), who had the impudence to tell Mr. and Mrs. Langdon to their heads that he had long sought an opportunity to revenge an affront offered to him by the President some years since, and now that he was gratified. He moved the matter should be inquired into, the students should be severely censured, and the whole scene of iniquity should be unfolded. *Fiat justitia, ruat cælum*, he repeated, and seemed in a *pet*, as if the rest of us were a party joined together to destroy the President. We felt as much as he could be sensible of, but judged very differently from him about the whole affair. . . .

TO HORATIO GATES¹⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 5, 1780.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — Many weeks back I had the pleasure of Major Pierce's company at dinner. To his care I committed a

¹⁴ James Winthrop (1752-1821).

¹⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

letter for my much esteemed friend, upon his informing me that he was to set forward the next week to join your suite. If he is safely arrived, I hope you have received it. I should have rejoiced had you succeeded against Cornwallis in the same manner you did against Burgoyne: but an allwise Providence hath ordered otherwise; and I trust for the best. By this event the Continent may be convinced of the futility of trusting the defence of the country to a militia, and may be induced e'er it is too late to procure a standing army of force sufficient to act against the enemy. Our public affairs are I think in a very threatening situation, scarce ever worse — and that for want of honesty and patriotism among ourselves. Unless we alter soon, it will be too late. We are like Lord Wharton's puppies — open our eyes just as we are drowning. I flatter myself heaven will save and establish our Independency, but I believe not by our own exertions, but the interposition of foreign powers.

We have had a narrow escape, thro' the seasonable discovery of Arnold's treachery. What a villain! He has consigned himself to eternal infamy; But what will not a man do, that is given up to covetousness and places his *summum bonum* in money! Put not your confidence in men.

Our constitution is to be set a going the last wednesday of the present month. Mr. Hancock it is presumed has the majority of votes, and will be declared Governor: but it is not supposed that he will hold that seat many years. Several talk of your and *my* good friend General Lincoln, and I design the promotion and furtherance of that talk. I know not a better person, all things considered; and doubt not of his having your good wishes, tho' you cannot vote for him.

The General Assembly will have to nominate the Lt. Gov'r, out of the two that have the highest number of votes, no one having the majority of all the votes.¹⁶ It will be the same as to a great part of the counsellors and senators.

Col. Sears and family are well, and desire to be kindly remembered. Mrs. Cook has no little one; nor do I hear of any likelihood thereof. I have been upon a fortnights tour, and did not return with Mrs. Gordon till tuesday night. Saw Col. Langdon and Gen'l Whipple, they were well. The back towns in New Hampshire have suffered lately most excessively by wolves and bears that have poured down upon them in an abundance never before known. In one town thirty bears were killed. Pray let me hear from you soon,

¹⁶ Bowdoin was chosen by the Assembly but refused to serve and Thomas Cushing accepted.

tho' you may have time only for a few lines, but the more numerous full and informing the better. I should as historiographer have particulars to silence the nonsense of those who approve or censure only as a person succeeds. Mrs. Gordon joins in warmest and sincerest regards to Self, Lady and Son. I remain, my dear Sir, with much esteem your affectionate friend.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General.

TO JOHN ADAMS ¹⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 19, 1780.

O! human nature, what art thou! when one of the most noted Republicans cannot be consistent, nor be placed on an eminence without having his head affected. My former letter was designed for Messrs. Adams and Dana, whom I humourously considered as in partnership; but I now find that they are not *partners* — that they carry on business separately, and that I must be at the expence of corresponding with each, tho' I have not plenty, either of pen, ink, paper or time.

MY FRIEND JOHN ADAMS, — being first mentioned made the joint letter his own property; therefore I have heard nothing from his honour Francis Dana, Esq. I am obliged to his Excellency, however, for ordering it to be answered by his Amanuensis, and for authenticating the whole answer by his own hand writing; but by no operation could I find in it the name of *Dana*, till I had recourse to a mode of working similar to that of the trifling anagrammatist, and then from *John Adams* I extracted Dana by a proper arrangement of the last letter in the Christian and the three first of the surname. Having thus remarked by way of preface, I shall proceed to consider your favour of May 26th, orderly and paragraphically. Paris I know, and London I know to be cities; but pray what is Hotel de Valois, Rue de Richelieu? I suppose it to be some great house, in some certain street, where his Excellency resides.

I would wish my scrawl to travel in little or *no* company, whenever it comes to Hotel de Valois, that so it may be the more acceptable: in much, it might meet with as little notice as a court attendant at a full levee. The alterations were no *amendments*, but assisted in getting the plan through, and I am very glad that we have a new Constitution so near at hand which, though not so good as I could have wished, is much better than I feared, considering

¹⁷ From the Adams MSS.

the tempers of people, *etc.*, and vastly superiour to that paltry performance which I contributed my hearty endeavours towards demolishing.

Accidental circumstances have procured the Massachusetts a compliment, that their real merit does not entitle them to. As you once said at Braintree concerning him who has been long seeking the uppermost seat, that the world was a stranger to his true character, so may it be said concerning your present countrymen. Many persons in power have been more desirous of securing to themselves the continuance of that power than of establishing all the rights of the community. The person that seconded the motion for a convention in 1795, Genl. Danielson,¹⁸ clogged it with those terms that effectually destroyed its intention, and it was carried in the morning, that there should be a convention in 1795 in case it was desired by a majority of *all* the inhabitants. I am sorry that Judge Sullivan supported him in it, but some of our cloth were uneasy, the matter was debated afresh in the evening, and by the united exertions of Treat Pain, Parsons and Lowell it was altered, to the majority of *voters* at the town meetings. To please the public it was agreed, that there *might* be a convention if the people desired it; but it was not fixed that there *should* be; and I am convinced that leading men in the convention were against having a convention in 1795, and that when the time comes practices will be given into to prevent there being a majority in the towns for a convention; however, I hope that herein they will be disappointed. What passed between me and our friend Samuel¹⁹ upon the occasion convinced me that he was not for it, and several others have spoken their minds unreservedly to the same purpose. However *plausible* their reasons are, they are not *weighty* in my opinion; and should you be over in that period, and the independency of the State be continued, your abilities, I trust, will be employed in procuring a vote of the people for the revision of the Plan of government, that so it may proceed on towards perfection, and measures be established for perpetuating the civil and sacred liberties of the Massachusetts people, and for rendering theirs the *best government* in the world.

You with a pritty slight of hand slip over sending me news; but should the same plea be used by all others I should be as ignorant as the rest of my neighbours, had I ever such correspondences with every part of the world. Pray don't trick me in the same way a second time; but be honest in the way of barter and give me a *quid pro quo*. What you ought not to divulge I would not wish you to

¹⁸ Timothy Danielson (1733-1811). See Dexter, *Yale Biographies*, II. 410.

¹⁹ Samuel Adams.

write. What you may communicate with propriety, in *confidence*, I humbly apprehend you may do with *safety*, as I have accustomed myself to keeping secrets, having studied Telemachus; but when I am to be silent as to what is wrote, or am only to conceal the writer, you must give me due notice of it.

The Irish must be purblind, if they do not perceive that the ministerial sugar plumbs will be taken from them, unless American independency is established, and that after having been feasted with fine promises they will have sour sauce served up to them, for having *forced* ministry into such concessions. *Nothing* made a great figure in English politics a long while back; and continues to do so, does England flatter herself that America will make a separate peace and join her to revenge herself against France and Spain. Was America to do it she would vie with England in blundering politics. Yea, should she be only a silent spectator. Great Britain will never have honest thoughts of peace, till she can no longer prosecute the war without subjecting herself to immediate ruin. I wish some able American on your side the water in a concise animated way to exhibit to Holland, Sweeden, Denmark, Portugal and Russia, the insolence and haughtiness of G. Britain in *present* circumstances, and to what an intolerable height it will proceed should Britain prevail against the fleets of France and Spain, and by force or treachery prevail over the Americans. Your pen, employed in this service, and urging upon the above powers the state, prudence, and necessity of their dictating to G. Britain to make peace and acknowledge American Independency, might do essential service to your country, and bring on that particular business for which you was despatched across the herring pond.

The manœuvres of the combined fleets in the West Indies are at present out of my comprehension. Had they pushed their advantages, they might have taken St. Kitts or some other Island. France and Spain must make a point of falling with a superior naval force upon the ships of G. B., if they mean to finish the war gloriously. Secrecy in their councils might certainly enable them to do it. The nature of their governments give them an opportunity of keeping their schemes private beyond what the British possesses. Business must pass thro' so many hands in G. B., who must be acquainted with the destination of a fleet, that it is extremely difficult to conceal it: but in France and Spain, none but the Sovereign and his right hand should be able to tell or even to conjecture, whether the armament is designed for the East Indies, the West Indies, or Boston; and in fitting it out, the appearances for each should be equally strong, so as that no certain intelligence could be gained

from workmen, from pilots, from commanders, or from stores, and Secresy, Secresy, Secresy, is the great secret in carrying on war with advantage. By means of it the enemy is thrown upon a false scent, arising from their own misgivings, and are put upon a wild goose chase. *Sat sapienti verbum*. If you have no powers from Congress to make a direct application to ministers, you can improve your acquaintance with ministers.

And now Mr. Republican, what! afraid of Prince Posterity! You, a Commonwealthman, and be concerned lest a future *Prince* should mistake your character! Ah! what, is *Character* so dear, that serving your Country will not give you a *quietus*, unless some Historiographer tells a long tale of your leaving your wife, *etc.*, *etc.*, *etc.*; and blazons your patriotism: and do you threaten, that if it is not done to your satisfaction, you yourself will turn Historiographer? Methinks I have caught you, and should you attempt to rival me, have you at my mercy. *Risum veneatis Amici*. You tell me that you love your Wife, and that in the countries you see you don't find anybody you like so well; *prudently done*; you knew that I lived in the neighbourhood of your wife and would be likely to tell her the fine thing you said of her. That impartial heathen Historians, whether malignant or not, would not allow any higher motive to govern men than ambition, is not strange. they had not the means of ascending or being wrought up to a higher. They well knew that tho' it was a maxim — *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* — yet the deaths occasioned by it were not owing to the *pro patria*, or to the *dulce*, but to the *decorum* — the character, the character that men gained by dying *pro patria*. The name of a *Patriot* fed the spirit of ambition, and wrought wonders: but who of those great *Patriots* that are upon record would have died in *private* to have saved his country, had he despaired of its ever being known and made public. They expected to be honoured by men. Christianity, however, lays the foundation for better principles and the christian historian will allow that men may act from a *sense of duty*, though as he *will want penetration to discover the motives of* any one heart but his own, he may write dubiously upon the point. What say you to that? I shall not set up for a *perfect*, while I shall endeavour to shew myself an impartial historian: but should you turn Historiographer to tell the world what a huge Patriot you are, let me tell you that the more you write in your own praise, the less they will believe you; that the louder you sound your trumpet the deafer they will grow. A Patriot has great charms in the esteem of many; but the friend of mankind or the christian has much greater. The first to serve his country will trample upon the rights

of the rest of mankind — thus did the Roman patriotism operate. The last, tho' concerned for his country in particular, wishes liberty and happiness to the world, and gives up his own little spot when the benefit of the world requires it. Let me then ever prefer the Christian, who does not, as Soame Jennings²⁰ falsely teaches, sacrifice to his religious principles the love of his country, but regulates it so as not to admit of its setting aside his love to the whole human race; and who considers the world as his country, and his own nation as bearing that relation to the world that his own town does to his nation.

By writing as above so lengthy a letter, you will not think *I am* in haste; but if you are tired you may pause here, and try your patience, by delaying to go on and read all the news that is to be communicated in the other part.

Mr. Hancock will be governour, unless Death should prevent it. I was employed by a Boston representative *under the rose*, to plead with Mr. Bowdoin that *pro bono publico* he would condescend to serve as Lt. Govr.: I urged that plea, and encourage the expectation from his not declaring off, that, if the General Court are pritty well agreed, he will not decline. He will be a good poize and prevent undue influence and eccentric motions.

Some time back several persons dined together with the above mentioned, the conversation turned upon old matters, a country booby of a representative said: "Ay, I remember we used to say that you found the money and Sam Adams the brains." A pause commenced for some minutes before the conversation was renewed. The poor mortal, upon being afterwards spoken to upon the impropriety of his remark, apologized by pleading it was the truth and he thought there could be no hurt in speaking it.

Dr. Cooper²¹ understands steering between Scylla and Charybdis as well as most persons, but of late touched and was in danger of losing a first rate hand. Mr. Hancock, being disgusted, applied for a pew at Mr. Wight's,²² late Dr. Byles's,²³ South-End. By some means the application got wind, several of the heads of Dr. C[oo]per's waited upon the Dr. and told him that he must make it up, which was done, in what way have not been told. The disgust was owing as I was informed to the Dr.'s advising in what order the gentlemen mentioned in the first bill brought in for an academy

²⁰ Soame Jenyns (1704-1787).

²¹ Samuel Cooper, of the Brattle Street Church.

²² Ebenezer Wight (1750-1821), chosen pastor of the Hollis Street Church in 1778.

²³ Mather Byles, the Younger (1707-1788), who was dismissed from the Hollis Street Church, August 9, 1776.

of arts and sciences should be ranged, and Mr. Saml. Adams being set before Mr. John Hancock. The first bill was rejected. In the second which was passed, the house ordered that the names should be ranged in alphabetical order. The story now related concerning the Dr. is *in confidence*; but may be communicated to Mr. Dana *in confidence*. The President Dr. Langdon has resigned. The students urged on by others presented a vote testifying their dislike and desiring him to resign, the Dr. hastily complied without consulting or considering the impropriety of a resignation occasioned by such a request. I am for calling the students to an account for their disorderly proceeding, and causing them to know their proper place, but do not expect that I shall carry the point. An enquiry might occasion discoveries that some gentlemen are perhaps willing to prevent more for their own sakes or the sake of their friends, than for sake of the President. I had the pleasure of being in Dr. Lee's company once and again. Reforms are needful. Mr. Izzard,²⁴ I have been told by those with whom he has conversed, talks with much less reserve than the Dr. The truth I trust will out, and the ruin of the country be prevented by speedy reformatations both at home and abroad.

Mr. Thomas Cushing is chosen one of the Counsellors and Senators for Suffolk. He had many votes thro' a design of getting him out of the Probate Office. Deacons Nyles and Fisher, Mr. Pitts and Mr. Sumner of Roxbury,²⁵ are the rest elected by the majority for Suffolk. Mr. White²⁶ of Brookline has got himself returned representative, and means, I apprehend, to try for the vacant senatorial seat, but it is most probable that the general court will fill it with a Bostonian.

The people at large appear to acquiesce in the late political manœuvre of Congress for exchanging the *old* continental at forty for one *new* bill. Through the peculiar circumstances attending our youth, we can venture upon those extraordinary expedients, which would in an old country have produced a fit of the palsy or apoplexy: but these violences must not be repeated; or we shall ruin our constitution and begin to decay before we have arrived at maturity. I wonder what the European Politicians say to this manœuvre. I believe when it is found that it goes down thro' the Continent without occasioning any convulsion, Lord North will be greatly shocked, and be more dubious of vanquishing America thro' the failure of what he has stiled our only instrument for carrying

²⁴ Ralph Izard (1742-1803).

²⁵ Samuel Niles (1711-1804), Jabez Fisher, John Pitts (1738-1815), and Increase Sumner (1746-1799).

²⁶ Benjamin White (1724-1790).

on the war. I intend urging upon our new managers the keeping of public faith as the *sine qua non* of good and prosperous government. If under a new Constitution individuals will forsake their old bad practices and in their political capacity do justly and honestly, and study the good of their country, the Massachusetts may and will flourish, and may after a while establish a good national character: but if old pranks are repeated under the new Constitution, we shall make but a miserable figure in the writings of a faithful intelligent historian.

The letter dated Tappan Oct. 2, 1780, was wrote by Genl. Knox,²⁷ Sentinel and the People of the Massachusetts Bay by your correspondent.²⁸ Major André was taken by three of the York militia, out with others as a scouting party. When one of them sprung out from his covert and seized André's horse, the Major asked where he belonged. He answered to *below*. The Major suspecting no deceit said, so do I. When the other two joined, and he found his mistake, the confusion that followed was apparent, and they proceeded to search till they discovered the papers. Large offers were made, but did not avail. Whoever lives to read a good history of these times, should it be wrote by an impartial and intelligent hand, will be under the necessity of admitting the doctrines of general and particular providences, or the extensive, efficacious, and universal government of Heaven over all worldly matters. General Green in the orders of the day after the plot was discovered inserted as follows: "The providential train of circumstances which led to it affords a most convincing proof that the liberties of America are the object of divine protection."

Arnold's behaviour had excited suspicions in the breasts of the officers who had the command of the scouting parties, to the number of 800; and before this discovery they had determined, that had Arnold came down to have ordered them nearer to the enemy, to have seized him upon their suspicions and to have had his conduct examined into.

I shall not write to our friend Mr. Dana by this opportunity, but by another from Newport in a few days. We have heard of a large capture of British ships to the amount of sixty by the French and Spaniards so many different ways, that we promise ourselves that the good news will be confirmed. Nothing but dire necessity will make the British ministry think seriously of Peace. Heaven grant that that necessity may exist soon!

²⁷ *Boston Gazette*, October 16, 1780.

²⁸ "Rouse, rouse, Americans," in *Independent Chronicle*, September 21. and an address in *Ibid.*, October 19, 1780.

Saw Mr. Cranch this morning, spoke of Mrs. Adams, no intimation but what all were well. Design myself the pleasure of seeing her soon at Braintree. My respects to Mr. Dana, your son or sons, Mr. Thaxter, and Mr. Gillam. The letter he received from Mr. Tabor was received safe by Mr. Brown's care. Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO JOSEPH PARKER ²⁹

J[AMAICA] P[LAIN], Decr. 15, 1780

MY DEAR SIR,—Having no immediate prospect of an opportunity by the way of Holland, this is designed for Cadiz. I have lately rec'd some letters from friends—T. F[ield]—J. F.—with the report of the committee of the London A. S. Mr. Lynde I have not seen.

Your neighbour ran a great risk by sending his venture immediately from London. Americans are allowed to draw off their property in goods; and persons transporting themselves to the Continent to sit down as settled inhabitants, have the like allowance; but a trade from thence is prohibited; and had the vessel made Boston, been libelled, and tried in the court of admiralty, the articles would probably have been condemned. The few belonging to me might have escaped, could I have proved them my property, but I should not have been able to have brought legal evidence thereof, for want of letters, etc. It is rather more than a fortnight since I began to discover that I had any thing belonging to me. The stationary I rec'd the last Saturday, and the other matters on the tuesday. I design taking out to the amount of fifty pounds including what I have got; and then sending you a bill upon Mr.

²⁹ Original in the possession of Harold Murdock. The Reverend Wilton E. Rix, of The Manse, Ealing Green, from whom this paper was obtained, writes that Joseph Parker was his three times great-grandfather, born in 1743 and a member of the Company of Mercers of the City of London. "He came of Puritan stock, his father being Mr. Joseph Parker, a member of the Independent Meeting at Mark Lane in the City, of which Dr. Isaac Watts was minister for a few years. Among the members of that meeting were many distinguished people: Sir John Hartopp; Sir James Abney (a Lord Mayor of London); Lady Abney, owner of Abney Park, Stoke Newington; Mrs. Bendish, sister-in-law of Oliver Cromwell; etc. Mr. Joseph Parker, Sr., was steward of Lady Abney's estate and secretary to Dr. Isaac Watts. Mr. Joseph Parker, Jr., bought a vessel which he named the *Joseph and Mary*, and traded with the colonists on the Penobscot River. His vessel was unfortunately in harbour there when the rebellion broke out, and was confiscated. Because his sympathies were openly republican he hoped he would be able to get redress, and to do so went over to France to meet John Adams and Benjamin Franklin. . . . Though Adams and Franklin were friendly, Parker never recovered his vessel."

T. F., with which you will acquaint him. Be pleased to endorse the bill and then carry it to your neighbour, and see that I am credited for it. The Trustee managed with great prudence. They made the first port at a considerable distance from the place of residence; and he kept all private till danger was over. I approve of his proceedings, as well calculated to answer the wishes of his employers. Have seen him a few times: for want of a line he was at a loss for whom the parcel containing *Remembrancers*, a vol. of sermons and a Lady's pocket-book, was intended. By conversing with him he concludes that it was meant for me, and came from T. F. Have given him a key, I believe, which will unlock the secret.

Your acquaintance, Mr. Charles Cox, arrived safe. I should have been glad of letters by him, but had not one. He told me that Dr. Calef³⁰ had called upon you twice. Give him no countenance. You have suffered enough by him already. Had he meant that his wife should deliver up the articles, why did he not leave with you a written order directing her thereto, for you to have forwarded to me? However, I design making trial, and tho' its winter going to Ipswich and trying to persuade her to let me have them upon a receipt. Should she, and there being any quantity, will dispose and send you the value of them as soon as possible. Shall at the same time call at Danvers and Salem, and procure testimonies respecting Capt. Lee's business and conduct. Wrote to you, T. F — , Dr. P of New — last Octr., to J. F. Nov. 2, and to yourself again — No. 3 by Capt. Boyden for Rotterdam. In the last informed you of my having obtained leave of the Gen'l Court, for the Hon. William Phillips Esqr. as my agent, to dispose of the vessel and all her remaining appurtenances for your benefit. We have not advertised her as yet. We hope that she may sell better a little while hence, when the destruction in the West Indies comes to be felt more; at present vessels fetch little, there being more prizes than buyers.

I must pray you to take the trouble of acquainting our friends and relations that we are well. The next opportunity some of them may hear directly from me. We have many mercies, and the safe arrival of the articles sent for, notwithstanding the smallness of the sum, calls for thankfulness to a kind overruling Providence, for it will help us much in these peculiar times. Wishing you and yours the best of blessings, I remain most sincerely

KNOWN.³¹

³⁰ John Calef (1725-1812), of Ipswich, Mass., son of Robert and Margaret (Staniford) Calef. He married Dorothy, daughter of the Reverend Jedidiah Jewett, of Rowley. See Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts-Bay Colony*, II. 306.

³¹ In January, 1781, Dr. Gordon was mentioned among the ministers considered for Professor of Divinity at Yale, in succession to Naphtali Daggett. Stiles, *Literary Diary*, II. 496, 499.

TO HORATIO GATES ³²

JAMAICA PLAIN, Jan'y 17, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I wrote to you a very great while back, and committed my letter to the care of Major Pierce, who expected to have sat off the week after, with a design of joining you early. Afterwards I heard that he had been hindered — that he had met with a hurt — that he was exceeding ill and not likely ever to recover his senses, should he get well in other respects. The last monday met him in the streets of Boston, recovered and well, tho' not so strong and of so good complexion as formerly. I forgot to ask him, whether he had sent on what I had given him. When I had heard of the affair at Cambden, I sent you a second letter under cover to *our* friend Lovell (I must hope better things of him, than to think he abandoned you under a misfortune) requesting him to forward the same. When I was told of the death of your only child and beloved son,³³ I forwarded a third in the same channel, to condole with you and your Lady under the irreparable loss you had sustained. I have not heard from Mr. Lovell since, but I must suppose that he rec'd my letters safe, and complied with my desire, and that you have at length rec'd them. I mean to put this under cover to him, as he will be more likely than myself to procure for it a safe conveyance for the remainder of the way from Philadelphia. From the opinion I had of your abilities I could not but justify you, tho' you had miscarried; and I thought Congress had been hasty in superseding you. I was pleased to find that even Gen'l Green himself in a letter to Col. Sears expressed the same sentiment — which was further corroborated by Gen'l Knox the last monday, who informed me that when Gen'l Green took his leave of him, he was far from approving the measure of Congress in thus dealing with an Officer, and added that he should be very well satisfied to serve under Gen'l Gates. Gen'l Knox told me, that he did not fault you in the least; and blamed Congress for censuring you in such a way, and thereby injuring your character before ever you was heard. I mentioned to Lovell, tha[t the]re were in and out of Congress, those who would never forgive you — the Convention of Sarat[oga and] the French Alliance, the result thereof — and that if a Commander for want of success [h]a[d] to be immediately or certainly displaced, there would be but little encouragement for him to exert himself for the repairing of the damage occasioned by such

³² From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

³³ Robert Gates.

want of success. Discoursing with Mr. Gerry upon the subject, he mentioned his apprehension that Congress had been hasty. I am thoroughly disgusted with the proceeding; and would wish you to have no more to do with that body, unless it should be through your being afterwards chosen a delegate. If Congress do not conduct better than they have done; and shew themselves more capable of guiding the affairs of the Continent, we shall soon have a worse prospect than what at present offers. I am not acquainted with every circumstance, or I might propose a different advice to what I shall now mention — that you send your resignation to Congress, have no more concern with them as their servant, and take your leave of them with expressing your good wishes for the American Cause. In my letter to them I would avoid all harsh expressions, and all those kinds of reflections which any of them might take advantage of, to injure you with the public. I would give myself no concern about a Court of Inquiry; but when I was freed from my connexions with Congress, would then vindicate myself by such publications as might be needful. What is the world! and what are men! Indeed all the vexations, disappointments and ingratitude that we meet with from them, serve only, to confirm the scripture, as they shew that it has given a true representation of them; and to urge us on to a due attention upon the doctrines of it respecting a future existence. True religion is the only thing in life worth devoting ourselves to; all others will sooner or later balk our expectations.

Col. Sears is gone to New London — the family well — heard him say that there was a package from Holland for you, which arrived a long time back by Capt. Haydon — that he had enclosed the letter, which came by the same opportunity, and which he supposed contained the invoice, in one to you; but had received no answer, which was a disappointment to him.

Who may be alive, and what may be the events of the next campaign God only knows; but should you be spared and be in private life upon your own plantation; and I be continued and in circumstances to admit of my visiting you, I may possibly see you in your retirement. Mrs. Gordon joins most sincerely in respects to Self and Mrs. Gates with your affectionate Friend and very humble Servant.

Do, let me hear from you soon.

[Addressed:] Major General Horatio Gates Esq'r, Virginia.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 28, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — The multiplicity of business upon your hands will apologize sufficiently for your not answering my last wrote when the campaign was going on; nor is it strange, that after a while you should forget it: but wishing to hear from your Excellency before your attention becomes wholly engrossed by more important matters, I now send you my hearty congratulations, upon the several appearances of Heaven in our favour, and upon the more promising aspect of public affairs than hath before offered for some time past. The treachery by which the enemy meant to carry their points was mercifully discovered in season, like what had happened at New York; and was an additional striking proof that divine Providence watched over us for good. The escape of Arnold may in the issue injure them, far more than the loss of André. Villainy is often punished in this life: but be that as it may, the traitor is always despised at heart, however ceremonial appearances may announce the contrary. The loss of Charlestown and the defeat of Gates, like many other events, were temporary evils, that I apprehend will be of more disservice to Great Britain in the end than to us. The ministry have been encouraged by them to persist; and the cruelties that have been practised by their partizans through the expectation of carrying all before them have roused up a spirit that may prove their ruin. Where men's minds have been broken, before they have commenced hostilities against a tyrannic power, severities may answer, but persons accustomed to liberty will be exasperated thereby, and grow more fierce and terrible in their opposition. May the sufferings of the Carolinians put them upon remembering aright that Negroes are fellow creatures, and should be treated as parts of the same human nature, tho' of a different colour from them!

Morgan's success will be more important in its distant consequences, than it was on the day of victory. I have a double pleasure in considering the stroke that has been given in the Chesapeak, because of its being concerted by your Excellency. The sentiment of the public, including high and low, is so variable, and shifts so with good or bad success, that I feel myself peculiarly interested in your plans of operation. Let a commander *deserve* ever so well, yet if he miscarrys he will suffer in his credit, and the envious will not fail of improving the opportunity given them against him.

We are told that the French are going out again, back to Chesapeak. The last I cannot believe: but should rejoice to find that

under your Excellency's direction, they were gone against Penobscot, and had taken the fort and shipping. It would be a most acceptable service to [this] State. The place might have been taken in the last attempt, had it not been for the pride of some of our Mas[sachusetts g]entry, who would not apply in time to Gates for any continental troops, lest they should carry o[torn]. Had they consulted the General and sailed with the regiment he afterwards sent them upon appli[cation we had su]ffered neither in property nor character so scandalously as we did.

I have read with the greatest satisfaction, that Maryland has acceded to the Confederacy. I felt very uneasy till the Confederation was compleated; as I thought, that, till the event had taken place, Britain would hope that we should never be consolidated. That and the establishment of the Massachusetts government, and the ease with which the new machine works, must have great influence on the minds of men of understanding on the other side of the Atlantic. Our State will gather firmness and become more vigorous. We are doing better than formerly, tho' not well enough; and I am afraid shall not have half the new levies upon the ground in time. Your Excellency would be likely to hasten the enlistment, could you inform our government that the other States were much more forward than they; and that it would be *highly dishonourable* to them to lose the character they acquired in the beginning of the contest, and be the first in flagging after having acted so nobly.

The accounts from the West-Indies are such, that I cannot but hope, that Count DE Estaing has fallen in with, and taken a great part of the armament destined for America under Admiral Hood. The confirmation will put me upon looking for peace sooner than otherwise. Great Britain will never come to, while she can find men, money, and shipping; a failure in the last will render the others useless. The continuance of the war under our internal difficulties, thro' the want of a stable currency and proper funds, has the appearance of a great calamity; but may be mercifully ordered and occasion those regulations, reforms, *etc.*, that might not have been effected without it. The States individually may be so reduced, and jointly may be so melted down together by the continuance of the war, that we may constitute a firmer mass than otherwise, and be in no danger of separating from each other, thro' any state attractions and cohesions. The way of Heaven is constantly best. *Whatever is, is right*; and in a much righter sense than the Poet might mean. Mrs. Gordon joins me in sincerest regards to Self and Lady, who we suppose to be still at Head Quarters. Pray my respects to General Knox, General Hand, and Colonels Harrison

and Tilghman. Few, if any are more mindful of your Excellency in their most serious moments, or more hearty in wishing you all suitable support from the several States and answerable success, than your Excellency's most humble servant and sincere Friend.

Colonel Sears and family are well; and were they acquainted with my writing I know would desire to be remembered.

March 1. When I wrote as above about the French, I was told [that] they had succeeded fully and were all returned; since learn that the 64-gun ship is left in the Chesapeake.³⁴

TO HORATIO GATES³⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, May the 25, 1781.

I can't express my affection sufficiently without beginning in your manner with

MY DEAR FRIEND, — Mr. S. Adams got to Boston yesterday sen-
night, and on the monday I rec'd your very acceptable letter: but
gather from the contents, that my last letter sent under cover to
Mr. Lovell had not been received at the time of your writing. In
that I mentioned Gen'l Green's having expressed his disapproba-
tion of the manner in which you had been treated, and saying that
he should have been satisfied with serving under you. Gen'l Knox
told me these particulars, as what he had heard himself; and his
relation, and remarks, upon and of the engagement, which gave
your enemies in and out of Congress an opportunity of venting
their resentments, fully acquitted you. Knox told me, that upon
his return he would write to you. Hope he has been as good as he
proposed; for your case calls for emollients. On the tuesday I
was in town and visited the Massachusetts Delegate, and with
pleasure heard him relate what Green had wrote to Congress, that
from all he could collect from officers in the battle, your want of
success was not owing to any fault in you, but was wholly a mis-
fortune. I informd Sam. that in the letter you had not rec'd, I had
advised you to resign and have no more to do with Congress unless
it was in some other capacity. He said, that he gave you just con-
trary advice, and explained his principles. The resolve of Congress,
that every officer who lost a *post* should be subject to a court of
Enquiry, did not really extend to your case: and was it to be under-
stood as subjecting a commander in a particular department to an

³⁴ A sentence from Washington's reply, March 9, 1781, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), IX. 193 n.

³⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

immediate suspension upon the loss of an engagement, would add to the number of those blundering resolves which have greatly contributed towards lessening them in the opinion of sensible and honest patriots.

I wish to be with you at Travellers Rest, and should the enemy meet with repeated disappointments in their southern operations, so as to make it safe for me, to visit you some time the next winter, shall set myself to contrive in what way to do it. Should the spreading flames of war force you from your Rest, you will doubtless consider your letters and papers as the most valuable of your furniture, to be secured at all adventures. Our circumstances I apprehend will not admit of Mrs. Gordon's coming with me. She will most probably be detained to entertain and accommodate ministers that may be provided to supply the pulpit during my absence. When you return an answer, give me the best and shortest rout from Philadelphia to your habitation. I shall readily contribute what is in my power towards consoling you under your irreparable loss; but no consolations can equal those that are to be met with in the sacred volumes. The doctrines of Christianity are the only catholicon for curing every disease of the heart.

Have not yet seen General Burgoyne's examination; you oblige me by keeping it for my inspection, with your explanations and comments it will be peculiarly serviceable. The truth, I apprehend, is, that Temple was no ways privy to the advertisement,³⁶ but that a secret enemy meant to answer ends by it; That neither Trumbull nor Tyler³⁷ played the rascal, tho' they may be thought to have played the fool — the latter had a narrow escape, and got safe to France without any supplies. He has spent his money, done no particular good or hurt, and if he has gained wisdom has bought it *dear*. Trumbull is in safe custody — the ministry will scarce do any thing with him but confine, upon the supposition that he might do mischief if at large. Do not wonder that you are sick of the world, alias its inhabitants. Honest upright patriots are thinly scattered through the Continent: Here and there one. We have more Machiavelian politicians than true friends to liberty. A favorite Parson of yours the last general fast expressed himself in words nearly as follows: "What could be more egregiously unjust

³⁶ This may refer to *An Enquiry into, and Remarks upon the Conduct of Lieutenant General Burgoyne*, London, 1780, with an "Advertisement" of one leaf. In this year Almon issued *A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons, by Lieutenant General Burgoyne*.

³⁷ "Major Tyler," according to Trumbull. John Steel Tyler, of Boston, son of Royall Tyler was major in Henry Jackson's additional continental regiment in 1777, and was on the Penobscot expedition.

and tyrannical, than many of the laws passed in different States? Were the several States to bring Britannia before an impartial judge, as the Scribes and Pharisees did the woman taken in adultery before our Saviour, and urge judgment against her for breach of covenant with this country, and her unjust oppressive and unconstitutional laws, might not the judge answer as did our Lord, *he that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her*: and if they were not more hardened than Scribes and Pharisees, would they not, being convicted in their own consciences withdraw one by one, knowing they have been guilty of similar sins towards their *own* inhabitants." These times have shewn the excellency of Pope's judgment when he said, *An honest man's the noblest work of God*. A truly honest man is as *rara avis in terra, negroque simillima cygno*.

Adams explained Lovell's having neglected to visit you, but hinted that he might have sent you a billet when he heard of your arrival and have apologized in manuscript.

Britain, alias the stupid ministry, have kickt up a dust in Frogland, which I expect will cover them with lasting confusion. They have enraged Mynheer, having taken away his goods, and what hath he more? He will be spiteful, and probably repay upon Britons the cruelties they have practised upon Americans. Possibly He will kindle a flame in one and another of the towns upon the sea coast, and let them have a taste of predatory war. He will not suffer any one who talks English or Scotch to walk his streets, without wearing the distinguishing cockade of the day — not orange or yellow — but black and white. Tis said, several have been killed for want of complying. He hath offered considerable premiums for capturing British armed vessels; and suffers none of his own ships to go to sea without twenty guns and a hundred men. The small British privateers will therefore become useless, the coal trade be amazingly injured, the importation of naval stores be prevented *cum multis aliis*. Unless Britain meets with extraordinary success this summer, I flatter myself that what with fears from without, and fears within the kingdom, the stubborn heart of the king will bend to dire necessity and enter upon real negotiations of peace the ensuing winter. I remember that the West India papers told us that Rodney declared that he would strike a blow soon that would astonish all Europe: and indeed he hath done it, and the European courts must be astonished at the daring insolence and haughtiness of Britain and combine to humble her. They that killed a Pensioner may kill a Stadtholder should he counteract their interests and cross their revenge. He must act for and with the Dutch, and leave his Cousin to reap the bitter fruits of his

own folly. British ministers thought I suppose as in the case of America, that if they did but strike home and shew spirit, Mynheer would truckle with cap in hand: the stroke however will be likely to consolidate the Dutch into one united corps as it was with us.

Col. Sears hath left the Plain and removed to Boston. Is now upon a visit to New Haven.

Was glad to hear that Mrs. Gates was no worse, than your letter intimated. I sincerely wish her better. You have more than a few smooth complimentary expressions from us, we sympathise with you both. Mrs. Gordon desires to be remembered very affectionately both to you and Mrs. Gates. Jenny seems to be breaking up — is certainly worse, and the Dr. does not think that she will be long lived. Capt. Cook has purchased what was Mr. Hulton's seat at Brookline, a mile off, and they propose removing to it shortly.³⁸ I wish them well, but apprehend he will not find it answer their expectations. Our Friend Hazard sets off on monday for Philadel'a. I shall therefore send by him, who has promised to take great care of my letter, and, if you are returned home as I imagine, to forward it in the safest manner. And now praying that the best of blessings may attend you, I subscribe myself, my dear General with great esteem Your sincere and firm friend and humble servant.

Respects to Armstrong if with you.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 30, 1781.

MY DEAR SIR, — You have been so obliging as to promise me your assistance in my designed history of the present glorious contest for liberty; and I have no doubt of your affording it. Truth and impartiality are what I aim at; and therefore am for getting the best information possible, which must be by having a recourse to original papers in the possession of those who have borne a distinguished and active part in the transactions of the day. I flatter

³⁸ Henry Hulton, a Commissioner of the Customs and Mandamus Councillor, bought a house facing the reservoir, Brookline, which had belonged to Jeremiah Gridley. The town took the property, as of a refugee, and in July, 1776, leased it to the Reverend Joseph Jackson and John Coborn for one year. The clergyman lived in it for four years, when the house was demanded by John Green, printer, for a debt owing to him for printing done for the Commissioners. David Cook purchased it May, 1781. *Brookline Historical Publication Society*, II. 60-64; 2 *Proceedings*, x. 174.

myself from appearances in Europe, that the war is hastening to a close, and that if the present campaign proves somewhat more successful answerable to the wishes of your Excellency it will be the last. This and some other favourable circumstances have induced me to conclude upon a journey to the southward the approaching fall. I propose setting off by divine permission next monday six weeks, and of visiting Gen'l Gates before my return. Should be glad to call at Head Quarters, that I might have the pleasure of an interview with your Excellency; but expect to be in company, and apprehend should be put to much inconvenience should I take the route needful for it, and pass thro' the camp; however as the campaign will be closed before I am upon my return, shall contrive to enjoy that pleasure. Cannot suppose, my dear Sir, that you have the papers of former campaigns with you, but that they are deposited in some secure place at a distance from the camp. Could you indulge me with the perusal of them upon my repairing to such place, you would confer an unspeakable obligation upon me, and enable me to make the more dispatch in the history, by bringing it down to where your papers end. I shall conscientiously conceal whatever is may be imprudent and unsafe to divulge; and make it a rule with me, as a minister of peace, to promote peace and prevent or destroy dissensions.

Our affairs to the southward once wore a threatening aspect; but the same kind Providence hath wrought effectually in that quarter, as it had before done in others; and I congratulate you upon the disappointments losses and defeats that our enemies have met with. It would give me the highest pleasure, had the several States furnished [you] with the necessary force, and were our allies with their fleet ready to begin their operation[s immedia]tely, so as to leave no fear but what with the common smiles of Heaven your Exce[l-lency would] be able before winter to reduce New York. Indolence and Selfishness are preventive of [operatio]ns which ought to distinguish the Massachusetts as the first mover in the present war. It is to so little purpose to complain, that I am almost tired of it, and am ready to conclude at times to let things go as they will without endeavouring to serve the public. Had not you possessed an uncommon share of Patriotism, you would have quitted your post long ago upon observing how little attention was paid to your repeated complaints and applications. Your friends have put your virtue to the trial full as much as your enemies. I can write you nothing new, excepting that Colonel Sears is going on board a frigate this evening to cruise in the Bay in company with other vessels, in order to drive off or take a number of the enemy that infest it and make many captures. I wish him a successful voyage,

but am not captivated with the notion of his going, for I am not clear that it is his present duty to put himself in the way of being killed or wounded. I shall be glad to know where your Lady is, that I may pay my respects to her. Mrs. Gordon joins in kindest remembrance to her, and your Excellency, with my dear Sir, Your affectionate Friend and most obedient Servant.³⁹

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴⁰

PHILADELPHIA, Dec'r 4, 1781.

MY DEAR FRIEND, — I got to Frederick Town as proposed. The next day to Littlestown. A few rods beyond Mr. Edward Sharry's where you had been used to lodge, the axle tree of my Sulky broke. Mr. Sharry assisted very kindly in fastening it so together with wood and cord, as to enable me to get on two miles, where it was mended, and I reached York town by night. Got to Wright's ferry on the monday by dinner, but could not cross till friday morning. Found the roads very bad after that, and what with them and the weather could not get to this city till friday morning at breakfast. Have seen Gen Howe, and spoke to him upon the point. He said that he came on before his baggage waggon wherein yours was contained, which he supposed was the reason of the disappointment, but that having rec'd Mr. Hay's letter, he had answered it and given directions, and imagined that Mr. Hay had rec'd and was forwarding the trunk on. I am hastening to get out this evening to Gen'l Mifflins, who with his family are come down to his seat at Schuylkill falls, and propose setting out early on the morrow from thence for Princeton in my way home. Upon my arrival shall give you a longer letter. Have heard from the Plain as low as the 13th of Nov'r. All well, blessed be God. But Col. Sears has lost the *Amsterdam*, Capt. Maggie, taken off Cape Cod, filled with goods from Holland, which is a heavy loss, and has made him almost sick. My best respects to your Lady, with warm acknowledgments for late kindnesses. Be

³⁹ "The Dudlean Lecture sermon is to be preached there by Dr. Gordon, and upon a subject I wish to hear at this time, Popery being a delicate point to handle, where people boast of their alliance with Roman Catholic powers." John Eliot to Belknap, September 5, 1781. 6 *Collections*, IV. 215.

"Dr. Gordon who kindly takes the Care of this Letter, is well acquainted with the Internal State of this Common Wealth. He knows my Mind, and will communicate to you, more than I can now do for Want of Leisure." Samuel Adams to Horatio Gates, October 11, 1781. *Writings of Samuel Adams*, IV. 264.

⁴⁰ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

pleased to remember me to Mr. Nourse⁴¹ and family, Mr. McKnight⁴² and the Gen'l Stevens.⁴³ I remain with the sincerest esteem your affectionate friend.

Lovell did not ask, and therefore I could not give him the intended answer.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 4, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR, — I cannot omit writing by the present safe conveyance, tho' I have nothing in particular to communicate. General Lincoln will give your Excellency a fuller account of all matters of consequence in this quarter, than what I can do. I was over the other day at Colonel Quincy's.⁴⁴ He is breaking fast; but the powers of his mind remain strong. I wish he may live to see and enjoy a happy peace; but I much question it. Am apprehensive that Britain will make no advances towards it, that ministry mean to push this year for the superiority in the West-Indies, and that their exertions will be chiefly on the watery element. I hope Heaven will baffle them; for should they gain any very considerable naval advantages, it will finally affect our affairs most essentially. The difficulties that the generality are under in this quarter, and the scarcity of money, together with the failure of patriotic principles, afford no pleasing prospect. Taxes are heavy, people complain, and numbers will not be able to pay. I should be heartily glad, could I send your Excellency more agreeable intelligence; such as might warrant your expecting that your toils and dangers would be speedily ended, and your unwearied endeavours to establish the liberties of America answered. That same kind Providence that hath befriended us hitherto and extricated us out of former difficulties, I trust will not fail us should darkness return again upon us. Some things mentioned in the papers lead me to suspect, that the king designs furnishing the nation with troops from the electorate of Hanover, to be sent here, or elsewhere that so other troops may be spared for the American service. His obstinacy is such that while he can find men and money, and keep a powerful fleet at sea, he will not give up the present contest. I am grieved, when I recollect the opportunities that our allies had, for lessening the British navy, and

⁴¹ Joseph Nourse (1754-1841), clerk to the Board of War.

⁴² Charles McKnight (1750-1791).

⁴³ Edward Stevens (1745-1820), who was with Gates at Camden.

⁴⁴ Josiah Quincy, who died March 3, 1784.

that they missed of improving them properly. The demolishing of that should have been their first object. That performed, and all the other desiderata would have followed of course: Then Gibraltar, Minorca and the West-Indies would have fallen. But why do I dwell upon subjects, that can afford you no satisfaction? Excuse me, my dear Sir, I mean not to give you the least uneasiness, but your Excellency knows that out of the abundance of the heart the pen will write, as well as the mouth speak. I will change the topick, and wish you all desirable blessings before and when you take the field. May your head be covered in the day of battle! and may the inspiration of the Most High give you the best understanding when in co[unci]l! Mrs. Gordon desires with me to be remembered to your Lady, and prays you to accept of our most cord[ial congratula]tion. The multiplicity of your engagements leaves me little hope of hearing from your Ex[cellency, bu]t whenever you can write I shall esteem it an honour [from y]our Excellency's very affectionate Friend and humble Servant.

TO JOSEPH PARKER ⁴⁵

March 25, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR, — About the 11th of Jany I sent you by way of Bilboa the duplicate of a long letter. I took it with me to Virginia and so to Philadelphia in hopes of a conveyance, but not meeting with any brought it back. I added to it by way of farther information. Mentioned that by letter from Mr. F[ield] I found he had paid you £22. —. 8 and answered for the stationary £3. 6. 2 in all 25. 6. 10, which was taken into the account of the articles I had of Mr. Cox, and for which I gave him a bill of £50 — — on Mr. F[ield] payable to you. This mistake would have been prevented had it not been for the mysterious manner in which the things were sent and the bills made out. Neither Mr. Cox nor myself could conjecture the facts, for I had kept no copy of my letter. Mr. F[ield] having paid you £25. 6. 10, which the bill was to have satisfied for, that sum must be charged to your account. I mentioned that as it might not suit you to repay it to Mr. F[ield]. I would take your share of the state note allowing the current price. By Mr. Jackson I sent you a full state of your affairs. I had then in hand Loan office certificates to the amount of 1980. —. —., Soldiers depreciation notes £2448. 12. —. [total] 4428. 12. Besides a Balance of £752. 2s. —.

⁴⁵ Original in the collection of Harold Murdock.

1781 April.	Pd for advertising the vessel	£54	-	-
May 7 to 11	Journey to Ipswich Danvers Salem	78.	15	-
May 10	Gave the men for putting me on board	5	8	-
16	Postage of letters to Salem	6	15	-
	To $\frac{1}{4}$ share of a Lieutenants Massts. ticket	789	14	6
June 5.	The men for putting me and Capt. Farra on board	11	5	-
	Ferry	4	10	-
	Oats for horse	5	4	-
		£955	11	6

N. B. gave fifty dollars per night for hay and on the 12th parted with 14 hard dollars at the exchange of 90 for one, could have had the like for as many more.

	Balance	752.	2	-
1781, Apr. 7.	Interest on 4600 dolrs.	203	9	6
		£955	11	6

	Loan office certificates and soldiers notes	4428	12	-
1781, May 16.	To a $\frac{1}{4}$ share of a Lts. Masst. ticket	789	14	6
		5218	6	6
		1069	12	6

	Loan office certificates and one soldiers note	4148	14	-
1781 June the 8th.	Paid into the Massachusetts treasury soldiers tickets to the amount of	1069	12	6

for this Mr. P. was to share in a state note to the value of 24. 3.—hard money, N. B. The state did not pay off the soldiers notes at the price they were valued, but gave a new state note for hard money bearing interest which would not sell at market for par.

Mr. P.	Dr.	hard money
1781, June 5	2 dinners the horse and ferrys	14 6
	and 6 horse and chaise two days	15
18-22	A journey to Newport (the ferrys were 9-9)	1 10 -
Sept. 25	Pd. Mr. Phillips the charge of letters	3
May 8	Cash recd. of Mr. F[ield]	25 6 10
		28 9 4
1782, Feby. 14.	Allowed Mr. P. for his share in the state note $\frac{2}{3}$ of the nominal sum which was 24. 3. and which Mr. Phillips declared would be a generous allowance	16 2 -
	Due me in hard money	£12 7 4

Should be glad to sell the whole note for $\frac{2}{3}$ of the nominal value.

Mr. Phillips declines taking your affairs into his hands *wholly* and told me when I borrowed his name wherewith to go into the general court, that I must do *all* the business. Your writing to him about Mr. H[elme] answers no *good* purpose. Nothing can be done with H[elme] in the way of compulsion, till peace, when laws may not screen him. He is now a trader at Hartford in Connecticut, I suppose trading with your money, which he promised to send me. I called upon my return, but he was out of town. At present there is no interest paid on the loan certificates of your date, and no immediate prospect of any. The study is to find money for the expences of the war. The soldiers ticket value 2168 14 — with interest, on the face of it, now to be paid according to a certain estimate, will most probably be changed into a state note for hard money bearing interest, and so changed may come to about £60, but could not be disposed of probably for £40. I shall do the best I can, as if I was doing for myself. Time and trouble, vexation and trifling expences you have gratis and must set down to the score of friendship. No papers have been rec'd from Mrs. Calef. Her husband is a broken reed. I had some expectation of hearing from you by Mr. Jackson, but was disappointed. I write against I have an opportunity of sending.

Apr. 16th. Nothing to add.

[*Addressed:*] Mr. Joseph Parker, Linen Draper, Cheapside, London.

TO HORATIO GATES ⁴⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 5, 1782.

MY DEAR GENERAL — I wrote to you from Philadelphia, and afterwards when I got home, and have been longing and expecting to hear from you, but hitherto in vain. Must request your answering this by the first opportunity, and mentioning whether you have recovered your package from Holland. Have lately been attackt with a violent nervous complaint, which unfits me for study and writing. I have got for Thomas Herrin four soldiers' certificates amounting in the whole to 883. 11. 10. The first for 223. 11. 10 was payable in 1781, the second for 220£ March last. The State cannot and does not pay them, but change them into consolidated notes for hard money bearing interest. These two will produce a consolidated note for about 18£ which if sold at market will fetch about twenty dollars. I propose changing them, and then letting them lie

⁴⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

by till further orders. Mrs. Cook was brought to bed the last friday of a fine girl, after a labour of forty-eight hours, mother and daughter exceeding well.

Did you ever read till lately, that it was said to the Commons, his Majesty's ministry is no more, *etc.*? Or that there was so full a change of men and measures? Or that George the 3d had been *forced* to quit his hobby horse? You will probably hear soon that the Prince of Orange has also been *forced*; for Messrs. De Neufville wrote me March 25, "the Independence of your States is now loudly called for by some of the Provinces and most of the chief cities and towns, and the States General will be compelled to comply from necessity (if not from choice) to grant the request of the people. Our next we doubt not will apprize you of all's being concluded." I expect that Charlestown, Savannah and New York will be evacuated shortly; should Penobscot also be given up I shall infer from thence that the British ministry are determined to be at peace with us. Suppose they mean to recover our affections, and thereby secure our trade and interest; and that they will throw the odium of all past barbarities upon their predecessors in office. I think in their offers, they have for the first step gone further than could have been expected. I suspect that the French have been worsted in the West Indies; but if the Dutch formally acknowledge our Independence and accede to the alliance, it will more than compensate. Should Rodney have done as the N York papers relate, the more cause for thankfulness that the ministry was changed before. I am at a loss to judge where this will find you, but hope it will be in health and good spirits. We wish the same to your Lady. Pray remember us affectionately to her; and my regards to Mr. Nourse and family, Brother McKnight and Do., Major Armstrong, *etc.* Don't fail writing the first opportunity to Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General.

TO JOSEPH PARKER ⁴⁷

June 22, 1782.

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The [loan office] certificates are not all equally valuable being taken out at different times, and were they to be sold at present

⁴⁷ Original in the collection of Harold Murdock.

"Our friend Dr. Gordon, I see, has advertized his library for sale. Is he going to *England* again? — I should have said *GREET Brittain?* — and will

would fetch little. No interest has been paid this year. I have not settled for the calking of the ship, she lies safe as Capt. Farra tells me. Shall see him in the afternoon, but as this will go off before, must mention in the duplicate about expences, *etc.* Should the blessings of peace take place shortly, you will receive something handsome for her, or may employ her to advantage. I have heard nothing from Mrs. Calef, nor rec'd any paper from the Dr. for her direction. Through the goodness of God we are in health, but are burying our friends around us. You have heard I should suppose from Mr. Cox, who sailed for France a few days after I sat off for Virginia, and got safe there.

Have neither heard nor seen any thing more of Helme. We unite in most sincere respects to your whole family, to our severall friends, and remain as

Before.

[No signature.]

NOTE

Hazard sent to Belknap some verses of the "Country Parson's Wife," written, as it turned out, by Mrs. Belknap. "She wonders how you came by them," wrote Belknap on receiving them, "as she did not give the copy to but *one* friend, though I must own it was a female."⁴⁸ Hazard replied that it was "curious enough that they should be sent from hence for her opinion," without telling where he had obtained them. Two weeks later Belknap informed Hazard that he had found out the channel by which the verses had become known, but mentioned no name;⁴⁹ and six months passed before Belknap again returned to the subject. "Ah! sir, I have found out one of your tricks! You was fully acquainted with the writer of the Country Parson's Wife's Poetry before you sent it to me. I know the channel in which it was conveyed to you!"⁵⁰ Hazard replied, good naturedly: "So, my dear sir, you have found out one of my tricks. How fortunate for me that it was an inno-

he carry off all the papers he has collected towards a History of the Revolution?" Belknap to Hazard, September 2, 1782. 5 *Collections*, II. 147.

"The *Plain* gentleman I hear is about writing in the controversy," Belknap wrote to Hazard, February 19, 1783. The controversy concerned universal salvation, on which Belknap and Hazard had exchanged letters and a number of pamphlets had been issued. Gordon's contribution was: *The Doctrine of final universal Salvation examined and shewn to be unscriptural: in Answer to a Pamphlet entitled Salvation for all Men illustrated and vindicated as a Scripture Doctrine* [by Charles Chauncy]. Boston, 1783. Chauncy's tract had been published anonymously in 1782. Gordon's appeared in March or April, 1783, for by April 9 Hazard had received a copy, but he had not yet read it. 5 *Collections*, II. 190, 203.

⁴⁸ Belknap to Hazard, May 10, 1782. 5 *Collections*, II. 128.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 131, 132.

⁵⁰ Belknap to Hazard, Nov. 10, 1782. *Ibid.*, 161.

cent one! Tell the Freemason, when you see him, that revealing secrets is contrary to the rules of the craft."¹ The Freemason was a term applied to John Eliot by the two correspondents, and Belknap hastened to exonerate him from any blame. "The Freemason is not to be blamed for revealing secrets," he wrote. "Your friend, the *plain* Doctor [Gordon], was the person from whom I had the information; and by his own confession, he was the *primum mobile* of the whole *trick*, which, as you say, happily for you, was an innocent one."² A month later Belknap remarks in a letter to Hazard: "The *Plain* gentleman thought the *trick* a very clever one, I dare say. Did he not laugh heartily when he told you the story?"³

TO JOHN ADAMS⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, Sept. 7, 1782.

Last evening I heard that a vessel was arrived from Amsterdam. Was up early and went to Boston in the morning after letters, could meet with none, and returned home to dinner. Between four and five Deacon Mason called and brought me one from

MY GOOD OLD FRIEND, who I began to fear from his long silence had nearly forgotten me, through the multitude of more capital European figures occasioning a diversion. I was in a tolerable flow of spirits, being mercifully favored by Heaven with a comfortable share of health, but the receipt of it made a considerable addition, and being informed that Jerry Allen⁵ was going to France and so to Holland, as soon as the wind admitted, I concluded upon seizing the opportunity for making a quick return, and upon being as communicative to you as you have been to me.

I was rejoiced to have it confirmed that you was recovered; but after hearing how ill you was and wanting that confirmation for a long time, I quieted my own misgivings and endeavoured doing the like as to others by arguing from the silence of the New York papers that you was not dead, and that it would have been known and published had it been so.

I can easily conceive that you was loaded as an Atlas with a mountain of cares, and I am glad they have not reduced you to atoms.

"Don't you think that the Dutchmen have behaved bravely at

¹ Hazard to Belknap, Nov. 27, 1782. *Ibid.*, 163.

² Belknap to Hazard, Dec. 19, 1782. *Ibid.*, 170.

³ Same to same, Jan. 18, 1783. *Ibid.*, 182.

⁴ From the Adams MSS.

⁵ Jeremiah Allen, sheriff of Suffolk County.

last? " Yes, I do, and it was what I foretold to Genl. Gates, when he asked me in a letter for an opinion concerning the future conduct of them after the taking of Statia. In a letter from him of the 13 ulto. he credits me for it in the following words: " You are a true prophet in regard to our friends the Dutch, it is their weight in the scale has brought G. Britain to reason." The General adds: " Pray do you think Old England in this period of luxury, corruption, and extravagance, capable of the reformation the new ministers dream of establishing, for my part I think it is as vain as any battered Rake's endeavouring to renew his constitution by marrying a blooming young Virgin of half his age! " It is not far from seven, the sun has been below the horizon a good while, I must get a candle, therefore, and then proceed to relate what he saith further.

Writing by candle light does not suit me. However, I will do my best. To go on.

" This is the moment for France to treat, if she delays until this ministry have fixed their interest in England, and gained Ireland to their support, all may be lost. It is our revolt that Ireland is indebted to for her emancipation, but there is no gratitude in nations, and you and I well know, how little there is ever between man and man." The General was at Philadelphia and had addressed their High Mightinesses upon his situation, who appointed a committee consisting of A. Lee, Govr. Rutledge and Genl. Cornell to examine and report. Genl. Lincoln by the last post informed me that Congress had recalled their resolve for a court of enquiry, *etc.*, and that he expected Genl. Gates would be soon in command again. We'll leave Gates and return.⁶

The naval battle might well raise the courage of the Dutch, for it was fought as in days of yore. I waited with eager expectation for their acknowledgment, as I concluded that they would not make it till they knew they should not offend by it either Austria, Prussia or Russia. No wonder it was with the utmost good will, as it served both to gratify, revenge and promote their interest. They will now recover the trade, amazingly improved, from which they were cut off by the navigation act.

I know neither the writer nor the character of the History,⁷ not

⁶ The report of the Committee, written by Arthur Lee, is in *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Hunt), xxiii. 465. It was considered by Congress, Aug. 14, and Gates was directed to " take command in the main army, as the Commander in Chief shall direct."

⁷ *Impartial History of the War in America*, by James Murray, the first volume of which was published in Boston in 1781, and the second volume in 1782. " The Doctor has no hand, directly or indirectly, in the History you have seen advertised. He was applied to by the printer, but refused his aid.

having read a single number, but happening to look into one, it appeared to me to be a lame alias a defective performance. Take it to be intended mainly for the good of the bookseller.

Sharpers and dupes we have had more than a *quantum sufficit*. That physical phrase reminds me that I had the pleasure of Dr. Waterhouse's⁸ company a few weeks back, when your Excellency was in part the subject of conversation. The Dr. is at Newport. Believes he designs to get a birth [*sic*] in Boston: Was to see your Lady, who was so enamoured with him, I suppose because he could tell a great deal about you which was pleasing, that he could not get away so soon as he intended.

I have always thought and said, that you knew the cast of the British better than almost any American besides, and when I have read extracts concerning them, I have pronounced them to be out of your letters, before the opportunity offered for having it ascertained. It was ever a great relief to my mind that you was in Holland and with powers; but could not have conceived without the hints, that such folly, weakness, or wickedness, had existed as to think of anything short of an explicit treaty with us as sovereign States. I congratulate my country, America is meant, upon a person's being employed who would not be trammelled, but was determined to follow his own judgment in the most independent manner. I abhor the idea of being in leading strings or pinning our faith upon others' sleeves. I have long suspected that the French wished to exclude us from the fishery. I mentioned my suspicion to Mr. Dana before he left America. I was confirmed in it upon observing in their Memorial the mention of an *equal* division of the fishery between G. B. and France, without a tittle in behalf of poor America. I have repeatedly observed to friends in G. B., that it would be the interest of Britain to let the Americans have as much of the fishery as they can grasp, for without it the New Englanders will not have wherewith to purchase from them, and that twenty thousand American sailors will not endanger them, but twenty thousand added to the French will be a formidable force. Our common friend who has been in England and at Paris, and is now at Philadelphia,⁹ has thought with me that it was meant to exclude us from the fishery, and then adds, without it Independence will be only a name.

I apprehend that bloody scenes in America are at an end; and

I think it will be a catch-penny performance." Hazard to Belknap, September 5, 1781. 5 *Collections*, II. 108.

⁸ Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846).

⁹ Arthur Lee.

can't but promise myself that we shall have a good and honorable peace by spring. But take care of the fishery, that the limits of Canada are reduced to what they were by the claims of G. B. before it was conquered, and that Nova Scotia reaches no further than the river St. Croix. Can't France be brought to insist upon the last, that they may have an opportunity of getting masts the same as the British; and can't the British be easily persuaded by having it made plain to them that they will buy the masts cheaper than if they had to pay surveyors, *etc.*, and that the masts, being private property, would not be destroyed as under former *ir*-regulation.

I would have America enter into no particular distinguishing monopolizing treaties, but be an open market for all the powers of the world, that so she may have the best of every thing upon the easiest terms.

I would have her remain a collection of Republics, and not become an Empire, for then freedom will languish and die. When an individual or a Congress can command at pleasure her whole force, and make her an *offensive* power, she may be more formidable but she will be less free. When necessity prescribes, a union will take place between the distinct republics in order to security, and she will be sufficiently defensive. Peace being once settled upon equitable principles, America has nothing to do with wars. Let Europeans who have not an extensive country fight and destroy. America should be separated from their quarrels; and by multiplying people fill the back country for ages to come.

If America becomes an Empire, the seat of government will be to the southward, and the Northern States be insignificant provinces. Empire will suit the southern gentry; they are habituated to despotism by being the sovereigns of slaves: and it is only accident and interest that has made the body of them the temporary sons of liberty.

The New Englanders should be resolute in retaining the Sovereignty of the several States, and should look out in time against all distant encroachments.

The Bank is at Philadelphia, the Congress is at Philadelphia, the latter may be removed after a while to New York as more healthy and convenient, in the summer season especially. Dock Yards, Arsenals, *etc.*, should be at Boston. I design to hint it to our leading men; and wish you to mention it. Instead of spending money in building a fleet with green timber to perish in a few years, after having been a burdensome charge to the Continent, let wet and dry docks be made, timber be cut down, hewed to proper sizes, but not finished, be laid in wet docks of salt water to be qualified

for long service, masts and every other material be provided. Boston and its neighbouring islands will furnish proper situations. It would, I apprehend, be wisdom in the State to procure docks of their own accord and without applying to Congress. When the docks are got, there will be a powerful plea for using them instead of providing others.

Now for home affairs. This part of the country is greatly afflicted with a drought. At Providence the appearance like January, not a spire of *green* grass to be seen. The drought is not universal. The western parts have fine crops. The like in Connecticut. The people healthy, but growing older every day.

Monday, Sept. 9. I am suspicious that Mr. Allen sailed yesterday, the wind being at northwest: if not, he can't be gone today as it hath been east. I have a chance of being in time.

Silver-tongue Sam¹⁰ is the pink of complaisance to the French Admirals, Generals and Officers. You would never have believed him to have been the author of a Sermon upon the Conquest of Canada, and the preacher of such contents: but *tempora mutantur*. The French are the most disinterested people in the world. They are everything, but Protestants; and their being otherwise is a matter of no great importance.

The Governor has purchased upon the Plain two doors beyond me. For my life I can't help recollecting frequently, High life below stairs — and Low life above stairs. Do make haste and procure us a good peace. Return with the olive branch and take the chair, that we may appear to some advantage in the eyes of men of sense and of sensible foreigners.

Judge Sullivan has quitted the bench and is one of the Governor's supporters: but some believe that he means when he can to be himself at the head of the executive. He is baiting poor Temple,¹¹ as tho' he was a British Spy. Congress began the cry in a letter to the Governor which does them no credit. If you believe Temple to be no enemy but the friend of America, I wish you would by a line or two upon the subject to some trusty friend, who would not be afraid to shew it, put an end to this un-civil persecution. The people of this country who have not travelled, and are unacquainted with European characters and manners, think that they can carry any points there the same as here, and

¹⁰ Samuel Cooper. The sermon on the reduction of Quebec was preached October 16, 1759.

¹¹ On Temple, see *Broadsides, Collections*, LXXV. 323, 324. A letter from Gordon to Arthur Lee, Oct. 2, 1782, on Temple's case is in Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II. 288.

therefore censure their Agents unless all is obtained that they want. Upon this principle you must look well to your doings, or you will come in for a share of abuse.

Your namesake ¹² and his Excellency speak oftener to one another than formerly, and are *outwardly* more friendly, but —

I have not seen Braintree a long while; but went the last October across the country to Traveller's rest in Virginia, the seat of our common friend Genl. Gates, with whom I spent a fortnight in searching after historical knowledge and truth. Returned by the way of Philadelphia: was a few days at Col. Bayard's: saw Rush, Mifflin, and others, and got home on the second of January.

May a speedy peace give me the opportunity of searching into more originals! You may compliment and say, but I must sincerely declare I have the honour to be

Yours [*Unsigned*]

Sept. 19.

Guard what you write to Dr. [Cooper,] for he is Franklified and Frenchified — too many in the Congress are the latter, and if my information is true, the French Chevalier ¹³ has more of a *casting* vote in the determination of affairs than the representatives of a sovereign, independent State should compliment a king with.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, October 2, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR, — I was in hopes, after reading Gen'l Carleton's letter and other publications, that I should have had the opportunity of congratulating you, upon the certain prospects of a speedy and honorable peace; but at present they are uncertain. However I cannot but think, that if G. Britain gets no considerable naval advantage over our friends and allies, before winter sets in, they will seriously apply themselves to the business of peace-making, not choosing to venture upon another campaign, with the French, Spanish and Dutch in full force. I am the more confirmed in this sentiment from what Mr. Adams writes me from the Hague, July 2d, viz.: "If any thing drives the English to a speedy peace, it will be the dread of the increasing and strengthening connections between America and Holland. They know the commercial talents

¹² Samuel Adams.

¹³ Anna César de la Luzerne (1741-1791). His influence on Congress is related in Doniol.

of this people, and dread them like death, they also dread their marine, which is at present respectable, but next year will be formidable." He goes on, "I hope you will have no more bloody scenes in America. The new Ministry, and indeed the nation seem determined, to endeavour to put on the appearance at least of humanity and civility, or at least decency towards us. I wish they would make a peace in earnest."

Your Excellency has had a long trying and dangerous task of it; but I trust will live to enjoy for many many years with comfort, that liberty for which you have exposed your property, your health, your life and your *character*: for this would have been tortured and crucified in the eyes of mankind, notwithstanding the excellency of the principles upon which you acted, had not the cause succeeded, and had not you also succeeded in supporting the cause. Heavens be praised! as your Excellency has deserved, so you will meet with the love and admiration of the present and future generations: [All our] wishes concerning you are not gratified, till they place you in the secure enjoyment of an infinitely better salvation, than you have been instrumental in procuring for the United States.

It was with pleasure I heard from Mr. John Trumbull, that when he was with you a few weeks back, you was perfectly well and in good spirits, and lookt as well as ever. I rejoiced also to find that Gen'l Gates was expected again in camp shortly. I have long wished that all coolness might subside; and that the same cordiality might subsist afresh that prevailed when you were together at Cambridge. It is a maxim with me *Blessed are the peace-makers*. I know it was talked, that He meant to supplant you, *etc*: whether your Excellency had ever any actual suspicion of it, is to me unknown. But let me inform you of an anecdote which I doubt not will be pleasing; when I had gone through the General's papers the last winter, and had examined them carefully to obtain historical intelligence I minuted down the following N. B. Did not meet in G. Gates's papers with any one letter to or from him that contained the most distant hint of any design to remove G. W—n, and to put either him or M[iffin] at the head of the army, nor any thing of the kind in any other of his papers; tho' there were some very free and confidential letters from certain gentlemen. I wait with earnestness for the period when I may be admitted with propriety to peruse your Excellency's papers, in order to perfect my historical collections; and I flatter myself that honor and conscience, benevolence and prudence, will effectually prevent every abuse of the confidence you may place in me; and will put me upon using the information obtained from them to laudable purposes.

When the current of history does not require it, and is no ways affected by the suppression of some truths when the publishing of them can do no good, can prevent no evil, but may occasion mischief, and is of no consequence to this or future ages, the making of them known is little other than folly, and may be wickedness.

Mrs. Gordon joins in most cordial regards to you and your Lady. There are some few I believe in your Excellency's family with whom I am acquainted, Colonel Tilghman,¹⁴ Mr. Trumbull (I do not recollect any other) pray my respects to them. Should the inactivity of the campaign, and other circumstances afford you leisure, Your Excellency would confer an obligation upon, by writing to, your sincere and affectionate friend and very humble servant,¹⁵

TO HORATIO GATES ¹⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 16, 1782.

DEAR GENERAL, — I was most heartily glad to find by yours of Au't 13, that you still retained the use of your fingers — had not forgot the art of writing, nor how to direct to me, and that there were the evident traces of the whole friendship remaining. But are you not a strange mortal, never once to mention, whether your Lady was sick or well, dead or alive — nor whether you had received the goods from Holland without diminution or damage. I have been waiting for the report of the Committee. The repeal of the hasty, perhaps intrigued, resolution, I have heard of; but I want the report on which it is grounded, and pray you without fail to send it the next time of writing.

I wish I may conjecture equally right, in supposing that should not Great Britain strike some capital blow before winter, we shall have peace by spring; for that they will not dare to face French, Dutch and Spaniards in full force the next year. They may build ships faster than they can breed or make sailors. The Dutch are naturally amphibious, owing to the number of canals. Mr. John Adams writes me, the next year they will be formidable.

Some persons have been amused with the notion, that the British fleet, *etc.*, had a view to Boston and the French fleet. I have no panick upon that head. The admiral and Carleton must act by

¹⁴ Tench Tilghman (1744-1786).

¹⁵ Washington's reply, October 23, 1782, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), x. 103.

¹⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

orders from their masters, and not by their own pleasure, even tho' a fair prospect was to open: besides we are getting too near November, when my Lord Boreas begins to bluster. I wish my native country was so subtle as to make peace. Twould be the best manœuvre they could make. The longer they continue the war the fewer friends they will have upon the continent; and the less able and willing the Americans will be to purchase. Malagrida ¹⁷ I take it is a man of duplicity. Suppose all sides are waiting the fate of Gibraltar. I begin to wish that the Spaniards may take it, 'fore Lord Howe can be up to relieve it: for should they take it, the loss will occasion such an uproar, and leave the Spaniards so at liberty to co-operate heartily with the French, that the ministry will scarce dare to prosecute the war. If the accounts are true of Fox's being joined by the Bedford party, *etc.*, I see not how Shelburne will keep in the saddle.

Your remarks upon the aids that the Irish have derived from the present contest, upon national and personal gratitude I subscribe to. Honest Tom [Herring] is welcome to all the assistance I can afford him; but if I go to dispose of his tickets he will get very little from them. They had better lie by, he can't lose much by that, and he may be bettered considerably should there be a peace shortly. He is entitled to twenty dollars upon its being attested properly that he was in actual service in the close of 1780. Send me a written attestation signed by yourself or Col, I believe it is now Gen'l, Grayton ¹⁸ of the time he has been in actual service, specifying the par[ticu]lar years and then I will get an order for the twenty hard dollars, do my utmost to have the order complied wit[h u]pon the receipt of them devise some method for Tom's possessing them. In the mean while he must take up with my good wishes for his health and happiness.

As I know not where this is likely to find you, shall enclose it in one to Hazard, with request that if you are in Virginia he would give it Mr. Nourse — if in Phil'a deliver it — and if gone to camp send it *cum multis aliis* going the same rout.

Oct. 17. Could not finish last night; must do it this morning, and then for Boston to catch the post.

I was at Gen'l Mifflin's chateau the night before I left Pennsylvania when on my return from the visit I was journeying to make this time twelve month. It is a pritty pleasant snug box. As with us so I perceive it is with you — little money and long credit —

¹⁷ William Petty, Earl of Shelburne.

¹⁸ John Greaton (1741-1783). Herring's service is in *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution*, VII. 773.

and apprehend it will be safest and best for you to hold the farm in your own possession till peace. Your views respecting Norfolk are good, and your conjecture concerning its proving hereafter the Phila'a of the south tallied exactly with the thoughts of a British merchant of my acquaintance in this state who knows the place and its advantages for trade. Besides Virginia have behaved respectfully; so that I do not wonder at your choice. The eastern country is so altered in its manners, and thro' the contagions of the times the face of affairs is so changed, that I mean after the war is closed to return to London where my nearest and dearest friends reside. Congress is not as once it was, nor can I respect it equally to what I once did. Should G Britain mend its constitution by the shock it has rec'd; and the dangerous fever in which it has been, prove the occasion of its working off its bad humors, life liberty property and character will be safer there than on this side the Atlantic; and an Historian may use the impartial pen there with less danger than here. The credit of the country and of individuals who now occupy eminencies will be most horribly affected by an *impartial* history — but I shall endeavour that what I write shall be not only the *truth* but the truth *truly* represented, for you may tell the truth so as to make a lie of it in the apprehensions of him who reads or hears the tale. It was happy for America, that Carleton was not trusted with playing the game, it is now lost I judge beyond recovery, and it will be as much as he can do to hold what he has.¹⁹ Madam Jane and her little daughter are well, would request to be remembered did they know of my writing. Pray give my best respects to Mr. Nourse and family, my brother minister and his. Mrs. Gordon joins in most affectionate regards to Self and Lady, with your sincere friend and very humble servant.

N. B. Col. Sears and other friends well.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Horatio Gates Esq'r, Major General.

TO JOHN ADAMS²⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, NOV. 30, 1782.

MY DEAR SIR, — In answer to yours of July 2d, sent you, Sept. 19, under cover to Messrs. De Neufville's by a vessel — Buffing-

¹⁹ Carleton and Germain were not on good terms, and Gordon is not alone in suggesting that, but for the difference, the British would have fared better under Carleton than under Howe and Cornwallis.

²⁰ From the Adams MSS.

ton ²¹ Master — bound from Salem to France, a very long letter, in which I wrote freely: afterwards I thought, that should French curiosity peep into it, you might possibly fail of receiving it. I keep no copies, and therefore cannot transmit a duplicate. But I told you that I neither knew the writer nor the character of the Boston history of the war, and imagined it to be a piece of book-seller's business. Item, that Silver tongue Sam was excessively fond of the French, and therefore caution was to be used in communications to him. Item, that I approved highly of your Independent Spirit. Hope it will not fail you, and that if C[ongress] in their instructions betray their constituents, you will prove instrumental in saving the liberties of your Country. You will be safe, though you break orders that would break your owners. I am a Protestant in politics as well as in Divinity and hate the doctrine of pinning our Faith on other sleeves. I doubt that implicit faith and foolish complaisance of which I have heard much of late will backen our affairs and encourage the prolongation of the war. Consistent Independents from late leakages (writers will now and then affix new ideas to old words) begin to fear that the united Deputies do not preserve their own Independency. My sentiments are, and which I am circulating, that our Negotiators are not to be cyphers, that they should sit at the round table and talk as the agents of sovereign Powers, the same as a British, French, Spanish, or Dutch ambassadour. I might carry my jealousy too far was I to suspect that France has a separate game to play, and that therefore the full acknowledgment of our Independency will not, with all the appendages belonging to it, induce them to close the war. What I have heard of their being very high in their terms with Sr. Joseph ²² looks that way; and I wish that instead of a solid and lasting peace, we have not the next year a *general* war, and then we must allow two or three years at least for the new racers to run themselves out of breath. By what I have learnt I have imagined, that France meant that we should receive no favour or public honour from any other power but through their interference, that so we might be the more dependent upon themselves. Your New England pol[icy has br]oken the spell; I wish Dana may do *likewise* and prove equally successful. O that I had but [*torn*] the British ministry, and they would hearken to me as an Oracle! I would tell them, withdraw your troops and oblige the United States by acknowledging in a parliamentary way the full and absolute Independency thereof, don't suffer France to possess the

²¹ John or Nehemiah Buffington.

²² Sir Joseph Yorke (1724-1792), British minister at The Hague.

appearance of wrenching it from you, but so far as it can be under present circumstances let it look like a boon freely granted, and fight them no longer. The Atlantic will keep them from fighting you. These may be pronounced the arts of a Fox, but if they are accompanied with no treachery, are honestly adopted and acted upon, Britain may recover the trade of America, renew her strength, and find that friendship after a while from Independent States, which can never be gained by the point of the sword, should it conquer ever so.

I have been to Boston, there heard of the present conveyance from Nantucket, write by candle light without spectacles, and must correspond with some others before the morrow, proposing to take the letters to town with me where I shall go to hold forth at the *king's* chapel upon an exchange. Question whether your family knows of the opportunity, but believe they are all well or should probably have heard, for I saw Genl. Warren in town. He is chosen one of our delegates to Congress. I urge him to go, he means it, can he get his affairs so arranged, as that he can comply with the choice without ruining his family. It is said a *governmental* party in this State are hunting poor Temple under the pretext of his being a British emissary. I think he is cruelly used, and wish, if innocent, his innocence could be attested to by your Excellency. I have heard that the same inclination wrought in you and your Lady at the same time, that while you was hurrying on dispatches for her to remove to Holland with her family, she was assuring you in black and white that she could live no longer in that manner without you and meant to come over; but as there was a condition on your part, I wish it may take place and that peace may give you a pleasing opportunity of returning next summer to Braintree. May you come and possess the chair, for the present occupier is rather too small for it. The gentleman who told me that Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay met with Sr. Joseph *etc.* and spoke contemptably of them and as unfit for the business; I apprehend he went upon information he received from France. I was pleased to hear him utter himself the reverse of you. He is not personally acquainted with either of you, but has pritty good correspondents abroad, and has been a great traveller, and is my own dear countryman. Dr. Waterhouse came to Boston to settle. The College mean to choose a Professor of Physic to read lectures and be paid by the students under him.²³ I judge it probable he will be chosen. If by my long letters I give you too much interruption, you know how to lessen

²³ Waterhouse was appointed Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic in Harvard College in 1783 and held the appointment until 1812.

them for the future. I remain with great esteem and have the honour to be, *etc.*

[Signed:] BLANK.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, Dec'r 5, 1782.

FRIEND GATES, — What mean you by not having let me hear from you since you joined the army? Has the multitude or magnitude of your business prevented? Or has it been owing to forgetfulness? If the last, this may remind you that you are indebted to me an answer. I requested a certificate of Tom's being in the service at the end of 1780, *etc.*, in order to my obtaining twenty hard dollars for him, should the *money* be to be got. There may be a letter for me to day, I am going to town and shall see. Should you not have written before this comes to hand, let the post immediately following bring an epistle of double length as answering to the present and preceding. Forget not to mention where and how your Lady is, to whom we desire most cordial respects. This time twelve month I was upon my return from Philadelphia. The information I have obtained about foreign affairs is in short, thus, Fitzherbert preceded to prepare the way, S'r Joseph York followed to do business; a conference was appointed; Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jay were present. France would hear the British terms. S'r Joseph York said, he would be explicit and come to the point at once. G B would hold Canada, Nova Scotia and Florida, and would relinquish New York; Expected that all the islands which had been taken should be restored. The French possessions in the East Indies to be restored; and to G B the Phillipine Islands in lieu of something to be granted to the Spaniards, I apprehend West Florida and perhaps the Bahamas. On the other hand France demanded Canada, insisted upon the islands that had been taken, and made other proposals; all which taken together were deemed too high. The matter ended. Couriers dispatht to Russia, *etc.* The Russians have agreed to join G B unless France will be reasonable as they shall think. The Conquest of Minorca to be undertaken, and when finished to be given to the Russians, that they may have a Port in the Mediterranean, a dangerous inlet should it take place for France and Spain. The king of Prussia and three other German Princes upon the look out to break the measures of the emperor of [Germany] France stirring up the Porte and [torn] in motion. A general war [*rest of sheet wanting.*]

²⁴ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

TO HORATIO GATES ²⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, Jan'y 24, 1783.

MY DEAR GENERAL, — To be in readiness against faithful Tom calls the next week, I now set pen to paper. You have had my last, as I have gathered from hearing it told in Boston that I had wrote you word that Russia had agreed to join G B, *etc*; but you have forgot that the Post comes to Boston every week, and brings a single letter to me from you, if not Free, yet for much less than it is worth. I hope by this time, the wheels have brought Mrs. Gates safe into your company or it is hard indeed. I wished for a copy of the report made by the Committee, that I might from thence see the ground on which Congress went in passing the repeal of the ungrateful resolution. The perilous state of the British affairs at home has operated, I apprehend, much in favour of peace; far more perhaps than is at present thought of. I have been informed of a deep scheme on the part of Scotland, nothing short of a separation from England, and the election of a new sovereign; and which would be effected, was the war to continue twelve or eighteen months longer. The information alarmed me greatly. I did not wish the ruin of Britain, though I desired the absolute Independence of America — I even dreaded it, for I considered, that was G B ruined, we should be at the mercy of some other power. I am morally certain that this Information was sent to Dr. Price, and might be received by him the latter end of November. When it comes to be compared with Ld. George Gordon's ²⁶ note of Oct. 15, to Earl Shelburne, it may operate kindly in our behalf. Britain is in a most precarious situation, and needs a good pilot with able and honest assistants. Ignorant partizans may imprecate her destruction in their rage; but the wiser politician will say, "not so, let her live and preserve a balance, that America may enjoy a long peace and a flourishing trade with the whole world." I hope and pray, that within two months more we may hear that wars are to cease unto the ends of the earth. Peace will give us the opportunity of regulating many of our internal affairs, which cannot be now done. That only will be the proper time for regulating and strengthening our several governments.

I rejoice at Mifflins being recovered. He was to have been this way, as one of a committee from Congress. I should have been glad to have seen him, though not upon that business for which he

²⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

²⁶ Lord George Gordon (1751-1793).

was appointed. Your State however has in my poor judgment wisely put a stop to his progress.

Should the timely arrival of the olive-branch allow of my repairing to Philadelphia, in order to present a petition to Congress for liberty of inspecting their papers with a view to my history, shall apply for your interest with Peters and others in my behalf. Dickinson I should think will be a blessing to Pennsylvania. Have had the beginning of his defence; from which one may augur that he will come off with tolerably good, if not flying colours. Generally speaking, both in peace and war the Post of Honour is a private Station. The dirty ways by which men ascend to power and preserve themselves in it, in common, may justly alienate the mind of an honest Republican from all thoughts of it.

I have acquainted Adams and Warren with what you wrote about the Military Committee, and when Gen'l Ward comes down shall fulfil your request. But I doubt contracted minds and narrow souls will set aside in a great measure the dictates of wisdom. The chancellorship is more profitable than the secretary's place, and gives a better chance for getting to the summit: besides the secretary by retiring may dream of escaping being called upon to answer for the rude style in which he has addressed some New England men on the other side of the Atlantic. The Rhode Islanders have so resented the short cut that Gen'l C[ornell?] has taken to get money, that he has not a very comfortable birth of it. Were we alone I would talk secrets, but *litera scripta manet*. So much for the present. Adjourned.

Jan'y 22. When I got to Philadelphia upon my return, I was in company with Lovell, mentioned where I had been, and was upon my watch to observe whether he would enquire after a letter. He said scarce any thing about you, and gave me no opportunity of acquainting him with what I had in my budget. Since he returned from Congress, having rec[eive]d a place from the Financier,²⁷ without ever consulting his constituents, I have viewed him as a Deserter from the cause of liberty, as a place man, and have treated him with perfect neglect, having refused him my hand and an intercourse of speech. He talks for Congress as the Tories of old did for British government. It is too true, that like the Carthaginians of old we are ready to do anything for money. The scramble will be violent. I hope it will take place soon. I despise the Makers of Gods. And see so much narrowness of soul — want of integrity — and inconsistency of conduct, that I begin to be troubled with the *Maladie de Pais*. We have several *little* men at the head of our affairs in this State.

²⁷ He was receiver of taxes at Boston, 1784-1788.

Mett Col. Sears the other day and delivered your message: he desired to be remembered, and very graciously added that they did not design taking any freight — which deserves a letter at least. Mr. T. Russel²⁸ begged I would return his respects. He has buried Mrs. Russel, and the other day her sister who lived with them. Gen'l Warren sends dues also, as does Parson Parker,²⁹ with whom I shook hands and then related your paragraph. Messrs. Broome³⁰ and Tudor³¹ I have not seen since the receipt of yours, nor yet Mrs. Jane Cook, but when opportunity offers will do your messages. I have been studying the subject of Dr. Chauncy's preaching, and mean soon to publish upon it. Friendship will induce me to send you the labours of my brain, without imposing upon you the task of reading it.

Jan'y 28. Upon seeing Col. Sears again and telling him what I had wrote, he smiled and informed me that the freight was due to a person at Philadelphia, so I suppose it did not come in their ship.

Designing this by Tom, who I consider as a safe conveyance, shall put in some articles I would not send by the post. Hopes of separate peace, of truce, of every thing short of an explicit treaty with us as sovereign states, would have been long since cut off from the British administration, could our friend John Adams have executed his own idea, but it was ordained that he should be trammelled. It has been attempted to trammel him in Holland. There he would not be trammelled, he was at all hazards determined to follow his own judgment, which he did in the most independent manner, in opposition to resistance, remonstrance, *etc., etc., etc.*, and succeeded. "While we suffer ourselves to be in leading strings in *Europe* we shall be led astray. We never shall do any thing well, while we pin our faith upon other sleeves. Implicit faith and foolish complaisance have put our affairs in Europe back or rather retarded them for years, and no man knows, where it will end, or what will be the consequence." I account it a great blessing to the Continent that Mr. Adams is one of our Negotiators.

You remember what I said about the Stadtholder, should he attempt to prevent the execution of Dutch revenge. A letter from a friend at Amsterdam of Oct. 14, after mentioning the Dutch fleets lying inactive in the Texel, when there was not a British ship of the line in the North seas, and leaving the Baltic fleet of 300 sail

²⁸ Thomas Russell (—1796).

²⁹ Samuel Parker (1744–1804) of Trinity Church, Boston.

³⁰ Samuel Broome, who purchased in 1780 the Brookline estate of Governor Thomas Hutchinson.

³¹ William Tudor (1750–1819).

worth three millions sterl'g to go home unmolested under the convoy of two paltry frigates, adds, "unless a peace should intervene the events of this Campaign will only inflame the factions in the winter — should any misfortune follow this unpardonable neglect I would not stand in the P[rince] of O[range]'s shoes for all his worth — nothing but peace will stop the flames from breaking out, you would be thunderstruck were you to see the bold audacious things that are daily published here, we had an inflammatory publication this year with an *Orange tree* in the title page with this inscription underneath it — 'in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die' — and even ten times worse than this — in short we are upon the eve of some revolution and every thing is ripe for it." I reason upon this intelligence as follows — the Prince of Orange perceiving his dangerous situation will exert his influence to bring on peace, lest he should fall a sacrifice for having played into the hands of Britain. Mr. De Neufville writes me, "the worthy Baron Van De Capell is likely to be restored by a similar motion of the people of his province as at last caused the acknowledgment of the American Independence. The deficiency of money in England is the greatest prospect we have yet of a peace for the means proposed by Lord Shelburne to raise 12½ per cent. on the clear revenue of the people appears scarcely practicable.

I do not fault your State, Virginia, for having repealed their impost Act, as I have from the first been opposed to an Impost in the mode recommended by Congress, as dangerous to and eventually subversive of the sovereignty and liberties of every individual State; but I think the house of delegates wrong in their unanimous resolves about the property that has been confiscated. The Congress certainly have the right of making peace according to the confederation: and if they can not make it without some concessions of that kind, it is certainly wiser to concede than to continue the war, which setting aside hazards, will necessarily occasion vastly more expence than the value of all the confiscated Property which may be pleaded for will amount to. Too many individuals have gained by confiscations, and rather than part with their profits they care not what the Continent *hazards*, or *suffers*.

Feb'y 3. Yesterday some person passing along in a sly threw into one of my people's slays as the family was coming to meeting, yours of Jan'y 13, 1782. Tom is now with us in his way back. The weather for some days has been extremely cold, and it is well that he and his comrade were not frozen. Have given them a supper and sent them to bed: They must go to Boston in the morning to draw rations to carry them to Springfield. Should they exceed the time allowed them, all things considered, believe they are en-

titled to compassion and forgiveness. Now for the contents of the last.

Should you have the English news as we have in our papers, you will be inclined to think my intelligence not altogether groundless. The French were too high in their first interview, since they have lowered their tone, as says a letter from New York, which however intimates that they want Canada for *themselves*. If so The U S must be jealous, and France may rue the consequence. Bob Morris it is thought by many has been entrusted by Congress with greater powers than Ld. North possessed, which is not pleasing to many of the Patriots. The Scheme of an Impost as proposed had it been carried, would after a while have broke the Union, as your friend Gen'l Warren apprehends. The States should they be *drawn in* to part with their sovereignty, will when a peace takes place resume that sovereignty, which might bring on a civil war. Finances must be raised not as a Financier may in *theory* think *right*, but as the people concerned in the payment of them may be *readily induced to contribute*. Where Tyranny is established individuals may be forced; but where there is such a spirit of freedom as in this country, they must be *drawn* — not draw in and taken by art — which they will soon resent. Disturbances in Ireland, and apprehended ones in G B will I hope produce us a fine piece, a safe piece and an honourable peace. You should have related what repartee Lady Pembroke *should* have made, that if the national good required it, she was at the service of the ministry so far as it was safe and honourable. The loss of public spirit, virtue and common honesty is to be regretted, but it shews what mankind is, and how little dependance is to be had upon human nature. I have heard that character of Gov'r Jefferson that I esteem him highly; but I think we are not sufficiently oeconomical; one might answer if a good and able hand instead of three — if three must reside at Paris, then three at Britain when peace is concluded and so on. It is not for a young country to shew away at that rate, neither will these northern states submit to it. Their inhabitan[ts] in general are obliged to labour hard for their support, and they will think that a little money ought to go a great way. More in my next, when you have answered to this — by the post, as the safest conveyance. I write by candle light. You have made me uneasy by saying *only less miserable* — vent yourself to a friend it may give relief — most sincerely yours with affectionate respects from whole self to whole self.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 26, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of October the 23d I was honored with in due season: but having nothing special about which to write, and being sensible how many and great your engagements were, I delayed till somewhat of importance might offer. Now is the happy moment: for though we have received no official accounts announcing the Peace,³² yet the information is so particular and hath the appearance of such authenticity, that I cannot but embrace the first opportunity of congratulating your Excellency upon the glorious event; and of making my renewed and hearty acknowledgments to you for the self-denials, difficulties and dangers you have readily submitted to, that so you might bring it about. As I have not doubted your fervent wish for it, and a return to private life; so I most sincerely wish, that you may long enjoy all the comforts of it; with the additional happiness of observing that our political systems and forms of government both general and particular are better established. It hath been my thought, that the kind interposition of Heaven in granting us Peace in this crisis of our affairs, is as eminent as in any period of our past successes: for without money, without credit, and an evident tendency among the people to disorder, what could we have done? What an amazing contrast between the last speech and all the preceding ones, for ten years back! The temper of the king must have been mortified beyond expression. Nothing but apprehensions of fatal consequences resulting from perseverance have, I apprehend, produced this change. The Scotch were preparing to give him trouble; and designed had the war continued to have shaken him off, and to have separated from England.

I wait for the confirmation of Peace from Congress, and then propose presenting a memorial praying access to their archives: should account myself highly obliged to you would you support it by your recommendation, provided your Excellency perceives no impropriety in your doing it. Should my memorial be complied with, shall repair to Philadelphia with all possible expedition, and shall hope for the pleasure of inspecting your papers after having examined the Secretary's office. Dr. Ramsay³³ has informed me

³² News of peace was brought by John Trumbull from Philadelphia and published in a hand-bill March 29, 1783, six days after the peace was known in Philadelphia and four days after it was known in New York.

³³ David Ramsay (1749-1815), a member of the Continental Congress and author of a *History of the American Revolution*, published in 1789.

that matters being properly arranged there, as much may be done in the office within one day as would employ three elsewhere in common.

I truly wish that our officers who have borne the brunt of the day, may meet with grateful returns answerable to the abilities of the people, and consistent with the republican principles of the country. The manners of the New England States will scarce admit of half pay; but a consideration ought to be made for their sufferings, losses, and long exclusion from every other but the military mode of life. Our assemblies are composed of such heterogeneous materials, and have so many little narrow souls among them, that men of more liberal minds are not able to carry their points so oft as they desire. Whenever the pleasing and yet painful moment comes for taking leave of the army and of public service, a commendatory Address from your Excellency to the several States mentioning how much their corps of officers merit rewards as well as thanks, will probably have great weight in serving them.³⁴ I write thus without having consulted with any one, and mean not to communicate but retain it a secret in my own breast.

People, as is natural, are very desirous of knowing the terms of Peace. I trust, that the Policy of the French has secured us the fishery; or great uneasiness will follow. The New England States, this particularly cannot do without it, as it is their whole and sole staple, worth speaking of. Should their interest have been neglected or sacrificed, they will manage some how or other with Britain to regain it. I wish to have no jarrings and janglings, either between particular States, or the United States and any foreign power. May we have peace with the world and among ourselves! and may our affairs be conducted with such wisdom and uprightness, that we may not be embroiled in any European quarrels! Sorry should I be to have America the cockpit of warriors: That would after a while prove fatal to its liberties. I deprecate those changes, which while they aggrandize a country in the opinion of other kingdoms, do eventually reduce the inhabitants to a state of slavery. The same principle makes me wish, that the sovereignties of the several states may never be swallowed up in a congressional vortex, that we may never become an offensive united

³⁴ The controversy in New England on providing the half-pay and commutation of half-pay to the officers of the army was long and bitter. The General Court of Massachusetts printed the *Collection of Papers* on the subject, compiled by permission of Washington and published at Fish-Kill, but omitted some of the papers. Washington wrote a circular letter to the legislatures of the States, dated June 14, 1783, on his resigning the command and retiring from public employment.

Power, but may ever remain a defensive one, which will secure us the interposition of other powers in case of an hostile attack: but do we become offensive and ambitious, we shall in a century or two be so formidable, that European kingdoms will be jealous for their own security and join in wars against us.

I have had frequent opportunity of enquiring after your Excellency's health, and the satisfaction of hearing that you was well. May the continuance of this blessing sweeten your other enjoyments for many future years!

Not having had a line from friends or relations in Britain of later date than last August twelvemonth, I propose accompanying this with two letters for New York, open for your Excellency's perusal, one of which I would have put into the mail for London and the other delivered, and which I suppose you can easily get done for me; but if there is any impropriety in your assisting therein be pleased to excuse my mistake in applying, and let the letters be destroyed.

Mrs. Gordon joins in best wishes and sincerest regards to Self and Lady. I remain with the highest esteem Your Excellency's faithful friend and very humble servant.

March 3. We are waiting for the confirmation of peace-reports; the appearance in favor of the event are not lessened.

TO HORATIO GATES ³⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb'y 26, 1783.

DEAR GENERAL, — Honest Tom left my house with his companion the tuesday morning before you wrote last. He had a long letter in charge for you, which I promise myself you had about the 13th inst. unless you was sat out for home, which I hope was prevented by good accounts on the 11th. Do not wonder at your being unwilling to leave the army at this critical period, and shall be glad to hear that you had no family call to do it, from the further recovery of your Lady, for whose health and welfare as well as your own you have my fervent wishes. The weather has cleared up to the East; and we are looking out for a fine peace, a safe peace and an honorable peace. But all are not perfectly easy, for many in Boston have their shops full of goods, and a peace will reduce them to half price. Few are so patriotic as to be willing to lose considerable sums, for sake of the olive branch. *Suum cuique*, I think

³⁵ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

is the king of Prussia's motto; and every one is fond of it, except when the balance is against him. Numbers are not pleased with the complaisance of Congress, more than a year back, when in compliance with the Chevalier's request, they instructed their negotiators to insist upon nothing more than Independence and the French alliance, and left the rest to the care and grace of France. They have been since considered by that body as prostrating the interest of America at the feet of our Ally, and would have been revoked had not the critical situation of public affairs made it appear imprudent. A Delegate wrote some weeks or months ago, Brittain so far as related to America would have granted America all that she could have wished, and France was the grand obstacle to a peace's taking place last August. If the fishery has not been secured the Baymen will be likely to curse Congress, and in some way or other to obtain the right from Britain.

Now for a word upon the Impost. As the Financier and several in Congress meant to establish it, the Union would have been broken, for these Northern States never would have submitted to it. A copy of the Report drawn up by the Committee appointed to prepare an ordinance for the carrying it into execution, had Rh[ode Is]land agreed, has been circulating at Boston, and excited the resentments of all who h[ad see]n it. One of the Senate, upon hearing that section wherein is the power of the collectors to break open houses, shops, *etc.*, and the punishments to be inflicted on those who opposed them, cried out immediately *that was drawn up surely by an Englishman*; and one of the Council said *we may as well go under Great Britain again at once*. The ordinance has all the evils in it, that we have been exclaiming so bitterly against; and had it been composed by an artful enemy to the impost with a view of damning it, he could not have done it more effectually. Several of our General Court have had a sight of it, and say they now perceive the *cloven foot*, and Congress will be watched more narrowly than ever. The ordinance could not have taken place here, for the Act of this State granting the Impost, made an express exception to all regulations contrary to the constitution. Gen'l Warren is set against a congressional impost. He is not likely to come on as yet, if at all, his personal concerns requiring his attendance at home.

I should be glad to see Mr. Bowdoin in the chair: if that can't be Mr. John Adams; if neither can be, Gen'l Lincoln. Either I judge would fill the place more to the advantage of the Commonwealth, than some I could mention.

Whatever solemn promises are made in the eighth article of the Confederation, they cannot be performed when impossibilities hin-

der: and I had rather hazard the Union than submit to modes that in the end must enslave the people — make them the *slaves* of a house of *Lords*. Mr. Morris I believe from all I can learn, is an honest man, but his right hand the Governier ³⁶ is I am told a person of no principle, a downright Machiavelian Politician, and would have went on once in Congress (as a delegate present informed me) to have proved that every man was a rogue according to the Fable of the Bees, had not the body possessed more sense than to suffer themselves to be so insulted, by one who like the monkey in the fable having lost his own tale, would have made a uniformity throughout. I would not have Mr. Morris relinquish: but would have him give up all thoughts of *congressional* imposts or taxes, and betake himself to *requisitions*. Individual States will draw by their own authority from the people more than can be done by Congress officers *etc.*, especially in time of peace. I never wish to have the U S an *offensive single* empire, for then liberty will be lost: but let the continent consist of independent Republics uniting for mutual defence only: this will raise no jealousy in European powers; and we may go on working and swarming like bees, till the whole is filled with honey and inhabitants. I must betake myself to the side, not having quite finished. My letters will afford you little entertainment, and less instruction; but they will serve to confirm you in this truth, that I am with real esteem, my Dear General, your faithful friend and humble servant.

N. B. I willingly pay for a single letter by the post — therefore write on.

Mar. 3. We are still waiting for the confirmation of Peace, hope you have obtained it.

[Addressed:] The Hon'le Major General Horatio Gates, Esq'r, Head Quarters or Elsewhere.

TO ARTHUR LEE ³⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, April 2d, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — Hearty congratulations on an honourable peace, in a most critical season of American affairs, must first be mentioned; and then I may add, that to two letters I have received no answers; tomorrow I may not be able to say so, when I shall have been at the post-office. To the last I can expect no answer till the

³⁶ Gouverneur Morris (1752-1816).

³⁷ From Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee*, II, 289.

next week, it having been sent only a fortnight; one side of the sheet contained a curious extract from the London Courant of January the 10th, being a letter of commendation to President Laurens, in favour of Silas Deane, when the latter returned to Philadelphia, and a certificate signed the middle of last December by Dr. Franklin, in behalf of the said Deane's honesty in his mercantile transactions for congress, to remove impressions that might be made upon the public by some charges printed against him; the other side, a plan of an impost that should not interfere with the rights and sovereignties of individual states, and form the ground work for enslaving the continent.

What may have been sent you from France I know not, but you may depend upon the following information.

The British would not allow the boundaries of Nova Scotia to terminate at St. Croix, but demanded Kennebeck at first, and afterwards insisted upon Penobscot as their ultimatum, until Mr. Adams produced the records of the Massachusetts, and the authorities of Shirley, Pownal, Bernard, and Hutchinson, as well as the original grant of Nova Scotia by James the First to William Alexander, and invited the British minister to state a written claim of Kennebec or Penobscot as the boundary of Nova Scotia, that it might be answered in writing, which brought him to reason. The fishery cost more trouble; and satisfaction could not be obtained on that point, until Mr. Laurens and Mr. Adams told the British negotiators, what their colleagues assented to, by their silence at least, that they never would put their hands to any articles, without an express acknowledgment of right to the fishery, and tolerable satisfaction upon all other points respecting it. They were obliged to do a great deal for British creditors, and even for the refugees; but they hoped this would be of no lasting detriment to our country. They had indeed a great deal of danger and trouble from the quarter whence I suspected it, but by a judicious manœuvre got fairly to the windward.

Mr. Jay has done himself great honour, by his wise conduct throughout the whole business. Mr. Laurens was present only the two last days, the 29th and 30th of November, and his behaviour was consistent with himself. Dr. Franklin, from the time of Mr. Adams's arrival, went on with them in perfect unison.

Virginia I trust will watch the motions of Pennsylvania, and prevent our becoming provinces to that power. Methinks congress should be removed. Would not New-York be as eligible a situation for a while? It is central; it is healthy in summer; it is an open port both summer and winter; it is easy to get at by yachts from

the most distant state. There are too many of that state indeed that are for lording it over their brothers; but when Pennsylvania finds that the seat of continental government is removed, it will probably become a staunch advocate for the universal liberty of America, and be a counterpoise to the York patrones. Having happily finished the game with Great Britain, never let us suffer ourselves to be bilked out of the stakes by any single state whatsoever, lest we become the laughing-stock instead of the admiration of the world.

The confederation must be adhered to, or else the union will be of no long continuance. The spirits of the baymen will rise, now they are in no danger from a foreign enemy, and they will soon be as zealous for their state rights and privileges, as any others, the Rhode Islanders not excepted. I wish disagreeable difficulties may not be produced by the military. Something handsome ought to be done for the officers; but it must be left to the states to adjust the consideration with their own corps. The wise and honest among you will have full employment. It may be our happiness that we have no treasury, or it might prove an engine in the hands of individuals to destroy our liberties. I was pleased to hear that Col. B. was opposed to any place's being a vortex.

I have written under disadvantages, not being so well as usual, but was desirous of writing, and I trust to your candour to excuse faults. Had Mr. Adams arrived three weeks ago, (not that he is arrived) I could have told you who would be governor; but who will be chosen next Monday, is somewhat uncertain. When leisure admits, let me have an answer, with all that secret history which may be communicated with propriety, accompanied with directions whether to conceal it or to spread it in conversation; and you will oblige your very humble servant and sincere friend.

TO JOHN ADAMS ³⁸

JAMAICA PLAIN, May 10, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — From what Dr. Holten writes me in his of the 16th ult. I suspect you will be upon your passage home: however, there is a chance of the contrary, therefore venture sending by the present conveyance from Providence to London. You are to have other letters from Braintree, *etc.*, *etc.*, by the same channel; and yet this possibly may be first received, for which reason I mention your family and friends being well; ere I tell you that your obliging

³⁸ From the Adams MSS.

favour of Decr. 12th came duly to hand: and I congratulate you most heartily, not only on an extraordinary good peace, but on the part you have acted in obtaining it. I have seen yours to Tom Cod³⁹ of Marblehead, and to Hutchinson's successor at Milton.⁴⁰ Last monday sennight I dined at the aged Colonel's⁴¹ within about two and one-half [miles] of your seat, where I saw and heard the contents of a ms. story. We drank tea at the quondam Watch-maker's, and spent the night where you have spent many a happy one: and I trust will do it again. For desert was admitted to the perusal of Extracts. It was against the directions of the supreme authority to carry the ms. out of the house or to copy from it: but I stored my head with as much as my brains would carry. I was fully of the opinion that your joint advice to my Countryman was the best that could be given; and of this assured a Precious Dr. in a late epistle to him. I wrote largely and fully to you the last December and committed it to the care of young Gray. We want you here, and yet I wish to have you at Westminster. I know not where you can be of most service. We are in poor situations: and need abler heads and quicker hands. Would be plainer and fill my paper, but am jealous that all will be consigned to the fire, agreeable to my directions to Mr. De Neufville in case you should be on your way to America. With most affectionate regards I remain your sincere Friend and very humble servant.

My brother Dr. the great bell of Boston has a letter from the Marquis Le Fayette with and by which he amuses his company and opens in hyperbolical commendations of the French, I am better pleased with mine from *the Washington in Politics*.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 18, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I have not had the pleasure of an answer, owing to the multiplicity of your engagements, yet by a few lines from New York, I have learnt that you was so obliging as to comply with my request.

We have now attained to a certainty of peace, upon which you have my most hearty congratulations. Your name will be deservedly written with honor and respect in every history of America. May it be written and perpetuated in the Lamb's book of life; and a better salvation, at a distant glorious exit from off this stage of

³⁹ Elbridge Gerry.

⁴⁰ James Warren.

⁴¹ Josiah Quincy.

mortality, be bestowed upon you, than your Excellency has been instrumental of procuring for the United States!

The swordsman will pay little attention to any more than your military feats; but the gownsman will admire you for your sacred regards to the civil authority and the rights of citizens wherever you have been. I rejoice much at the thought, that the war is closed, without my ever hearing or knowing, that you have in any one instance set at defiance or encroached upon the civil power; or that under all your sufferings and provocations through the failure of states to support you, you have used the sword to supply your necessities.⁴² The counter-manœuvre whereby you disappointed the designs of heated spirits in the army has added new lustre to your character; and the glory of your military course will be completed, when the gentlemen of the army have peaceably quitted the camp and assumed their former relation of good citizens in their respective states.

We are deeply indebted to Messrs. Adams, Jay and Laurens for having negotiated so good a peace: and Dr. Franklin was of great service by his sagacity and influence. Cannot suppose you are a stranger to particulars, and therefore do not mention them. Such were the judicious manœuvres of Mr. Adams, that the French nobility could not compliment him high enough without involving therein a compliment to your Excellency — “ You are the Washington in politics.” The papers mention a design on the part of France to confer honors upon you. They have none to bestow equal to what you have already received, and American I trust will not be shaded by placing European above them.

It may be of service, for you to know the present temper of our house of Assembly. It is our unhappiness to have too great a proportion of representatives from towns that wish to pay no taxes, and whose selfish contracted levelling minds are opposed to the measures taken by Congress, that so officers might return home in good humor and fully satisfied: and they are instructed accordingly. This lays our more sensible and considerate members under the greatest difficulties; and as they wish not to lose the questions which shall make for peace and harmony, they durst not venture to have them put, knowing what would be their fate. I was in private conversation with some of the leading men of the house the last monday; and learnt that the affair was to come on as this day, and that they had no other way for clearing themselves of the danger that was before them, but by appointing a committee to consider ways and means, *etc.*, and to report the beginning of next

⁴² The Newburgh Addresses. *Writings of Washington* (Sparks), VIII. 551.

session. Cannot but hope and believe, that this state will, as soon as possible, provide funds for paying their full quota of all the debt both foreign and domestic that has been contracted by Congress; but apprehend they will not adopt the mode urged by that body, accompanied with the circumstances they have expressed. Congress lose time, in my humble opinion, by pressing a mode that will not suit with the genius of this people; and not only so but endanger the union. What they want is the quantum; and wisdom dictates their taking it, in the way that the people will give it them. The British would not be content with taking the golden egg of America in the way she laid it, but would have it in another of their own devising; and by that means the hen has forsaken them. Many are warm advocates for the payment of all debts, those of the army and officers included, but they reprobate the circumstances of the mode prescribed. Will inquire tomorrow, before the letter is sealed, what has been done and inform your Excellency.

I now intend to prosecute the history of the late Revolution with the utmost diligence; and would be thankful for the health and spirits which I at present enjoy, and which I hope will enable me to accomplish the task. With the greatest pleasure I recollect your approbation of my original design, and your repeated kind assurances of affording me your assistance, which is of capital concern in it, for I am in search of genuine truth and not a fairy tale. I mean if it suits your Excellency's convenience, and you should be where I can (by your condescension) have access to your papers, to repair thereto in the fall, that so I may expedite the business in hand. Should be much obliged to you for a speedy answer, that I may make the earlier preparation for my journey.

Our friend Gates is likely to be soon under a special exercise; long, long may you be exempted from a similar one! Mrs. Gordon joins me in praying the kindest remembrance to your Lady, and in wishing you the best of blessings. With the greatest esteem I remain, Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

Regards to Colonel Cobb and other acquaintance.

June 19. The affair is put off till next wednesday.

TO JOHN ADAMS ⁴³

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 28, 1783

MY DEAR SIR, — Should you find in this MS. a deal of the *caput mortuum* don't wonder, for the weather is and has been very hot

⁴³ From the Adams MSS.

for several days. The last wednesday the house opposite to the old brick was so violently hot, that in their zeal against the absentees they broke the good frame of government you had a hand in erecting. The brains were for providing that persons taken up as such, should have a trial by jury to determine whether they came under the description in the act of 1778; the tongues determined that the matter should be left to the determination of two justices, and in case these judged them guilty, the Governor was to transport them. The voters were a hundred one way, and thirty the other. The latter are likely to publish a spirited sensible protest, if they prosecute what was proposed the last thursday. Mr. Sullivan, who enjoys his seat unconstitutionally, is the *dux gregis*; and I shall not be surprised, after what I have heard, should he manage the ignoramuses, of whom there is *not* a precious few, and lead them into a violation of the articles of peace, by pleading that no more confiscations means *not* that no more property shall be confiscated upon the acts already made; but that no more *confiscating-acts* shall be made. How will these matters read in the European papers after all we have talked, published and fought on the side of Liberty! Mr. Sullivan's family lived at Menotomy a great part of 1782. He had an office at the same time in State Street, where he used to do business; on the friday or saturday he repaired to his family and continued with them till monday, and did not bring his family to dwell in town till October. Boston, however, chose him and the house by a very small majority upon the case when before them determined in his favor: Upon which a piece was published signed Selden;⁴⁴ but I have not yet done with him. Could you have thought that the definition given by the convention of an *inhabitant* was not sufficiently clear, when it saith, *where he dwelleth or hath his home*? We make such wild steerage, that I am ready to say to you again and again, *Come over and help us*. I cannot tell whether the superior bench is yet filled up; if not, the prevailing politicians may keep a place open and upon your arrival pretend to honor you by offering the same, meaning to *fix* you on the bench, lest you get into the chair. This being to go by a trusty hand, and there being no doubt of its safe delivery, shall be more open and communicative than otherwise: but trust to your prudence not to let *any one* see the contents who may remit or bring them back.

We have not yet brought the Harvard College treasurer chosen

⁴⁴ "To Grotius," in *Independent Chronicle*, June 26, 1783. The article by Grotius, on the impost, had appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, February 3, 1783. A second article, signed "Selden," appeared in the *Independent Chronicle*, August 21, 1783.

in 1773 to settle his accounts.⁴⁵ He is now hard pressed, but some think he will still contrive to postpone the business. On May the 6th, when we had our semi-annual meeting, it was voted unanimously that "upon the day to which this meeting shall be adjourned this board will come to a final resolution respecting the measures necessary to effect a settlement of the late treasurer's accounts in case they shall not be then settled, and that the secretary be and is hereby directed to furnish him with a copy of this vote." The conversation that passed explained the meaning of final resolution, viz. advising the corporation to sue. Some said that I had fairly taken in — ⁴⁶ the French Dr., who was present. We adjourned for five weeks, the first three of which the party was well and could have attended the business, the other two he was or would be ill. He met us at the adjournment, pleaded his having been ill and gave us more promises, that he hoped to be well enough in seven or eight days to finish it, and if so should certainly do it. I considered his presence as designed to prevent freedom of speech, was jealous before I went that he would manœuvre in that way; and was resolved to speak, told him how long we had been trifled with, that he had been giving us nothing but promises, *etc.*, *etc.*, and then declared I should make a motion, whether seconded or not, and accordingly moved that the Corporation should be advised to sue him — no second. After that made another motion — no second. (The corporation thought I had given him such a lecture, *i.e.* one and another of them, that if he would not settle after that they should despair.) At length we adjourned for a fortnight. The fortnight was out last tuesday: he had been ill, and we adjourned for another fortnight. I gave hints about publishing the whole history of the affair if it was needful: this may possibly make him afraid of delaying much longer, lest a publication should discover him to the world. He will have Sullivan's support as being of his party. Genl. Danelson,⁴⁷ Judge Cushing and his Honor are in the number of his courtiers. Come over and keep the Yankees from ruining their own reputation, by a repetition of elections, that are not thought scandalous by people at large only because they are not known; but which, if they proceed on from year to year,

⁴⁵ John Hancock. Stiles mentions one result of Gordon's activities on Hancock's accounts: "Gov. Hancock of B[oston] sent to me to see if I would admit two Scholars from Harv[ard] Coll[ege] to the same standing here. He gives them Education. He is a little disgusted with the Treatment of some of the Overseers, particularly Dr. Gordon, in closing the Treasury accounts of Harv. College." *Literary Diary*, III. 151, March 11, 1785.

⁴⁶ Samuel Cooper.

⁴⁷ Timothy Danielson.

will at length be known; for there is no hiding always the ointment of the right hand which bewrayeth itself.

The Roxbury Instructions were chiefly manufactured by Selden — the introduction, the last period of the paragraph about refugees, and the closing paragraph by others. After much debate I lowered the tone designed to have been used by the violent men, about the refugees, to its present form. Wish other towns had testified their gratitude to our negotiators.

We begin to feel the scarcity of money. Having no exports and buying goods drains off our cash. Many adventurers will be greatly disappointed in their hopes of gain. Vessels from Sweden, Denmark, *etc.*, will not carry away good reports when they return. We have not sufficient materials wherewith to freight them. It will take time to procure the same.

We have fine prospects, hay excepted, which is like to fall very short. The Indian Corn and English grain look well. The former exceeding dear, eight shillings lawful the bushel.

The remainder devoted to more important matters.

The French from what I learn mean to have parties. My intelligence comes, I apprehend, from the Spanish negotiator, or what you please to call him,⁴⁸ at Philadelphia and his party; which is excessively mad with the French, upon finding that they were not sincere, and wish them not to gain either Gibraltar or Jamaica. 'Tis said, that they have had ever since 1762 to the number of 535 emissaries in different parts of the Continent, who are in their pay; and that they have been increased; that silver tongue became acquainted with a French Irishman who lived obscurely in 1774 and entered upon good pay January, 1775; that the French on the western side of the Mississippi are to be secured to the French interest, that so they may be used when they may be wanted; that the French attempted to get the Priests of Canada into their pay but could not succeed; that divisions are to be promoted between the South and North, that there may be an opening for France to get by it; that every Colonel in the continental army may have, if he pleases, upon credit to the amount of a thousand pounds sterling in goods which the merchants are to supply, but the court are to be at the risk of answering for them; that Col. Ogden⁴⁹ of the Jersey line is gone already upon that business to France; that the Marquis is to come and reside in the country to support and increase the French interest. I am jealous that the policy of the French court is no ways favorable to the interests of America, and that, could

⁴⁸ Diego de Gardoqui, *Encargado de Negociis or chargé d'affaires*.

⁴⁹ Aaron Ogden (1756-1839).

they effect it, they would make us wholly *dependent* upon themselves. Should they mean ill, they will most probably labour that Congress may at length possess imperial power, that so they may have to purchase them at an easier price than a strong party in every state, *à la mode de Sweden*, which they possess, now the king has been made arbitrary, at a less cost than before.

The Southern gentry are going back to their aristocratic or monarchical principles. They never were genuine sons of Liberty, they were sons only occasionally and by accident. It will require much wisdom to keep the states united. The South is foolishly jealous of the North. There are in several respects no very agreeable prospects; but *de republica non est desperandum*. We have seen the clouds blow over repeatedly, when there was the fear of a most dreadful approaching storm. One great evil among us is, that persons will not unite their endeavours to serve the public cause. Each is busy in attending to his own adventure, not considering that if the ship is lost they must all suffer. May not American liberty be like Jonah's gourd, which came up in a night and perished in a night!

July 2. Was in town yesterday. The delegates chosen to go to Congress are Messrs. Gerry, Partridge, Sullivan, Dalton and Danielson.⁵⁰ Mr. Dalton, I am told, declines going. Have no great opinion of Sullivan and Danielson. Young Dawes,¹ the lawyer, two days ago secured Danielson by a single writ for a debt due to Mrs. Leverett of twenty-seven hundred pounds, interest included, the original was contracted about ten years before the war. Danielson presented a petition to the General Court praying that he might be discharged from the writ, pleading that he had been long and was still in the public employ; that he offered to pay the debt with paper money when current, and that Mrs. Leverett refused taking it; and that he apprehended the money was due at London and would go there. The house, instead of rejecting the petition at once with disdain, appointed a committee to consider it. Yesterday Dawes presented a counter-petition or remonstrance. The matter was not settled when I left town about five. Can scarce think that Danielson will carry his point. Should he, it must alarm all kind of creditors, and lead them to fear that, sooner or later, there may be a general court that will venture to sponge out all debts.

Bad unprincipled men with craft and abilities, unless there are

⁵⁰ George Partridge, James Sullivan, Tristram Dalton, Timothy Danielson. Dalton declined and Samuel Osgood was chosen in his place.

¹ Thomas Dawes (1757-1825).

capable men of approved characters and in the esteem of the country to counteract them, will soon run us upon rocks and quicksands. You have much upon your hands to excuse you from writing lengthy epistles, but hope you will let me in for as good a composition as the rest of your correspondents receive; which will much oblige your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 13, 1783.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your obliging letter of the 8th ulto.² was duly received. We have been earnestly waiting for the definitive treaty, but as yet have had no authentic account of it. However looking upon it as certain and at hand, have determined with the permission of Heaven setting off for the Jerseys next monday fortnight. Mrs. Gordon accompanying me with the chaise will oblige us for the sake of better roads and a shorter journey to go through New York, so that I must postpone for the present the pleasure of seeing your Excellency at Newburgh, to which I trust you are safely returned, after an agreeable tour to the North. Besides I have some business to transact with William Smith, Esqr., whose mother-in-law, born in my own native town and personally acquainted with me, appointed me a legacy, when she died about 1776, payable out of the arrears of an annuity left her by Judge Smith.

I am fully of your Excellency's mind, that "it rests with the confederated powers by the line of conduct they mean to adopt, to make this country great happy and respectable," and I most sincerely pray, they may be directed to it in a way that shall secure the liberties of individuals, without which Independence will be of no avail: indeed the country cannot be *happy* without *freedom*, however great and respectable it might be. Regulations are certainly wanting; but that they may not introduce sooner or later greater evils than they are meant to remedy, time must be taken to form them with the deepest deliberation, and with this the peace will furnish the United States. The different tempers of the inhabitants must be well consulted, and measures must be accommodated to them; for I am convinced that, in this country especially, they will not be forced; and the neglect of them will give rise to that anarchy, which every honest patriot will deprecate and endeavour to prevent.

² This letter is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), x. 274.

Twould indeed be political madness to flatter ourselves, that, in case of a fresh war, we should be favored with the like providences and concatenation of causes that have lately contributed to our salvation; and therefore in providing for our future security we must not calculate upon them.

It is true, that we are known by no other character among Nations than as the United States: but they either do, or ought to know, the articles by which we are confederated and that there is no other federal government than what is built upon the *express* concessions in the said articles. It is of little or no consequence to me, personally considered, whether the Confederation is strictly adhered to or not; but it is my real opinion, that unless it is carefully attended to we shall soon be in great difficulties as a people. A better band of Union than the present Confederation I despair of seeing, considering the opposite cases of the people in the different states; and I humbly conceive, that nothing would endanger a dissolution sooner than refusing to hearken to the voice of a single state pleading for the rights it enjoys by the confederation, that so an alteration may be obtained in favor of the rest. Such is the condition of human affairs, that in all great unions certain individuals or bodies will enjoy greater advantages than others: and it has been generally found by experience better to let them do it than break in upon the original contract.

The evils that delays have occasioned cannot be remedied in future *by Congress*, unless they have a *compulsive* power, in other words, a standing army and navy at their command sufficient for the purpose, which would at length necessarily produce a civil war, or destroy the liberties of the several states, and erect an *Empire* instead of suffering us to remain *distinct Republics* united for common safety in a *Congress* of delegates. The evils above alluded to, I am apprehensive, have arisen from the weak condition of the separate governments, owing to the special circumstances of the Revolution; and may be effectually guarded against in future by strengthening the powers of government in each state; and for which there will be now a good opportunity, that I hope will not be lost but carefully improved. Necessity indeed will oblige us to attend to that business. When the several members grow strong, the whole body will soon be healthy and vigorous.

I cannot for the life of me judge with your Excellency, that "there can be no danger of trusting Congress with powers, because they are the creatures of the people, amenable to them for their conduct, and dependant from day to day on their breath," for with certain powers a Congress in time might make the people their slaves, as has been repeatedly done, in cases nearly similar, by

which communities once perfectly free have been subjugated to the will of tyrants, put into authority by themselves. I wish Congress to have all the support to which they are entitled by the Confederation; and to have the full benefit of an impost, alike through, and raised by, the several States; and faithfully forwarded by each to the common treasury, for the payment of all debts they have contracted during the war, whether foreign or domestic, due to soldiers, officers or others. Your Excellency mistook my meaning therefore in my former letter, in supposing that I was opposed to an impost that should raise the sums wanted: it was the mode of collecting it by the servants of Congress to which I referred when I said "many reprobate the circumstances of the mode prescribed."

The hopes I expressed in my former letters of being soon indulged with the privilege of consulting your papers, went upon the presumption that the peace would be perfected before the fall, and that therefore "one of those periods would be arrived when you would think yourself justified in suffering an inspection of and extracts to be taken from your records" agreeable to what you was so kind as to write October 28, 1782. However as your Excellency appears desirous of my applying first of all to Congress, that they may take the lead in that business I propose presenting a Petition to them upon the subject when at Princeton, from whence I shall write to or ride to visit you; and in the mean while with the highest esteem remain, Your Excellency's sincere Friend and most obedient humble Servant.

Mrs. Gordon joins in respectful Compliments to Self and Lady.³

TO ELBRIDGE GERRY⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, Dec'r 24, 1783.

FRIEND GERRY, — This I trust will find you at Annapolis, in health and going on prosperously. Am in expectation of hearing from you soon in answer to a former letter. Before you can read what I have to offer, imagine you will have had the pleasure of conferring with Mr. Dana. His Excellency the Governor has been playing over again the childish trick of the preceding year. He would resign. Yes he would resign, that he would; and unless he is untruthed swore to it. The Council was summoned to attend, to

³ "Dr. Gordon has just arrived here [Philadelphia]." Hazard to Belknap, October 15, 1783. 5 *Collections*, II. 264.

⁴ From the New York Public Library.

hear his big speech upon the occasion. They came, and the mouse appeared upon the green cloth. His friends had persuaded him not to resign. But the reason of my writing was to give you of Mr. John Adams's letter a genuine copy; and so I remain as in days of old Yours sincerely.

PARIS, Sep'r 10, 1783.

SIR, — I have rec'd yours of 28 June and thank you for the information it contains. In all domestick Disputes I wish our countrymen, may moderate their passions, and manifest as much mutual forbearance as possible. I dread the course of our elections, if parties prevail. Every publick Man is in a dangerous and perplexed Situation at present, and as few obstacles should be thrown in his way and as much Candour and Indulgence shewn him as possible. I have had too many Obstructions contrived for me, and although I have always got the better of them, hitherto, I have felt the smart of them too sensibly, not to wish every other well meaning man excused from them.

There will be a variety of foreign interests in our Country, and We must be upon our Guard against them all. We must all think seriously of preserving our Union, which is of indispensable Importance to Us.

I am sorry my Friend Dalton declines going to Congress. More depends upon good Men at that great Wheel, than our People at the Northward are aware. That is the principal Place to guard against foreign Projects, which will address themselves sometimes to aristocratical, sometimes to democratical, and sometimes to military Passions and Prejudices. Nothing will come amis to carry a Point. Is the [torn]r that shoestring stinginess even may be stimulated, to get every honest man out of Europe, and leave only [torn] at a certain Court. *Timeo danaos*. The great Point has been and will be to chicane honest Men out of [Europ]e. I don't care how soon it prevails against me, but I would have the rest preserved and others sent. I have [s]een so many of the curses of low cunning and mean Craft, that I begin to think Homer wrong in not damning to Infamy the Character of Uliesses.

I hope that private honesty will not be violated in any debt, and that as much moderation may be shewn towards the Tories as possible. The Stipulations should be sacred, and the Recommendations at least treated with decency and seriously considered. I cannot help saying I wish they could be complied with. We could not obtain the Peace without them. When I agreed, that Congress should recommend, I was sincere. I then wished and still wish that the Recommendations may be agreed to. This is unpopular no doubt, But Treaties are solemn Things, in which there should be no mental Reservations. When N. York and Penobscot are evacuated, the People may be cooler. It will be an ugly Bone of Contention. I always dreaded it, and would have avoided it, if it had been possible, but it was not.

Congress have resolved, that your humble Servant, Dr. F[ranklin] and Mr. J[ay] make a Treaty of Commerce with England. I hope they will

resolve that the same Men should make others with Denmark, Portugal and the two Empires. How long one or the other may detain me I know not. F[ranklin] is trying to get appointed alone to treat with Denmark and Portugal, and unfair means have been used to assist him. But I hope he will be disappointed. I am persuaded a bad Treaty will be made if he is not. He is not too wise or knowing, not to stand in need of the Advice and Reflections and Information of others. When we are all here, why should We not be all employed? Business has not been better done by him alone, than by others alone; nor by him alone, than by him in Conjunction with others. Jay and I have no Interest, our Salaries are no larger, our Care is more and our Expences more for being in more Business. But this smuggling of Treaties is intended, to deprive Us of Advantages that We should endeavour to secure. The carrying Trade should be cherished by every fair means, and this will be hurt by the Treaties if they are not more attended to than they will be by Dr. F. if he makes them alone. Your Friend and Servant.

You may have had similar information from Mr. A[dams] by ms. or *viva voce* thro the lips of Mr. Thaxter; and if so, you will view this fruitless labour as flowing from my abundant zeal *pro bono publico*; and as I have equal zeal *pro veritate* pray clear my way to the records of Congress to which others besides members may be admitted, without sacrificing congressional Honour. My best respects to Mr. Dana. Hard Frost in our Chamber at 12 o'clock.

Dr. Cooper was given over yesterday. Have not heard to day.⁵

[Addressed:] The Honorable Elbridge Gerry Esq'r at Congress, Annapolis.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March the 8th, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR,— It afforded me peculiar pleasure to learn, how your Excellency had secured your public character by your manner of retiring to the private walk of domestick happiness, after having been, in the hands of the Supreme Governor, a glorious instrument of establishing the rights of the American States. Your name will be mentioned with honor by all historians whether Whigs or Tories: but my prayer is, that it may be found written in the Lamb's book of life.

I am pursuing my plan with as much speed as the times will admit. Next monday I go for Newport, to inspect the papers of General Greene, who wishes me to do it ere he sets off for the southward, that he may explain to me certain anecdotes. When the

⁵ Dr. Samuel Cooper died December 29, 1783.

roads are settled I shall push for Annapolis. Have not heard whether any resolution has been yet taken with regard to my petition. There is nothing like being present to solicit: but long absence from my people when at Princeton, the approaching winter, and the removal of Congress would not admit of my tarrying then to complete my business. I was therefore necessitated to conclude upon returning the morning of November 3d, and reacht home with Mrs. Gordon on the 20th after an agreeable journey, two or three days excepted.

Intend myself the honor of visiting you at Mount Vernon after leaving Annapolis. Can I get out early enough in April shall hope for the pleasure of seeing you at Philadelphia the beginning of May. Whether present or absent, while in life, you will have my sincerest wishes for your peace and comfort, and that when leaving this world becomes desirable you may set without a cloud to shine with answerable lustre in the world of Spirits. Pray my regards to Dr. Craig.⁶ Mrs. Gordon joins in best respects to Self and Lady. I remain with the greatest truth your Excellency's affectionate Friend and very humble Servant.

The last saturday our Friend Colonel Quincy of Braintree was buried.

TO NATHANAEL GREENE ⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, Apr. 5, 1784.

DEAR GENERAL — I have not yet had the pleasure of hearing that your family is happily increased, but hope that event will have taken place before the receipt of this.

⁶ James Craik.

"Dr. Gordon went from hence [Philadelphia] this morning, towards Annapolis and Mount Vernon." Hazard to Belknap, May 10, 1784. 5 *Collections*, II. 340.

"I would put a long pause between the end of the last paragraph and the beginning of this, for the sake of a gentleman's name, whom you have mentioned as on a tour to Mount Vernon, Annapolis, etc. What mean these frequent long perigrinations? Did he return his subscription paper [for Belknap's *History*] to you?" Belknap to Hazard, May 24, 1784. *Ib.*, 348.

"The gentleman could not, in his last tour, gain admission to the secret papers of Congress, which made a second journey necessary. He has now succeeded, finished his business at Annapolis, and is at present at Mount Vernon, examining the General's archives,—all with a view to his *History*. He is indefatigable, and will make a valuable collection. He did not return his subscription paper to me, but sent a copy of the subscribers' names." Hazard to Belknap, June 14, 1784. *Ib.*, 357.

⁷ From 2 *Historical Magazine*, III. 24.

I have a grateful sense of your kindness when I was at Newport, and that I believe in your professions shall convince you by these presents. Pray you to inform me.

Who accompanied You when reconnoitring for a position upon the landing of Gen'l Howe.

How far the Cross Roads were from him.

What was the name of the place the army occupied at the back of Wilmington.

What was the particular spot You would have chosen on the other side of the Schuylkill instead of crossing it, in hopes that Gen'l Howe would have fought you ere he attempted passing it and going on for Philadelphia?

My best regards to your Lady and General Kuskiasco. You have the sincere wishes, for a pleasant and safe [*torn*] or passage to the southward. Your affectionate Friend and humble Servant.

[*Addressed:*] The Hon'le Major General Nathaniel Greene Esq'r, Newport. Favored by Mr. Mumford.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN August 30, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your obliging letter of the 10th inst. was received the last thursday. With the greatest pleasure I read of the health and welfare of Self and family. I was glad, that the Boston Paper came regularly; and that you may be perfectly satisfied with its continuance, inform you that it costs me nothing being admitted to the benefit of clergy — that the very covers which save my using my own paper when I write you letters cost me the same, the printer refusing to take any thing for them — that I have no further service for it when I have lookt over it — and that Mumford the Postman takes it every monday at my door in his way to Providence. The sending it serves as an amusement and relaxation on a day when from the work of the preceeding I am unfitted for close application.

The Friendship you discover in your second paragraph, for with me it shall not pass for mere politeness, calls for the warmest return; and added to the pleasure with which I was feasting my mind, in the contemplation that through the aid of a Boston Merchant fully conversant with the business I had procured a quintal of the best fish that Marblehead afforded, and which only waited an opportunity of being put on board for Alexandria for your Excellency's table. It is to go by the first ship that offers which I expect will be ere this can get to Mount Vernon. Whenever received view it as a

small tribute, the mite of affection for services done to an insignificant individual, a rising and growing country, and the rights and liberties of mankind. I formed my purpose of thus expressing my gratitude, when I heard you while at dinner speak in praise of salt fish.

Mrs. McCauly Graham expressed her obligation to you, upon reading the paragraph respecting her. Mrs. Haley⁸ is at Newport. You will have my wishes and prayers for your safety and success, whenever you put your pack saddles upon the beasts of burden and proceed upon your western expedition. That the class of settlers should pay more attention to convenience than right, is not to be so much wondered at, as that men in a superior form should have paid off their bonds to you for hard cash with depreciated notes at the rate of about a shilling in the pound, and at a period when you was hazarding your life for their liberties and property. But numbers have pretended great patriotism, while they have been destitute of common honesty, and were aiming only at private interest under the mask of public virtue. Thus it has been in all countries and in all ages; and the more the pity.

Your family, I judge, is increased by the presence of the Marquis. My most respectful compliments to him. You wished to get rid of all your Negroes, and the Marquis wisht that an end might be put to the slavery of all of them. I should rejoice beyond measure could your joint counsels and influence produce it, and thereby give the finishing stroke and the last polish to your political characters. Could it not be contrived that the industrious among them might be turned into copy-holders on the lands of their present masters, and by having a special interest in the produce of their labors be made to [yield] more profit than at present? And would not this in its consequences excite the lazy to exertions that might prove highly beneficial? I am not for letting them all loose upon the public; but am for gradually releasing them and their posterity from bonds, and incorporating them so in the states, that they may be a defence and not a danger upon any extraordinary occurrence.

Mrs. Gordon unites in best wishes for your Excellency, your Lady, Dr. Stewart and Lady, the grandchildren,⁹ Mr. and Mrs. L. Washington.¹⁰ When you see him pray remember me to Dr.

⁸ Mary, widow of George Haley, a merchant of London, trading with the colonies before the War for Independence.

⁹ David and Eleanor (Calvert | Custis) Stuart. The grandchildren were: Eliza Parke Custis, Eleanor Parke Custis, and George Washington Parke Custis.

¹⁰ Lund and Elizabeth (Foot) Washington.

Craik. With the sincerest regard I remain, my Dear Sir, Your affectionate friend and humble Servant.

TO HORATIO GATES ¹¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 31, 1784.

FRIEND GATES, — I promised myself the pleasure of a fresh interview with you on my return from Mount Vernon. Expected to see you at Philadelphia, but when I got there the 25th of June, heard that you was at New York. I left Philadelphia the 26th, went to Burlington, and from thence on the monday beyond Princeton eight miles; the next day to Hanover; on the thursday July the 1st to New York, but upon inquiring of Mrs. Sears was informed that you had left the city, and was upon your return to Travellers Rest; so that I found we had missed of each other. I got home on friday the 9th of July by dinner after a safe pleasant and prosperous journey, and had the happiness of finding Mrs. Gordon and friends well in health, and in agreeable circumstances.

I got to General Washingtons by breakfast on June the 2d; when he had read the Resolve of Congress, he told me that he should make no reserve and keep no papers back, but should trust to my prudence for the proper use of them. I sat into work and followed it closely, rising by day light and being at his books as soon as I could read, and continued it till evening, breaking off only for meals, and never went once to visit tho' invited. By the 19th about two o'clock I had finished, having searched and extracted thirty and three folio volumes of copied letters of the General's, besides three volumes of private, seven volumes of general orders, and bundles upon bundles of letters to the General. Don't you think I labored hard? However my gains of knowledge will amply compensate.

You may, I apprehend, remember my request to have the Convention Paper, signed by Burgoyne, and your telling me that you would make me a present of it, when you found it was no longer wanted. You will add to the number of past favors by forwarding it to me, thro' the hands of Mr. Nourse the Register, whom I shall request to send this, and to remit to your man Thomas thirteen dollars being interest I have received for him at different times.

I expect papers agreeable to promise from Gen'l Otho Williams ¹² relative to southern operations, which will tend to exculpate you

¹¹ From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library.

¹² Otho Holland Williams (1749-c. 1800).

as to the want of success in that quarter, and throw light upon some subtle manœuvres of Smallwood¹³ in getting thanks, to which he was no ways entitled. Let me hear from you soon, and be convinced under your own hand that you forget not your old and trusty friend.

Mrs. Gordon unites in best wishes for your present and future happiness.

ADVERTISEMENT

[From the *New York Packet*, Sept. 2, 1784.]

Dr. Gordon of Roxbury, near Boston, has, for some time past, been collecting materials for an History of the late Revolution, and, we are told, is now employed in writing this necessary but arduous work. Congress have permitted their Secretary, conformable to the petition of the Doctor to that august body, to lay before him, in order to assist his undertaking any papers or files, excepting instructions to the ministers at foreign Courts, and acts or records which hitherto have been considered as confidential or secret.¹⁴

TO JAMES BOWDOIN¹⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 14, 1785.

SIR, — Many thanks with the four Letters. Supposing the translation to be just, I am apt to conclude that the Abbé¹⁶ was taken with the *cacoethes scribendi* about what he did not understand.

¹³ William Smallwood (1732-1792).

¹⁴ A letter from Gordon to James Bowdoin, October 23, 1784, on forging bank notes, is in 1 *Proceedings*, vii. 296. See Appendix.

¹⁵ From the Bowdoin-Temple Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Other letters of Gordon from the same source are printed in 1 *Proceedings*, vii. 291, and 7 *Collections*, vi. 88, 113. See Appendix.

¹⁶ In 1784 Gabriel Bonnot de Mably, abbé, published in Amsterdam *Observations sur le Gouvernement et les Loix des États-Unis d'Amérique*. Even before its issue in France a translation had been made by Benjamin Sowden, minister of the English Presbyterian Church at Rotterdam and a correspondent of Gordon. A translation in Dutch, with an introduction by Antoine Marie Cerisier (1749-1828), who was attached to the French legation at The Hague, was proposed. *Works of John Adams*, viii. 208; ix. 522. In 1784 an English translation was printed in London by Debrett with the title *Remarks concerning the Government and Laws of the United States of America: in four Letters, addressed to Mr. Adams: . . . one of the Negotiators for the Purpose of concluding a general Peace*. A year later Mathew Carey & Co. reprinted this translation at Philadelphia.

He confounds the *Framers* of the Constitution with *Legislators*, and the *parts* of the constitution with the *laws* of the state. He writes about enormous and disproportionate fortunes too frequently found in the republic of Massachusetts and unknown among the Pennsylvanians; when they are known more among the latter than the former. He confounds an annual election with an annual choice of a *new* person, and then reasons upon it. If you, as a principal agent have concurred and aided in establishing an aristocracy in this state, I shall not soon forget you. The Abbé has preferred the Constitution of Georgia, the very worst of all, to the very best. He talks of the clergy's being excluded from all share in the public or civil administration of affairs, which is false as to the Massachusetts. He attends not to facts, that Aristocrats thrive in Georgia and the southern states, where the riches of the Bashaw grow out of the filth of slavery. He imagines that Governors are in their private capacity possessed of a *competent fortune*, and ought therefore not to be paid. He condemns upon a bug-bear fancy, one of the best establishments, the independency of the Judges during good behaviour. He terrifies himself with the idea that every year sends *new persons* to Congress, because they are every year newly elected; and believes that the Congress consists of the *richest and most considerable men of the confederacy*, or will soon. He is an enemy to our thinking of trade and commerce, as every *true Frenchman* will be, for fear that it will at length produce a formidable fleet. He understands neither civil nor religious liberty aright; and partakes of the nature of the soil and country where he has been bred, born and educated — a popish and despotic one. He is a careless reader and superficial writer; but has acquired the art of *Gasconading*. These remarks have occurred upon my perusing attentively the Observations of the Abbé De Mably. I shall be better pleased with myself if at our next interview you confirm the propriety of them. I remain with real esteem Your very humble servant.

TO HENRY KNOX ¹⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, Mar. 21, 1785.

FRIEND KNOX, — You have below what you requested, whether in a complimentary, or approving manner. I do not understand making charcoal; but from observations on the walnut-wood, doubt whether it will be so easy to stop the progress of its burning as of other wood, and whether it must not be extinguished in a mode different from what is practised in general. But even should this be

¹⁷ From the Henry Knox MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc., XVIII. 8.

the case, and the application of water be necessary, when the wood is reduced to a proper charcoal, the special virtues may still remain, and it prove as good as ever for the purposes of gunpowder. Wishing you to be assisting toward the manufacturing of the very best; but that you may never have occasion to direct the use of it more in support of the rights of the United States, I remain with real esteem your very humble servant.

My employ for some months has called me into my study early in the morning before day-light. The first business was to make up my fire; in which I was assisted by the remains of the back-logs of the preceding days. They were often of walnut-wood. Upon moving them, I was continually assaulted by a numerous corps of fiery sparks, whose blustering was not very agreeable, tho' they scarce ever did me any damage. Their repeated attacks at length roused my attention, and I began to reflect, that charcoal made of walnut-wood, would be preferable to any other for the manufacturing of gunpowder. Then followed another thought, that no country in the world abounded with walnut of different kinds, possessing however the same general qualities, equal to the United States. I proceeded to scheme, that nature pointed out to us, these western regions for the staple of gun-powder; and that nothing was wanting but the fostering hand of some parent state, to promote the manufacture of it, by a sufficient bounty of so much on every barrel of equal goodness with any imported from Europe. When thus nursed up to maturity it may not only stop importation, but become a considerable export: and will, unavoidably, when cheap enough, if of a superior quality to the European; for sportsmen and warriors will seek after the best commodity, that they may not lose their aim, or throw away their ball.

I will now tell you a tale to obviate an objection, by which, I conjecture, you will think of crushing my project. When I had matured my plan, I communicated it to a friend and neighbour, who had served in the army as a surgeon. After hearing me out, he said, that, in the time of the war, he met with an unlettered genius, an adept in gunning, who told him that he had tried the powers of different charcoal, in order to gratify his own curiosity, and that he found, upon trial, the gunpowder he made for his own use, from walnut charcoal, to be as strong again as any other powder, so that half the quantity served his purpose. Should you judge this worthy the attention of the public, be pleased to communicate the same, from their and your very humble servant

AN ENCOURAGER OF AMERICAN EXPORTS.

N. B. Should any experiment be made with the walnut charcoal, it may be of consequence to ascertain what is the best season for making the charcoal, and when that the wood possesses and retains most of those furious particles that excited my attention.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 28, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your obliging favours of the 8th inst.¹⁸ were received on the Saturday. From them I infer not only the continuance of your friendly assistance, but that the papers are regularly received; as yet I have not missed sending, tho' the post has at times been delayed thro' the snows: The face of the earth is still covered with them; in these parts, a few trifling spots excepted; and should a thaw come on rapidly, the floods that must follow will probably do great damage. We have no prospect of gardening for some weeks.

The present of your miniature cuts is highly acceptable, as they are a token of affection; but they are indeed too imperfect to admit of my copying from them. I shall endeavour to procure a more expressive likeness, in one way or other, by which all who know the original may be at once reminded of him, and those who know him not may obtain such an idea of him, that should they meet him in the street they may know him, as happened many years back in reference to Mrs. Gordon, who, when going thro' the streets of London to her Brother's, was known by a maid servant in the family, from her having frequently seen a miniature picture in the Brother's possession. In some cases profiles will not answer, and where I find it to be so, must have a recourse to pictures. Your mention of Mr. *Semitière* was kind.¹⁹ I shall make application to some friend at Philadelphia to enquire concerning his engravings, and where the likeness is good will endeavour to procure them or the prints.

I do not recollect that the private letter alluded to takes notice that it was consequent of a resolve of Congress, that Fort Washington was so pertinaciously held, previous to the ships passing that Post. The recapitulation of it, and other matters relating to it, is therefore serviceable. Your private letters, and the silence you observed upon the subject at the time, shew that you want not to exculpate yourself from any censure which may have fallen upon you (when justly) by charging another. Lee had a peculiar mode of writing, which was not always pleasing even when he confined himself to truth: but I believe he was right, when he imputed the

¹⁸ This letter is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), x. 442.

¹⁹ Pierre Eugène du Simitière (d. 1784) drew from life and published in London, *Thirteen portraits of American Legislators, Patriots and Soldiers, who distinguished themselves in rendering their Country Independent*. They were engraved by Burnet Reading, and published in 1783, by W. Richardson.

loss of the Fort to your depending upon another person's judgment, instead of relying upon your own: and have been ready to think, that, had not Generals Putnam and Greene told you what they did, (when you met them recrossing from the Fort, and thereby encouraged you to risk it) you would have withdrawn the garrison the night before the attack. But that our military officers, tho' not wanting in personal courage, should be deficient in experience, and thereby be led into errors, in that early stage of the war, is not to be wondered at. Scarce any had seen service upon so large a scale; and mere instructions and knowledge gained by reading will not make an adept in practice, there must also be experience. I was pleased with your wish — and the reason for it — “ I hope none of the sparks will light on American ground, which I fear is made up of too much combustible matter, for its well being ” — for I had the same hope, and the same fear. By what Mr. Jefferson writes about the 16th of last December to Mr. Lowell ²⁰ I am apprehensive that the flames of war have burst out in Europe. The purport of his letter as related to me by Mr. Lowell is, that tho' the people at large talked of an accommodation, there were no whispers of that kind from the cabinets; that the measures taken indicated the contrary; so that he expected Holland and France would engage the Emperor for a while, that Russia would then join the latter, on which Prussia and the Turks would become the allies of the former, while Britain from her present weakness or good policy would not take part in the quarrel, but reap from it all the benefit that a neutrality would procure. I learnt also from Mr. Lowell, that the Duke of Dorset was appointed to negotiate a treaty of commerce with our Commissioners, that he had written to them, observing that while France and America were allies in war, there was a propriety in treating at Paris; but that the case being altered, it did not consist with the dignity of his Sovereign to treat now at Paris; that if the Americans chose it, an agent would be sent to America to transact the business, or that he should be ready to treat with them at London, upon which our Commissioners intended to repair to London.

My young Friend by his spontaneous *answer* has given me the *tone* of the family, for which I am much obliged to him; we know from the proverb that children speak *true*, not being versed in the arts of deceit. My love to him: but tho' I recollect with pleasure the entertainments afforded me at Mount Vernon, I have little or no expectation of being in the way of a repetition. Am sorry that

²⁰ See Jefferson to Monroe, December 10, 1784. *Writings of Jefferson* (Ford), IV. 387.

your Lady is so often troubled with billious complaints. I am no M. D., or might give my opinion, but as I am a lover of porter may mention having heard of its being good in such cases. I frequently drink half a pint at night, and pronounce myself better for it. Billious complaints I am not subject to. The porter I drink, tho' bottled, is not windy; the utmost [*illegible*] of its life serves only to varnish it over with a thin surface of white. Your Excellency will be pleased to present our best respects to the Family. With increasing esteem I remain Your Excellency's sincere Friend and very humble Servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS ²¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Apr. 8, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—I hope this will find you at Westminster. I congratulate you upon your late appointment; it was what I wished for, as what I thought would be agreeable to you, and for the good of our country. The treaty of commerce may be too far settled to admit of alteration: but if your correspondents have not urged you in the most pressing manner, to exert every nerve to obtain an importation of our whale oil on much easier terms than at present, they have failed greatly. The continuance of the present duty is next to a prohibition, and will occasion the whale-men to remove from Cape Cod, *etc.*, *etc.*, to Nova Scotia. I know what I assert to be fact, having my information from a gentleman concerned in the business, whose Captains have declared as much, as to themselves. Exert yourself also to obtain the support of the British ministry in settling with the Algerines, that our vessels may go to the Mediterranean with safety. By the by, a story has been propagated that Palfrey ²² was taken by the Algerines, and is now labouring at the Oar. I am fearful there is no truth in it: but as it is possible, that the ship in which he was might be driven out of sight in the night, and not be lost as is imagined, and be afterwards taken, I wish you out of regard to his family and respect to his memory, to make inquiry and to receive certain information from the British resident at Algiers, whether any such American vessel was taken, in 1781, if I mistake not the date.

The last January twelvemonth I sent you a letter which was enclosed to my brother, and to be by him forwarded to Holland to

²¹ From the Adams MSS.

²² William Palfrey (1741-1780), appointed, Nov. 4, 1780, Consul-General in France, embarked at Chester on the *Shillala*, an armed ship of sixteen guns, and was never heard of, after the ship left the Capes.

Messrs. De Neufville. He received and sent it on. I have had no answer, how that happens I know not. You best know, whether there is any truth in my suspicion, that the free use I made of your liberal sentiments respecting the Tories to counter-act the narrow and pernicious politics of some individuals, has induced them to caution you against corresponding with me, especially in that free and open manner.

Now for Massachusetts. The late Governor notified to the General Court his proposed resignation; thought by some Deeps to be a finesse for settling himself in the chair another twelve-month: An answer was prepared. My friend informed me, that he did not like it, on account of its flattery; but learnt afterward that the complexion given it was meant to make it go down glib with the governor's party, and thereby catch them. They were well pleased: but after agreeing to it, moved some addition, amounting really to a request that he would not resign for his bad health, and that they would dispense with his doing governmental duty. They could not carry it; the resignation took place. The Lt. Govr. Cushing was, let me say, with much officious effrontery recommended in the speech to the general court for a successor. Mr. Hancock used his influence to get him into the chair. Questions against Bowdoin were published in the *Centinel* of saturday.²³ This gave the opposite party an opening for other questions in favour of him, and for publishing against Mr. Hancock and Mr. Cushing. Messrs. Adams, Higginson, Davis, Lowell, *etc.*, exerted themselves. The monday's papers²⁴ teemed with publications for Bowdoin and against the others. Hand bills were added. The election began. Hancock went to the Hall. If he expected shouts, *etc.*, he was disappointed. Upon the close there were for Mr. Bowdoin as Governor 574, for Mr. Cushing about 340; ²⁵ for him [Cushing] as Lt. Govr. 665, for many voted for him as Lt. Govr. to give him bread, who had no notion of him as chief magistrate.

²³ "QUERIES. Who refused to be a member of the first Congress, when the situation of their country demanded the exertions of all its friends?

"Who refused to be Lieutenant Governour when the dispute between Great-Britain and America was undetermined?

"Who rejected the choice of counsellor? — Is this a suitable character for chief magistrate?

"Shall we confer dignities on a man who withheld his services from his country, at a time of her distress, and neglect them who have ever stood foremost with life and property, and exposed themselves to every danger?" *Massachusetts Centinel*, April 2, 1785.

²⁴ *Boston Gazette*, April 4, 1785.

²⁵ The *Massachusetts Chronicle* and *Independent Centinel* agree that 337 votes were cast for Cushing for Governor and 630 for Lowell for Senator.

Senators: S. Adams, 692; [Cotton] Tufts, 901; [John] Lowell, 628; Deacon [William] Phillips, 739; [Richard] Cranch, 408; [William] Heath, 407.

Roxbury: Bowdoin, 48, Cushing, Lt. Govr. 42. Senators: Phillips 49; Lowell, 49; Heath, 42; Tufts, 47; [Stephen] Metcalf of Bellingham, 33; Higginson, 27; Cranch, 5.

Dedham: Bowdoin, 86 out of 97.

Mystick: Do., all

Cambridge: Do., 20; Cushing 10; Dana, 11.

Salem: Do., most. By what can be gathered Mr. Bowdoin is likely to be chosen by the people; and if so, he will serve, and the State be delivered out of the hand of Quacks. Tho' it is now your Excellency, I trust your good sense remains, and that you are for freedom among friends. Mrs. Gordon unites in respects to Self, Lady and family. Do not recollect anything further that is material. I continue with real esteem Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

I have written *currente calamo*, being in enormous haste.

Apr. 9. This comes by Col. Norton²⁶ one of our Senators, whom I take to be a worthy gentleman. He will inform you more about Mr. Bowdoin, and what a winter we have had and that we have now an immense quantity of snow upon the ground, more than for 44 years back.

TO JOHN ADAMS²⁷

NEW YORK, AUGT. 13, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR,—Yours by your son²⁸ was a very agreeable letter. I received it last wednesday while at the President's,²⁹ where I had the pleasure of viewing your living picture. You have confirmed me in my suspicion that tho' there were many pictures abroad there was little likeness. I shall do my best, and it may be well for one who is not a writer of the first talents, nor been employed thirty years in making my collection. I shall pay more attention to resemblance, than the colours and the drapery. I mean not to publish the *whole* truth of what I know, tho' nothing but what I know or believe to be true.

²⁶ Beriah Norton, of Nantucket.

²⁷ From the Adams MSS.

²⁸ John Quincy Adams, who had returned from Paris, July 17, 1785, intending to enter Harvard College.

²⁹ Richard Henry Lee.

I hope to see you in England by this time twelvemonth; and to be engaged in drawing off from the dreggs an historical spirit, that shall deserve the attention of the public. Mr. Jay and I have got great and thick since my arrival in the city. Propose returning the way I came, by water, to Newport, so to Providence, *etc.*, the beginning of next week; and being accompanied by your son, whom I persuade to go in that way rather than in the land carriages, whose drivers are furious and careless, so as to make it dangerous. It is feared, that for want of a sufficient representation, the Congress will not get through their requisitions, which will be bad for our character.

Mr. Hancock you will know before this can reach you, is chosen one of our delegates.³⁰ Politicians conjecture, he is laying out for the President's chair, that there will be all the apparatus of his coming on, and that if chosen during absence he will answer to appearances; but that if not chosen, illness real or feigned will prevent it.

This will be handed by Dr. Rodgers, a young gentleman of fair character and good behaviour, who served in the army in the physical line and has since been studying in Scotland. He is the son of Dr. Rodgers³¹ the Presbyterian minister of this city, whom you cannot but know by the hearing of the ear, tho' you may not by the seeing of the eye. Tho' the bearer is not a Bayman, yet as he has ever been a high son of liberty and a thorough American, I am persuaded he will meet with many civilities from you. Pray my best regards to your Lady and daughter, and accept the same yourself, from your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

Not having my own study and tackling, I cannot write as I would; but hope to be legible.

TO NATHANAEL GREENE³²

JAMAICA PLAIN, Au't 27, 1785.

DEAR GENERAL — You will oblige me greatly by an answer to the following questions, upon the return of Mr. Mumford, viz, was

³⁰ "Mr. Hancock, being too infirm to act as Governor of Massachusetts, is chosen as member of Congress for the next year, and will probably take his seat in the President's seat next November. This is escaping Scylla to fall into Charybdis." *John Quincy Adams to his sister*, July 17, 1785.

³¹ William Rogers (1751-1824).

³² 2 *Historical Magazine*, III. 25.

the proposal for Baron Steuben's attacking Knipphausen in the night, after the burning of Connecticut Farms, on June the 6th; or after the engagement at Springfield on June the 23d? Had Gen'l Washington, the whole force included, on the 23d of June no more than 2500, or had he received between the 6th of June and that period any reinforcement? Was Gen'l Washington at Morris Town or at Short Hills on June the 23d? Was it upon Knipphausen's first advancing from Elizabeth Town that you advised Gen'l Washington to retreat under the feint of guarding the passes, or was the advice given or renewed when they advanced the second time June 23d? Did Gen'l Washington march at all, as the annual Register³³ mentions *with the greater part of his army to secure West Point, etc.*, before the British advanced again toward Springfield on the 23d June?

The readiness You have ever shewn to enable me to keep to the *exact* truth, encourages me thus to trespass upon your time. I know it will give you less pain to prevent my mistaking, than to read any of my mistakes in print. If the Baron is with you, make my respects acceptable to him, and inform him I shall be glad of the Frenchman's name,³⁴ whether nobleman or commoner, who encouraged his coming over and acquainted him with Mr. Beaumarchais being permitted to send us over military stores, for which Mr. Beaumarchais was to be debited and to account to the French ministry. My best wishes attend You, your Lady and children, while you remain in these eastern states and when you remove to Georgia.

Your sincere friend and very humble Servant.

Have written to Mr. Hazard as proposed about Dr. Ramsay's map of the Carolinas.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, September 10, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — Till now I have had nothing of late worth communicating, but the following extract from a Letter dated London June 30, 1785 I think will be pleasing, and have therefore sent it to your Excellency.

³³ This reference is of interest as showing that Gordon was a reader of the *Annual Register* before he returned to London.

³⁴ Steuben had been recommended to Franklin with the favor of Comte de Vergennes and Comte de St. Germain.

Mr. Temple accompanied Mr. Adams to the kings levee; after the levee was over, Mr. Adams, according to etiquette, was introduced to the kings closet, where (as is usual for foreign ministers) he made a speech to his majesty, in performing which he was somewhat affected, and when he had finished the king said:

Sir, The whole of this business is so extraordinary, that the feelings you discover upon the occasion, appear to me to be just and proper. I wish, Sir, to be clearly understood, before I reply to the very obliging sentiments you have expressed in behalf of the United States of America. I am, you may well suppose Sir, the last person in England, that consented to the dismemberment of the empire by the Independence of the new States, and while war was continued, I thought it due to my subjects to prosecute that war to the utmost: but Sir, I have consented to their Independence, and it is ratified by treaty, and I now receive you as their minister plenipotentiary; and every attention, respect and protection granted to other plenipotentiaries, you shall receive at this Court: and, Sir, as I was the last person that consented to the Independence of the said United States, so I will be the last person to disturb or in any measure infringe upon their sovereign independent rights. And I hope and trust, that from blood, religion, manners, habits of intercourse and almost every other consideration, that the two nations will continue for ages in friendship and confidence with each other *etc., etc.*³⁵

Lord Carmarthen,³⁶ Secretary of state (who was the only minister in the closet, when Mr. Adams made his speech and received the foregoing answer) repeated it to Mr. Temple the d[ay] after. Mr. Adams was afterwards presented to the queen, to whom he made a speech (as is customary). She politely thanked him for his friendly expressions towards her and her family, and was very happy to see him in England.

Wishing your Excellency, Lady, my young friend and the rest of the family the best of blessings I remain, my dear Sir, Your very humble servant.

TO NATHANAEL GREENE³⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, Sep'r 12, 1785.

DEAR SIR — I have sent you by Mr. Mumford part of a map of New York and its environs, containing the portion of Long Island,

³⁵ The official text of the King's reply is in *Life and Works of John Adams*, VIII. 257.

³⁶ Francis Godolphin Osborne (1751-1799), Secretary of State for the Foreign Department.

³⁷ From 2 *Historical Magazine*, III. 24.

whereon were our works; You will oblige me by marking out upon it, with a pencil or ink, the lines and fortifications and every thing else that may prove explanatory to the transactions that passed upon it. Whatever illustrations may be necessary be pleased to communicate in writing. In a former letter I requested answers to the following queries, viz.

Was the proposed night attack to be made by the Baron, when Kniphausen advanced the first time and burnt Connecticutt Farms, or after the attack at Springfield Bridge?

Was Gen. Washington at Morris Town or at Short-Hills, when the last attack was made? Had he only 2500 the whole included at that period, or had he received any reinforcement after the enemy's fire landing at Elizabeth Point making his number more than 2500?

Was the advice to retreat and cover the necessity by pleading that it was to guard the heights, given upon the enemy's first coming out, or when they were advancing the second time toward Springfield?

Did he go or send any troops to the Highlands as the British historians say, after the landing of Kniphausen?

The death of your child and the sickness in your family, of which I have been informed since writing them, may have prevented my receiving an answer. I sympathize with you under your exercises.

Have requested Mr. Hazard to send you immediately a Map of the Carolinas executed for Dr. Ramsay's History, which he will do if he can procure one. Pray you to give me your opinion of it, and if it is good and will answer, to perfect it, where wanting, by marking scenes of action — the routes of the armies — and the places where they crossed rivers, *etc.*, as I would make every thing as plain to the reader as possible. I suspect that the Kings Mountain affair will be too *well* told in Dr. Ramsay. Shall be glad to know, therefore, whether You are at a certainty as to Messrs. Campbell, Cleveland and Williams's meeting by accident³⁸ — whether they did not attack in three divisions, and in three different places, and whether when Ferguson drove one party, the other did not advance and attack him in flank or rear, so that he had it not in his power upon driving the one to push on and attempt a retreat; and whether you had it from Campbell himself or what other, that he found it exceeding difficult to prevail on his men to renew the attack. The paper with which this is accompanied, I apprehend

³⁸ William Campbell (1745-1781), Benjamin Cleveland (1738-1806), and James Williams (1740-1780). See chap. XIX in Ramsay's *History of the American Revolution*.

will be acceptable, but would not have it get into the public prints: Have written in great haste but trust to your goodness to excuse it. With respects to Lady and family I remain your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

BOSTON, September 19, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — Have just received your letter with the Contents written by Mr. McHenry, and shall attend to your obliging hints, will be more full in my next. Was alarmed at the black seal, and find no particular mention of the occasion. Wish your Lady better health, in which Mrs. Gordon would join me and in best respects to yourself, did she know of my writing. Your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, September 26, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — I hope your tour has proved satisfactory, and that the obstructions in the river are not invincible; but that the expence of removing them, will be far short of the advantage. The memoirs furnish me with some circumstances, to which I was before a stranger. But in certain places the colouring is too strong. It did not require the bold judgment of a most experienced general to relinquish the Canada expedition, when there were not the means of prosecuting it with any reasonable prospect of success. There was no great manœuvring in his extricating himself from the critical situation into which he had been brought, perhaps not wholly by the negligence of the militia, but partly by his dropping the night before the hint of his meaning to remain upon the spot till the next morning, and which was forwarded to the British commander. The stupidity of Grant in not going down immediately to and securing the Ford, but passing down a *longer* road to come upon the Marquis, than the Marquis had to pass in order to his gaining the Ford, opened a door for the escape of the latter, which his good sense could not miss of improving. But I should be glad to know from your Excellency, whether Grant had seven thousand men; and whether besides Gray's being on the Marquis's left with the light infantry, Generals Howe and Clinton were advancing by the Ridge road with the main body of the British army. I am appre-

hensive, that Howe had quitted the command before the affair aluded to happened. I have frequently recollected what our friend General Knox said to me upon the occasion, "Here we were saved by pure providence without any interposition of our own."

I do not recollect having had the matter represented before as in the Memoirs, on the arrival of the French fleet the Marquis was joined by 3000 French troops, when taking command of the whole, he put in motion all the springs he got ready. Cornwallis was now entangled on every side, while the Marquis took a strong position at Williamsburg. Wish to be informed, whether the French joined the Marquis after landing, and whether he commanded the whole, and whether the French were with him, when he took his strong position at Williamsburg.

As to what follows in the Memoirs, "The inducements for attacking the British general, before he had finished his works, had never been so strong as at this moment, but the Marquis still governed by the dictates of that judgment, *etc.*, would not sacrifice a sure operation for the uncertain glory of a battle," it might have been spared; for nothing would have been more censurable than an attack at that period, when he was acquainted with the plan of operations concerted against Cornwallis.

Though I cannot place him next to General Washington, yet I shall attend to your Excellency's observation, that the Marquis deserves all the gratitude which this country can render, and in speaking to his commendation I shall take heed to do it, in the way you suggest. Information as to the points above mentioned, when leisure will admit of your giving them, will further oblige Your Excellency's sincere friend and humble servant.

Mrs. Gordon unites in best regards to Self and Lady, for whom I have laid aside some tulips and other flowering roots which I mean to send by the first ship for Alexandria.³⁹

TO NATHANAEL GREENE ⁴⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, Sep'r 26, 1785.

DEAR SIR — Your obliging letter, with the map part of Long Island improved, were received on the saturday in good order. Your information is such as I wished to receive. I make it a rule not to produce my vouchers for the facts I relate, when it may lay them under difficulties, so that you need not be under any apprehen-

³⁹ Washington's reply, dated Dec. 6, 1785, is in Col. Soc. Mass., *Transactions*, VII. 191.

⁴⁰ 2 *Historical Magazine*, III. 25.

sions, of your being known to be an author as to any communications with which you may entrust me.

Lest you should not receive Dr. Ramsay's map in time, or it should not answer upon inspection, have sent the maps of Virginia and Maryland, of North and S'h Carolina, on which I pray you, can you possibly find time, to mark your marches and counter-marches, the same of Cornwallis's, the places where You, Morgan, Huger and Williams crossed the rivers, where battles were fought, and important matters transacted; and whatever else may tend to the illustration of the history of the war. Let me hear, when you, your Lady and family mean to move to the south ward. My best wishes will attend you; and I shall rejoice to hear, that you have tried and succeeded in the plan of admitting the negroes to the rights of copyholders, which if it could be once effected might possibly tend to their increasing so as to render further importations of them needless. Could you, by your example, prove instrumental in demolishing slavery and the importations of negroes, I should think you rendered the human species nearly as much service, as when you was fighting successfully against British attempts to reduce the white inhabitants of America to the hard condition of slaves.

Mrs. Gordon unites in best respects, to Self Lady and family, with Your much obliged humble servant and sincere friend.

TO JOHN ADAMS ⁴¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, Oct. 4, 1785.

DEAR SIR, — Your two letters of Apr. 27th and June 16th were duly received. The first at the President's, Richard Henry Lee, Esqr., where I had the pleasure of dining with your son on the 10th of Augt., being at New York on my last tour for collecting historical materials. I have not seen him since he reacht this state; but have heard of his welfare. I am busily employed in the way you mention; and am glad to find by what you write, that I was not out in my conjecture, that the present pictures which are circulating, have no likeness. I shall not pretend to give a full and compleat history, but I shall aim at its being impartial, tho' I shall not attempt to publish the whole truth, for the reasons you have mentioned. I flatter myself, however, that there will be a resemblance, known so to be by many; but which will not be thought so to be by multitudes, other than as the historian may be credited. They will be hard to believe, that so much quackery and exaggeration, so much

⁴¹ From the Adams MSS.

puff and vapour, and so much dreggs, went into the composition of public appearances.

As I am in hopes, that no such policy as was wrought in France, will be practised at the British Post Office, so I shall forward this in the common way of correspondance.

Dr. F[ranklin] is arrived, is honoured, is caressed, *etc.*, but his friends will not be very wise should they promote him to the Presidentship in Pennsylvania, nor he be prudent, should he accept it, at his time of life, when he cannot answer for the continuance of his faculties for a single day.

I was repeatedly in company with Mr. Jay at his own house, and was much delighted with him; he communicated to me some very important intelligence; and I am much mistaken, or our affairs abroad will be well managed by him. Upon the affair between Govr. Bowdoin and Capt. Stanhope,⁴² he made sensible remarks and gave excellent advice. It will go near to give you some employ, and I trust will procure the Captain a severe rap upon the knuckles.

Our friend Dana, you will have heard before now, is one of the judges of the superiour court. The promotion was made by Mr. Hancock — not out of *love* to Dana — but some of the lawyers out of *love* to themselves, urged the promotion, that so he might not return again to the bar. Upon the same principle, should the aforementioned gentleman go to Congress, for the ensuing year commencing at November, he would use all his interest in *favour* of you to keep you abroad, should he have hopes of getting again into the chair, unless you should return. Many a person has been honoured with a foreign promotion to get him out of the way; that however has not been the case as to your Excellency and Congress. I dined at Milton the last saturday with our friends Mr. and Mrs. Warren. They were well. You was the subject of conversation part of the time; for I shewed them your letters and they returned the compliment in kind. I do not suppose he will come again into publick life. Cushing will probably be continued Lt. Govr. annually,⁴³ unless Goreham⁴⁴ should oust him, by his subtle manœuvring, at which he is reported to me by the knowing ones, to be notably dexterous.

Now for the last. Your assurance is sufficient. Politically considered, we are certainly Aliens, as to the British nation, tho' blood relations to the inhabitants. You must not rely with regard to the English, that the hopes of introducing and establishing the spermaceti fishery among themselves are visionary. You may depend upon

⁴² Edwin Stanhope.

⁴³ Cushing was Lieutenant-Governor from 1780 to February 28, 1788.

⁴⁴ Nathaniel Gorham (1738-1796).

the contrary, or both my information (which comes from persons actually concerned in the fishery, thorough Americans, and who have been so all through the late contest) and my conjectures are wrong, should the heavy duty be continued, and administration be determined to exert their efforts in order to effect it. The scheme you hint at has been forwarded by the aids of the Marquis Le Fayette, and proposals and specimens of oil sent to Mr. Breck; but in the present form I am persuaded will not answer. Besides it will be difficult to form a *company* on this side the Atlantic to engage in it. We are too young for such a business, as well as for banking. Not only so but the ships which have returned lately, have not brought in, as I learn, a single spermaceti whale.

I wish you to go upon another scheme, and to push the reduction of the duty from 18 to 8 pounds sterling. The ministry might venture to carry such a reduction, when they will not attempt a removal. We may lose all by aiming at too much; and Mr. Higginson⁴⁵ assured me, when conversing lately with me on the subject, that they could make the fishery answer, if successful in catching, had they no heavier duty to pay than eight pounds sterling per ton. The present ministry seem to be favourable to us and we should make the best of them; but should not urge them to measures that may contribute to a change which may and probably will prove highly injurious to ourselves. Fox's coalescing with North is an invincible demonstration, that no reliance is to be had upon him. May substantial proofs of sincerity be given! but then perhaps they must be doled out in small portions and be given in detail, because of the peculiarity of the times. When the dissenters applied to Sir Robert Walpole for the removal of their just complaints; he asked them whether nothing would satisfy but the removal of the whole. No. Then it can't be done; would you strip the horses tail, you must pull out hair by hair. A high tone on our part will not do. We are not enough united; but are inclined to divide more and more. The Main, I expect, before a twelvemonth is at an end, will break off from the Massachusetts and set up for a new State. Things are working that way apace. Besides Vermont, two States have set up for themselves toward the Ohio. The Spaniards have also closed up the navigation of the Mississippi. Have obliged the inhabitants of the Natchez to take the oath of allegiance to his catholic majesty, and have erected and garrisoned a fort there. I want to manœuvre in some such commercial way, as that the British vessels should navigate up and down the Mississippi upon a trading plan with the Americans in the neighbourhood of that river, and so oblige the Spaniards to open it both for them and us. I am per-

⁴⁵ Stephen Higginson (1743-1828).

sued that the business of Don [Gardoqui?] at Congress is to manœuvre them, if possible, into a relinquishment of their claim and right to the navigation of that river; but I am convinced he will labour in vain. Should he attempt playing off France by way of aid, I hope a counter-game will be played that will make them afraid.

Mr. Bowdoin is very popular; for he has convinced all, that he is not afraid of spending his money and *he* has abilities. Your paragraph relating to Temple I sent off immediately to Gerry at New York.

Propose returning with my family next summer to England, and then printing as fast as the press can work. I shall make an early appearance, if favoured of Heaven with health and a safe arrival, not at your Excellency's levee for that I don't understand, but in your closet, to have some free familiar chat, as in days of yore. Mrs. Gordon unites in best wishes to self, Lady and Miss. I remain with real and great esteem, Your Excellency's sincere friend and humble servant.

TO NATHANAEL GREENE ⁴⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Nov'r 24, 1785.

DEAR SIR — I hope this will find you and your family safe and well in Georgia. You have obliged me greatly by marking out, as you have done, upon the N. and S. Carolina map. Have now sent you one of my proposals, for printing by subscription, the History of the American Revolution, in four volumes. After such experience of your friendship, I cannot doubt of your countenance, in promoting and hastening subscriptions, so far as it falls in your way, that so the work may be the sooner published, and with the embellishments mentioned in the proposals. Messrs. May & Hills, Merchants in Savannah do me the favour of receiving subscriptions on my behalf. With the sincerest regards to Self Lady and children, I remain with much esteem, Dear Sir, Your very humble servant and real friend.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, November 28, 1785.

MY DEAR SIR, — My design of publishing is now in such forwardness, that I expect the proposals for the History of the American Revolution, will be circulated through the United States by the first

⁴⁶ From 2 *Historical Magazine*, III. 25.

week in January. I have given direction, that a few should be forwarded to your Excellency from New York as soon as printed. Shall think myself greatly honoured and served by your countenance.⁴⁷ I have requested of my friend Mr. Roberdeau⁴⁸ to receive subscriptions for me at Alexandria, and promise myself from his former acts of kindness, that he will oblige me in it; through the advice of Colonel Gibbs have made a like application to Colonel Fitzgerald;⁴⁹ Colonel Gibbs has supported it by a letter. Mrs. Gordon unites in sincere regards to your Excellency, your Lady, and the rest of the family, the young gentleman especially, with, my Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, December 19, 1785.

DEAR SIR,— I find in my minutes the following story to have been reported, the truth or error of which I wish to have ascertained, and therefore make my application to you as the proper person to establish or contradict it, viz.

When Gen'l Washington was at Morris Town in 1777 with the fewest men, a British officer was taken in a skirmish, who was permitted to go about upon his parole; within a few days he forfeited his honour and went off. Gen'l Washington being told it, cried out *then I am ruined*; but sent for a counter-spy, who went off for Cornwallis: on coming to his quarters, Cornwallis with other officers were in consultation. The spy insisted upon seeing Cornwallis, and sent in his name, on which he was ordered into the room, when he delivered a return to Cornwallis, according to which Gen'l Washington had one regiment at Bound Brook, another at this place, a third at that and so on, making his whole force between three and 4,000 men — upon reading of which Cornwallis cursed and said, Did I not tell you so? What a pritty scrape we should have been brought into, had we attended to our information! It does not signify, I never will trust to the information of a man that will break his parole. And so nothing was attempted.

I am now full as busy as a hen with one chick. Your Excellency will therefore excuse my enlarging, which may possibly be equally adapted to your numerous engagements. Mrs. Gordon unites in

⁴⁷ "Thursday, 16th [February, 1786]. Put one of Doctr. Gordon's Subscription Papers (yesterday) in the hands of Doctr. Craik to offer to his acquaintances." *Diaries of Washington* (Fitzpatrick), III. 15.

⁴⁸ Daniel Roberdeau (1727-1795).

⁴⁹ John Fitzgerald, one of Washington's aids.

most sincere regards to Self, Lady and friends, the young one particularly, with your Excellency's affectionate friend and humble servant.

TO SAMUEL OSGOOD⁵⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, Jan. 10, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — It was not till last saturday I could find time to examine A Plan for liquidating certain debts of the state of Pennsylvania, said to be the production of Robert Morris Esq'r. Upon comparing page 5, with Paper No. III. in the Address and Recommendations to the States by the United States in Congress assembled, I could not but think, that they, who, upon reading the Estimate, supposed the author of it defective in knowledge or fraught with subtilty, were not wholly mistaken.

The estimate stands thus, Goods from Europe exclusive of tea brandy and wine 3,500,000*£* sterling,

	dollars	
Impost 5 per ct ad valorem	777,773	
On 2,000,000 gallons rum and other spirits	66,666	60/90
100,000 do. Madeira wine	13,333	30
600,000 do. other wine	40,000	
300,000 lb. bohea tea	20,000	
25,000 do. other teas	6,666	
75,000 cwt sugar, including loaf	46,666	
200,000 lb. coffee and cocoa	2,222	
2,000,000 gallons of molasses	22,223	
	995,550	
Deduct for collection, about 8 per cent	79,594	
Net revenue upon this estimate	915,956	

By the proportion of 1,500,000 dollars, required from Pennsylvania p 12 of the Address 205,189, that State should be a seventh and near a third of the United States.

By the Pennsylvania Plan page 5 the imports upon a reduced estimate, that would probably exceed instead of lessening, the articles to be paid ad valorem, are placed

at	600,000 <i>£</i>	
rum and other spirits	1,000,000	of gallons
Madeira wine at about	40,000	
Other wines	240,000	
Bohea tea	300,000	lb.
other teas	50,000	do.
Sugar including loaf	8,000,000	do. or 71,428 C-1 Q-8 lb
Coffee and cocoa	600,000	lb.
Molasses	500,000	gallons

⁵⁰ From the Osgood Papers in the New York Historical Society.

Goods whether European or Asiatic, impost 5 per cent ad valorem, upon 600,000*£* sterling multiplied by six only and not 7½. 3,600,000, but say

							<i>dollars</i>
1,000,000 gallons of rum and other spirits, multiplied by 5 only	.	.	.	.	.	3,500,000 <i>£</i>	777,773
40,000 do. of Madeira wine multiplied by 4	.	.	.	.	.	5,000,000 gallons	166,666
240,000 do. of other wines	.	.	.	.	.	160,000 do.	21,333
300,000 lb. of bohea tea	.	.	.	.	.	960,000 do.	64,000
50,000 do. of other teas	.	.	.	.	.	1,500,000 lb.	100,000
71,428-1-8 of sugar	.	.	.	.	.	200,000 do.	53,328
600,000 lb. of coffee and cocoa	.	.	.	.	.	357,141 cwt.	222,221
500,000 gallons of molasses	.	.	.	.	.	2,400,000 lb.	26,664
	.	.	.	.	.	3,500,000 gallons	38,890
							1,470,876

Deduct for charge of collection 4 per ct. and one fifth . .
rather more than the Pennsylvania plan allows

	71,202
Net revenue upon this estimate	1,399,674
Net revenue upon Congress estimate	915,956
Exceeds the Congress estimate by . . .	483,718

The interest upon the foreign debt of dollars, only called for this year
A surplusage, for sinking the principal, of 399,674

1,399,674

I am so hurried with a multiplicity of business, that you will excuse trifling errors, and kindly attend to capital truths.

REMARKS *ETC.* UPON THE PRECEDING STATEMENTS

The Pennsylvania estimates are founded upon facts, but reduced to such a scale as to leave no apprehension of their falling below it: they may serve therefore as a good basis on which to build general analogical calculations for the United States.

It is supposed that the taking off a seventh and one third for the goods to be imposed ad valorem, besides the deduction of 100,000£, will place the sum sufficiently low, while it makes it to coincide with the estimate of the United States.

It can scarce be thought that the rum and spirits in all the other states, should be less than four times the quantity in Pennsylvania, which with that included will make the multiplicator for all, five.

There is a large quantity of Madeira wine drank in New York State, probably not less than in Pennsylvania, considering that the present seat of Congress is in its capital, surely then we may multiply that article by four.

And as, where they do not reach to Madeira in general use, they probably drink more in proportion of the other wines, the multiplying by the same figure may be safely admitted.

Bohea tea is so generally used in all the States, that five times the quantity will most probably fall considerably lower than the truth.

Other teas are coming more into vogue, than formerly, that four times the quantity may be thought a reasonable calculation.

Sugar is almost become a necessary of life every where, that cannot therefore be set at less than five times the quantity.

Coffee and cocoa are so common that it may be fixed at four times; should it go out of use, the consumption of tea will be increased, so that what is lost in one way will be gained in the other.

The quantity of molasses imported into the Massachusetts and Rhode Island, is thought to be not less than 3,000,000, so that 3,500,000 must be greatly within bounds.

As the country fills by population and accessions from Europe, and as commerce flourishes after once cleared from present embarrassments, we are warranted in expecting, that the imports and consumption will increase, while the exports grow in proportion, and till the balances of trade between the U S and foreign powers are upon a par or in favour of America.

Requisitions of hard money from the States never produce the cash in time; what method then can be thought of to correct this national malady, but the impost? For that let nothing but the hard money be taken; which the merchant will be more likely to procure and pay, than the planter who lives at a vast distance from capital

towns, where the cash circulates the most freely. Let the whole impost be sacredly appropriated to the payment of the interest and the reduction of the principal of the foreign debt; and facilities be provided for the payment of the domestick.

The constant appropriation of the surplus beyond the million of dollars, viz 399,674 will operate powerfully in sinking the principal. But upon turning my eye afresh to the Estimate of the national debt, the interest of the foreign debt is only 369,038 dollars and the principal Jan'y 1st, 1783 is 7,885,085. In less than eight years the whole debt due to foreigners may be paid off, this being the case; and an opportunity be embraced for demolishing the domestic debt. Matters being thus circumstanced, why will not Congress accommodate itself to the wishes of many well meaning republicans, require the impost only for fifteen years, and leave it to the several states to employ their own collectors, subject to the authority of the state that employs them? Upon the supposition, that the calculations I have made are near the mark, they can by adopting as much of them as they like, and shewing how much more will be raised than they expected, assign a good reason for reducing the term, from five and twenty, to fifteen years.

I have thrown these thoughts together in a hurry, with a view of serving the United States. You may possibly pick out hints from them, capable of being worked up by your abilities into something valuable. My respects to my friend Milligan, and others with whom I have the honour of being acquainted. By letting me hear from you, you will oblige your very humble servant.

I have no leisure for transcribing, so that you must be content with the first impression. I hope for the honour of your name among the subscribers to my History; and should any object to *advancing* money, assure them that without that assistance, the printing of the work cannot be undertaken, my circumstances being no ways equal to it, as it is to consist of four volumes; and should occasion require, do vouch for me that I am no pick-pocket. Stand by me as a *patron*, and argue for me against all reasonings that may be made to the mode of subscribing and *depositing* a moiety of the expence.

FROM SAMUEL OSGOOD ¹

NEW YORK, Jan'y 19th, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I was honored with your Favor of the 10th Instant the last Evening. It would give me Pleasure to devote a little Time to

¹ From the Osgood Papers in the New York Historical Society.

Examination of the Calculations you have been pleased to favor me with. But, Sir, you must excuse me, as my other Engagements do not leave me the Master of my Time.

In running them over cursorily, I was apprehensive that you had not made any Allowance for the Difference between Sterling and Penn'a Currency. You observe "that by the Penn'a Plan Page 5th the Imports upon a reduced Estimate that would probably exceed instead of lessening the Articles to be paid ad Valorem are placed at £600.000" There are many Reasons that might be offered to prove that Pennsylvania Imports or that there passes thro the Port of Philadel'a $1/5$ of all the Articles that are brot into the United States which are to be charged with the Impost ad Valorem. This being granted and the Difference of the Currency attended to the Estimate will stand as follows:

Amount of Articles brot into the United States to be charged with an Impost of 5 per Cent ad Valorem say five times the Am't imported into Philad'a viz't £3.000.000 or 8.000.000 Doll'rs

5 per Cent on 8.000.000 Doll'rs is . . . 400.000 Doll'rs. This falls short of your Estimate 377.773 Doll'rs, and if this be deducted from the Foot of your total Amount viz't 1.399.674, the remainder will be 1.021.901 Doll'rs which exceeds the Estimate of Congress 105.945. But, Sir it appears to me to be of little Consequence to attempt to make accurate Estimates of this Kind. We cannot calculate the Amount of Articles that will probably be run if the continental Impost should be adopted. The Collection will be much less vigorous and energetic under the continental Government than under the State Direction. The Execution of the Plan will alone discover the proper Allowances for this. But the Act of Congress has appropriated the Amount to the Discharge of the Interest and Principal of the public Debt and the States are at Liberty to make the Grant with a Proviso that if it is diverted to other Purposes the Grant shall cease.

I have always considered the Management of the Money Matters of the united States as a Business of the most serious Importance to the well being of the Union. From the Beginning of the late War to the Time the definitive Treaty of Peace was ratified I place the Expenditures of the united States at one hundred and fifty Millions of hard Dollars. That nearly one hundred Millions of Doll'rs were paid by the People by the most unequal and unjust Rule in the World that of a rapidly depreciating Medium. The Newness of the Situation and the Important Object Congress had in View did not permit them to turn their Attention sufficiently to æconomical Arrangements. Millions of Dollars remain yet unaccounted for and probably will forever. The Expenditures are now put upon a different footing. Contracts are made where they can be and it is the Interest of the Contractor to close his Acct's Monthly or quarterly because his Payments are not made till that is done. We have now more Time and Leisure as well as Experience purchased by the needless Expenditure of upwards of fifty Millions of Dollars, to introduce Order and Economy in all our Money Transactions. If the United States cannot establish these Points I am clear that they

ought not to be entrusted with any Money. But I flatter myself that if they adhere to the present Arrangements of the Treasury, there will not exist in the World so economical a Treasury; nor one where the Accounts are closed monthly and published quarterly for the Inspection of all.

Money Transactions require infinite Attention and Accuracy but they are attended with one peculiar Advantage — they partake of the Nature of mathematical Truths which are Capable of Demonstration — Figures put down properly will always speak the Truth.

I am clear in one point, that the united States must be entrusted with Monies other than the scanty Pittance that they obtain from the annual Requisitions. Ten Months will more explicitly show all that we cannot exist as a Nation without more prompt and effectual Supplies. Congress must either be vested with coercive Powers as to the Collection of Money or with the Impost which last for many Years to come will not be equal to the Necessities of the Nation; they must therefore if vested with the last be vested with the former also, or cease to be a Congress of any Consequence to the Union. A sovereign Body ought always to have a Power to do Justice. This Power I am very sensible will enable them also to do Injustice. Without the Power Injustice must certainly ensue. If we reason fairly upon the Subject, Reason will confirm the Opinion that Power must be lodged somewhere yet it should be done with a proper Degree of Caution and such Checks as will most probably tend to prevent an improper Use of it.

I was once strongly in the Opinion, which I apprehend you have long embraced. But four or five Years close Attention to the Subject, confronted with Facts as stubborn as ungrateful obliged me yield — to throw aside the Ideas of Patriotism and public Virtue they are no match in this Country for Dishonesty and Intrigue. Americans have no more Virtue than other People. Therefore the same Rules the same Laws which have been absolute necessary even to make the People happy because they tended to make them apparently virtuous, will be found equally necessary here. We must be governed by Laws, or we shall be no Nation at all. And those Laws ought to be vigorously executed; but in Order for this, they ought to be more mild and humane in many Instances than they at present are — for Want of this many Laws now defeat themselves and are worse than no Laws.

But these are Matters that belong to the several States and will return to Congress — you are not satisfied with the Term of Time that the Impost is to exist. Instead of 25 you would reduce the Term to 15 Years. I will freely own to you that I do not think the Alteration very material, nor do I think the supposed Excess that your Calculation establishes of any dangerous Consequence. The Reason may operate more forcibly upon me in my present Situation, than it will upon you. I find that it is a great Piece of Work to provide for the punctual Remittances of the Interest of the foreign Debt, and in the Course of next Year part of the Capital becomes payable. If we have Means to make the Remittances at all, they ought to be prompt and sure so that we may

make our Calculations and not be disappointed in them. If we are not able to do this; instead of remitting at Par, we shall lose from five to ten per Cent upon all our Remittances. The Interest has already accumulated to near a Million of Dollars, and if the Impost had now received the Sanction of every State before it could possibly be brot in to our Assistance, four or five hundred thousand Dollars more must have accrued. Therefore supposing your Calculation of the Neat Produce of the Impost to be right, yet it will take two or three Years constant Application of it, to git rid of what has and is constantly accumulating.

We are indebted to his most Christian Majesty 34 Millions of Livres 18 of which are to be discharged by twelve equal Payments the first of which is to commence the third Year after the Peace and we are at Liberty to discharge the whole as soon as we Please. Now, Sir, the above, with the Dutch Loan, will I am sure for a considerable Time, require nearly the whole of the Revenue from the Impost. And if some such certain Fund is not granted those Debts cannot and will not be discharged in the ordinary Way of Doing Business.

All the States know that the present Mode of contributing towards the Support of the federal Faith is highly unjust and unequal. The Contributions are altogether voluntary. Some contribute a little and many nothing at all, the Requisition for the Services of the Year 1781 is yet with the States and they have discharged only about $\frac{3}{8}$ of it. The Source of voluntary Supply must shortly be dried up entirely. And it is right that it should be. The Inequality is too great to admit of a much longer Continuation of it. And Congress ought either to divide the present Debt among the States and never in future have either Money or Credit — Or they ought to have Funds within their Command to enable them to answer their necessary Engagements — the last is undoubtedly the most eligible.

You mention a Mode of discharging the Interest of the domestic Debt by Facilities. This Term will be, if it is not now with the public Creditors as ignominious and reproachful as that of Commutation was to the opponents thereof.

Have you examined the necessary Operation of these Facilities. Have you examined on what footing they now stand and considered that they cannot be placed upon a fair and equal Footing. At present they have their Foundation in Iniquity and therefore cannot prosper. The Reason is this, Congress last September required of the States 3 Millions of Dollars, one Million of which was appropriated to defray the Interest of the foreign Debt; and the two others to defray the Interest of the domestic Debt — every State is allowed to pay two thirds in Facilities and required positively to pay one third in Specie. Now for Example's Sake let us compare Newhampshire and Georgia and suppose that the Interest due to the Citizens of Newhampshire is sufficient to absorb the whole of the Requisition on that State yet the Citizens must pay one third in Specie and by paying that, leave one third that is due to her Citizens unprovided for within the State. But as the whole of the

Requisition provides for the whole of the annual Expenditures, there is Provision some where for that remaining third due the Citizens of Newhampshire and perhaps upon Examination it might be found to be in Georgia. What Relief would this be to the Citizens of Newhampshire? would they send their Facilities to Georgia? The Proposal would be too insulting and injurious. This is the footing upon which those Facilities stand at present, and the Inequality will hereafter be severely felt by many of the public Creditors. And I know of no Way that they can be relieved without Congress shall be vested with a controuling Power by which they may oblige every State in the Union to bear its due Proportion of the public Burthens.

That Justice Judgement Mercy Money[?] and Wisdom may prevail in the united States, is the sincere Wish of, Dear Sir,²

[S. OSGOOD]

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 4, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — The last week I had the pleasure of seeing Gen'l Lincoln, from whom I learnt, that you had been so obliging as to send me trees by his vessel, put into a tub or tubs with earth, to preserve them, till the season admits of their being planted. Your Excellency will be pleased to receive my most hearty thanks for this fresh proof of friendship. Believe I shall make an offer of them to Gen'l Lincoln, as I am about returning to my native country, should an opportunity offer the ensuing April, and my affairs be so far settled as to admit of my going so soon. I should plant them about my present dwelling, did I see any prospect of a successor's being settled with the people; the want of which is no small affliction to me.³ When at London I design going to the press so as to allow of the History's being finished and received by the subscribers the next May twelvemonth at farthest, indeed by the first spring ships of '87. I shall do myself the honour of writing to you; after I am safely arrived with my family, should it please

² A letter from Gordon to John Temple, February 1, 1786, is in 7 *Collections*, vi. 88.

³ The pulpit of the Third Church, Roxbury, remained vacant seven years after the dismissal March 17, 1786, of Dr. Gordon. Thomas Gray (1772-1847) was ordained March 27, 1793, and continued to serve until his death, June 1, 1847.

"Gordon is in the zenith of subscription glory. He offers his proposals and then a printed receipt for 20/. Who can help giving it? You must fight at least against his countenance. I guess he will carry 1000 subs[criptions] from America, — 1000f." John Eliot to Belknap, February 8, 1786. 6 *Collections*, iv. 309.

God so to favour us. As I may possibly have something at one time or other to communicate, which I would wish to conceal from every one but yourself, I propose sending you a Cypher the next week, and if you approve of it let Cornwallis be the key, which keep secret in your own breast. Mrs. Gordon joins in best regards to your Excellency, your Lady, my young friend, Mr. and Mrs. L. Washington and others, with, Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

May I request your presenting my respects to my good friend Mr. Roberbeau and family, and acquainting him with my intention of sailing for Europe shortly, that he may double his kindness by forwarding the subscriptions to the utmost. Mean to write to him, time enough to admit of my receiving an answer on this side the Atlantic.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 16, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yesterday I received from Boston the box with the shrubs. They look as well as I could expect, and am greatly obliged to you for them. How far the severe frosts may have damaged them, must be left to the approaching spring to discover. I have some thoughts of taking a number of them with me to London. Should Providence fix me in that spot or neighbourhood, shall endeavour to furnish your garden and shrubbery, with flowers and plants, that may keep up the remembrance of an absent friend.

Since writing about the Memoir, *etc.*, have had an opportunity of satisfying myself as to several particulars. Still I am obliged to you, for what you have written.

The enemy came out in force from Philadelphia to surprize the Marquis; but I have not yet met with *positive* proof of their being commanded by Gen'l Howe in person. This matter I shall be able to ascertain when in London.

I rejoice most sincerely, that the difficulties respecting the navigation of the Patowmack decrease instead of increasing.

The obliging manner in which your Excellency and your Lady have been pleased to accept the trifling token of my strong gratitude is peculiarly pleasing.

When young people fulfill engagements of long standing, they do themselves honour and prove the genuineness of their affections.

May your nephew and niece ⁴ live long mutual blessings to each other; and a joy and comfort to all around them. I pray to be kindly remembered to them; as also to the Doctor and his lady and children at Alexandria; not forgetting Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington, and upon no account my young friend.

Have reason for thankfulness, that upon the whole we enjoy good health.

Have drawn out the cypher (which I shall enclose) and given a specimen of the mode of working with it. To you it may have no novelty. I remain with sincerest regards, Your Excellency's very humble servant.

Colonel Henley is likely to be a widower in a short time.⁵

TO HORATIO GATES ⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, Feb'y 25, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — I am over head and ears in business, by reason of my being obliged to sail for Europe much sooner than I intended. I propose going by Callahan,⁷ who I expect will sail the beginning of April. Your obliging letter contained mortifying truths; and was it known, that you wrote in that manner, you would stand a chance of being abused as much as your humble servant for designing to print his history in England. I give myself no concern; do not inquire after the authors, but leave them to write on till they are tired. I shall take ample revenge on the printers, by letting them see that they cannot come near me in printing binding and cheapness, all things considered. Some suppose that John Puff ⁸ upon the hill is concerned; that he bears me a grudge for telling him the truth fully and plainly, to his face, before the whole board of overseers, I am fully convinced; but tho' nominal president, I know him to be a very *little* man; and if he does not take care to die soon the world will know him to be a very *needy* man. The corporation made attachments to secure the college property, and very happily changed the attachment into a mortgage, so that they are safe. But to have done with so lame a subject, who I suppose

⁴ George Augustine Washington, son of Charles Washington, married, October 15, 1785, Frances, daughter of Burwell Bassett.

⁵ "What think you of poor Gordon's basting? He will not obtain subscribers. Yet how strange that *printers* should have so much influence in Society." John Eliot to Belknap, March 15, 1786. ⁶ *Collections*, IV. 311.

⁶ From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

⁷ John Callahan, of the *Neptune*, who sailed April 16 for London.

⁸ John Hancock.

to be capable of any thing, in inclination, tho' possessed of no strong nerves to execute, and to come to the point: I wish you to inform me, how that French present to Gen'l Washington and the army was disposed of — whether the Congress diverted the donation, by making themselves accountable for it as a loan, upon the plea, that the admission of such present had a natural tendency to set the army above them and to subject them to reproach — or whether the royal pill was taken by the army and its Commander in chief, whose patriotism I have not the least doubt of. Solve my difficulties speedily, before I quit America, and I promise you a letter when I get to England. My respects to your partner in housekeeping. I remain, my dear Sir, with real esteem Your very humble servant and sincere friend.⁹

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

BOSTON, April 9, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — This will probably be the last letter, you will receive from me till I have crossed the Atlantic. Should I get safe to London, through the kind orderings of Providence, shall take the first opportunity of writing to you. Expect to sail next wednesday wind and weather permitting. Shall take your present with me, to remind me of your friendship. The honour your Excellency has done me in confiding in my prudence not to abuse the information received from your papers, binds me to yourself and will oblige me to answer your expectations. The abuse with which I have been loaded by the public prints, shall only make me the more cautious in answering the character of a faithful Historian. If I can, will contrive that you may have the *Chronicle* as usual. Mrs. Gordon joins in most affectionate regards to Your Excellency, your Lady, and the rest of your worthy family. Your Excellency's sincere friend and humble servant.

⁹ A letter from Gordon to John Temple, March 15, 1786, is in *7 Collections*, VI. 89.

"On Friday next, 31st March, Will be sold by Publick Vendue, At the Rev. Dr. Gordon's, on Jamaica Plain, A Variety of genteel House-Furniture, viz. Mehogany Tables, Bureaus, Chairs, an excellent 8 day clock, Looking-Glasses, Feather Beds, Bedsteads with Furniture, Carpets, China and Glass Ware, a variety of Kitchen Furniture, a case Mathematical Instruments, an excellent Thermometer, Sulkey and Harness, Garden-Rolls, and many other articles.

"The above may be seen the day before the sale." — *Massachusetts Centinel*, March 25, 1786. Owing to rain the sale was postponed to April 4.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

BOSTON, April 15, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — The ship not sailing so soon as expected, gives me the opportunity of forwarding another paper. I have engaged the Rev'd Mr. Eckley¹⁰ of this place to send you it from week to week. He will have pleasure in doing it, and it will be no expence to him as he takes it in weekly. We are now waiting only for a wind. Mrs. Gordon joins in most affectionate regards to your Excellency, your Lady and the rest of the family, with Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

LONDON, July 13, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favour of April 20th was forwarded from Boston in May, and was received the beginning of this week, upon my returning from Ipswich in Suffolk, where I had the pleasure of hearing that a complete farmer¹¹ had been forwarded to you, in whom I hope you will have satisfaction, though not capable of filling up Mr. Lund Washington's place. Such a steward as you have described and wish to have, is not easily found; but your friends, who are numerous even in this country, will be looking out for one that will answer. Till you can happen of a person, that is capable of taking off the additional burden from your shoulders, it cannot be expected that you can be so frequent in corresponding as otherwise.

You have my most sincere thanks for the honour you have done me in subscribing, and in promoting subscriptions; and must pray your Excellency to present my compliments to the Hon'le James Mercer,¹² and make my acknowledgments to him for his patronage.

¹⁰ Joseph Eckley (1750-1811), born in England, graduated in 1772 at Princeton College, and became pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, in 1779.

Dr. Belknap preached in Dr. Gordon's pulpit in May, 1786, having been recommended by Gordon "to his people." From England Gordon wrote, October 5, 1786: "Methinks I should like to hear that our friend Belknap is my successor at the Plain." 5 *Collections*, II. 435, 449. On April 4, 1787, Belknap was settled over a Congregational Church in Boston, later known as the Arlington Street Church, and remained over it until his death in 1798.

¹¹ James Bloxham. See a paper by Professor Wilbur C. Abbott, in *Proceedings*, LIX. 177.

¹² James Mercer (1747-1793) of Hampton Co., Va., and a member of the Continental Congress.

My friend Jonathan Mason ¹³ Esq'r of Boston, or Mr. James Jackson of Jamaica Plain, will transact the business of the bill. Doubt not but the gentlemen at Warren are possessed of more honour, than to attempt the payment of it in paper. The step that Rhode Island has taken in issuing paper, *etc.*, must be reprobated by all who are both honest and judicious. Such measures instead of lessening will increase difficulties, and are like drinking water in the dropsy. The mention of the dropsy has reminded me of my intention to write about bilious complaints, with which your Lady is troubled. Being in company some time back with an apothecary of my acquaintance and a clergyman, they were the subject of conversation. The clergyman mentioned the case of a gentlewoman whom he knew, that, after consulting the first physicians in England and trying the waters in different places and obtaining no cure, was effectually cured by taking the yolk of a new laid egg in the morning fasting, for some considerable time. The apothecary turning to me said; "I apprehend many of our disorders arise from the contents in the stomach being of such a nature, that they will not incorporate with each other; and I can easily conceive that the egg may be of service by producing that incorporation, as it mixes both with oil and water, and compounds each with itself in one mass." The thought pleased me, and the last friday while at Ipswich I made the following experiment. Having the yolk of a new laid egg, I procured the gall of a sheep hot out of the body, poured a quantity of the bile upon the egg, and with the motion of a tea spoon not exceeding the motion in the stomach, soon united the two bodies; upon that a good quantity of oil was added which was soon incorporated thro' the like agitation; then followed a large portion of water, which succeeded as well. I then tried what effect salt of wormwood would have upon the mixture; it produced no fermentation whatsoever. The whole was left all night in the bason, and by morning the oil appeared to be much separated and risen to the top; but in the body such a mixture would have been subject to a continual motion and would not have cooled. Should your Lady be induced to try the effects of the yolk, it will afford me the greatest pleasure to hear that she is benefited by it, so as to have her complaints wholly removed.

Am glad that the key and its appendage are safe. Before I forget it, would observe that as your writing is probably known at the Post-Office, and I am very obnoxious to the promoters of the late war, and they have too great influence in the cabinet, it may be best that when you honour me with a letter it should be directed by another hand, that there should be no suspicion of our correspond-

¹³ Jonathan Mason (1752-1831).

ence, so that should I have occasion to write upon any particular subjects that may possibly turn up, such suspicion may not prevent my letters coming to Mount Vernon. The nation is loaded with taxes; and what with these and the dearthness of provision the people are hard put to it to procure a livelihood. There are at present fine prospects upon the ground — appearances of great plenty, except the article of apples which have failed in general.

We left Boston April 16, but the wind changing, we did not reach the grand bank of Newfoundland till the 4th of May. On the 5th we had a fine fair breeze, and from that day we had a most charming run to the channel. On the 26th we landed at Gravesend, took a post chaise and got to London in the evening. It pleased God to grant us upon the whole a good voyage. We were sea sick only the first day; were in no storms or tempests; met with no accidents; had plenty of good provision; were well accommodated; and enjoyed good company.

Upon our arrival found as many of our relations and friends living and in health, as could be reasonably expected after a sixteen years absence. A fortnight back the last tuesday, we paid a visit to Ipswich, where we were first settled and lived thirteen years. We were received with the greatest cordiality and affection; for they were opposed to the war, and hearty Americans. The next saturday I set out for my native place Hitchin in Hertfordshire, to see my sister and a few other relations. I mean to finish all journeys before the month is out, that I may apply myself without interruption to the Work in hand; but before I go to the press must wait till I have received from Mr. Hazard at New York further accounts of subscriptions. The publications of the printers at Boston and elsewhere proved very injurious; but abuse and ingratitude, when persons are vexed at the disappointments they meet with; are nothing uncommon. I shall guard against being warped by any provocations or favours from exercising faithfulness; and flatter myself that the impartial judicious part of mankind will approve the goodness of my intentions and the uprightness of my conduct. I design doing myself the honour of writing shortly to the Marquis Le Fayette. I have been almost in one continual hurry since my arrival; and shall be most heartily rejoiced when it is over. The plants you was so good as to send me I brought over; they are alive, shooting out near or at the root. They are at Newington about three miles from the city, where we keep with Mrs. Gordon's brother; but when you direct, let it be at Mr. Field's, Apothecary, No. 95 Newgate Street, London. We are wholly at a loss as to our future settlement; but the same kind Providence that has hitherto cared for us I desire to rely upon for comfort during

our remaining pilgrimage. Should you think of any way in which I can be the least serviceable to you, pray you to do me the honour of employing me. Mrs. Gordon joins in most affectionate regards to your Excellency, your Lady, your friends at Alexandria, the last married couple (whose fruitfulness I wish to hear of), my young friend, Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington, and whoever else of my acquaintance you may occasionally fall in with, particularly Dr. Craik. I remain with the sincerest esteem, my dear Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

STOKE NEWINGTON, September 28, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is with concern I learn, that the old leaven, which brought on the late American troubles, still exists in the present ministry; and that so many falsehoods are propagated to keep up an unfriendly disposition toward the United States, and no more pains taken to contradict them. Among other reports it is said, that the settlement at Kentucky is made up wholly of the scum and refuse of the continent; that the people are opposed to the Congress; and that they are attached to the British government. I wish your Excellency to furnish me with the best account of their numbers, their character and quality; and of their political attachments, that so I may insert the same in one of the newspapers, if it should serve to put down, what I suppose to be idle stories respecting them.

You will probably have heard, before this can come to hand, that my friend durst not offer the bill, you was so obliging as to forward, for fear of having it paid in paper. The Rhode Islanders and others have been very wrong, in my judgment, while they have attempted introducing a paper currency. After the late experience, it might have been thought, that they would not run again, so soon, upon the same rock.

The Dutch seem to be upon the eve of a civil war. The friends of liberty are determined, if possible, to let the common people into a share of the government, and to overthrow the aristocratic junto. They mean not to set aside the Stateholder, but to reduce his power within narrower limits, and to have a mixt government. However should the Prince of Orange interest himself in attempting to frustrate the patriots, it may provoke them to carry their views so far as even to set him aside. The prospect is but gloomy, as to the inhabitants of the United Provinces. Should a civil war break out, and the parties be nearly matched, there will, most probably, be

more dreadful scenes by far than what America was acquainted with, in the late contest. I had the happiness of being exempted from the great difficulties with which others were pressed; but heard and knew enough of what my fellow citizens suffered, so that I desire ever to be at a distance from the seat of war.

Allow me to mention, that I have a nephew by Mrs. Gordon's side, named Field, who, the next month, finishes his apprenticeship, after having faithfully and steadily served the noted Messrs. Nairne & Blunt opticians, mathematical instrument makers, *etc., etc., etc.* He has made himself master of every branch. I can recommend him as being a good hand, and such as has given his masters great satisfaction. He will set up for himself. Your countenance should you want any articles in his way, and interest among your friends on his behalf, will be a fresh favour done me.

I am not yet settled; but hope to be fixed in the neighbourhood of London. Any letter directed to me at Mr. Tho's Field's No. 111. Cornhill will go near to find me. We are for the present about three miles from London; but before I can receive an answer, may be somewhere in the city. Would have your letter be under cover and directed by another hand, and sealed with another seal, that it may not be known at the Post Office that we correspond, lest the runners of government should suppress or peep into your letters. I have learnt, that one of the former secretaries gave me the name of arch-rebel, and that the letters in my hand writing were stopt. Mrs. Gordon joins in best regards to your Excellency, your Lady, my young friend, Dr. Stewart, Lady and children. Pray my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington. I remain with the greatest Esteem, Your Excellency's sincere friend and humble servant.¹⁴

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

LONDON, January 20, 1787.

MY DEAR SIR, — I take the opportunity of a vessel for Boston, that so I may send in the speediest way some seeds which I procured from a gentlewoman of my acquaintance at Ipswich, where I was first settled and remained thirteen years. I have likewise added some seed of the rocket double larkspur, which I saw in blow the last year, and was much pleased with on account of their beauty. I am yet unsettled, which prevents my proceeding in my history with the rapidity intended; but I keep going on, and mean to be at the press the beginning of next winter. Apprehend you have heard

¹⁴ A letter from Gordon to James Bowdoin, September 28, 1786, is in *7 Collections*, VI. 113. See Appendix.

from my friend Jonathan Mason, Esq., Senior, Boston, respecting the draft on the party at Warren. Your Excellency must be grieved at the spirit which has discovered itself in the different states. It is to be greatly lamented, that there is no more genuine virtue and patriotism among the inhabitants. A kind Providence, however, I trust will overrule all the commotions and disturbances, which have taken place, for the general good, and make all terminate happily. The enemies of America take occasion, from the confusions in the states, to triumph; that however is but a poor relief for the loss of the colonies and the load of taxes brought upon them by the debt contracted in attempting to deprive the Americans of their liberties. The king I learn feels himself still sore; and it is not to be wondered at. When the parliament meets there will be as usual great wrangling between the ins and the outs; but the former will most probably carry every important question by dint of power and influence. The character of the prince of Wales is very low in the opinion of many, and that of the duke of York, his brother, as high. I am sorry to observe, that unfriendliness there is in administration with respect to the United States; which will be likely to continue while the late Charles Jenkinson, now lord Hawkesberry, and Dundass are in favour. Some think that a ministerial revolution is not far off, and that a set of men more friendly to the Americans will shortly succeed, but I am fearful of the contrary. The policy of G. Britain appears to me to be still wrong; that it would be for her interest to cultivate a good understanding with the United States I am persuaded: but I leave all to the great Governour of the universe, who will direct the whole wisely and well.

The gentlewoman who has favoured me with the seeds, is fond of the digitalis as a cure for the dropsy, and therefore has sent some of the seed: but from what I have been told, it is so violent and so little to be depended upon in a general way, that I should not choose to make trial of it. Mrs. Gordon unites in best regards to your Excellency, your Lady, her posterity, the young George especially, and to Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington. I remain most respectfully, my Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

I am obliged to write by candle-light, which does not suit my eyes.

I have no connection with the great, and do not seek it. Visit Mr. John Adams once in a while, and am going to him this morning.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, February 20, 1787.

SIR, — I promised myself the honour of being introduced to your Excellency by a letter which my friend general Gates gave me, before I had the pleasure of hearing you was appointed ambassador to the court of Versailles. Ere I could reach home in the neighbourhood of Boston you had sailed for France. I have therefore applied to his Excellency John Adams for a few introductory lines, recommending at the same time to your patronage a work which has long engaged my attention, and which I mean should go to the press the beginning of October, and continue printing till finished, if Heaven indulges me with health. Suffer me to request the favour of your support; and that you will forward to the Marquis Le Fayette the parcel directed for him, as I am a stranger to his place of residence.

I remain with the sincerest respect, Your Excellency's most humble servant.

TO HORATIO GATES ¹⁵

LONDON, July 11, 1787.

FRIEND GATES, — I know not what you will think of me for my long silence. It has been much too long indeed: but ever since leaving Boston I have been upon the sea of uncertainty. We have been to one place and another, without having as yet obtained any permanent settlement; and are at present without a prospect of an immediate one. This has been an exercise, and prevented my going on with the History as expeditiously as I could have wished; but am labouring in the arduous undertaking, and mean to go to the press in October. We have been at Royston in Hertfordshire within fourteen miles of Cambridge, these ten weeks. Came from thence on the monday, and return there to Mrs. G[ordon] on the friday, where we're to remain until the end of August; and then remove back to our apartment at Mr. Mollyner's, Pastry Cook, Orange Street, Red Lion Square. You did not acquaint me with your having changed your condition, though I think you owed me a letter. I trust you are happy in the connection you have formed, and that your lady is well. Though a stranger to her, I beg you to make my respects to her acceptable. I learnt with pleasure some

¹⁵ From the Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library.

time back, that you had got Sporr's money. Did the best for him I could. Wish that all who served in the continental army had been better paid. Am sorry for the difficulties under which the United States remain, and wish them most sincerely at the end of the same. The disturbances in Holland are not likely to terminate amicably by what I hear. A friend at Rotterdam wrote the last week, that he expected that matters would come to an extremity every minute. Here we have peace and plenty of taxes, so that the people groan again. I give myself no particular concern about public affairs; but wish well to my native country; which goes on in making improvements almost every where. London is amazingly altered for the better in buildings, *etc.*: in morals apprehend it to be worse than ever. Wilks since being Chamberlain has got money enough to pay off all his debts, and which I am told he has done. The Prince of Wales it is feared will not be sufficiently attentive to his health by adhering to the rules of temperance. The papers will have informed you, that the parliament have agreed to extricate him out of his pecuniary difficulties. Pitt is very clever and ingenious; but too overbearing, and opinionated, so as to neglect consulting persons in different departments from whom he could gain proper information, and so as to imagine that he can understand the business of tradesmen, *etc.*, as well as those who have been long employed in it. Should he fall, it will probably be long ere he gets up again. The reports relative to Holland and naval armaments have occasioned much speculation in the stocks, which still continue a source of gambling. I have nearly written myself out; but cannot conclude without assuring you that you have our sincerest wishes for present peace and future happiness; and that a letter from you will afford the greatest pleasure to Your steady friend and humble servant.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, September 6, 1787.

SIR, — When last in town for a few days, I received your very obliging letter; and, notwithstanding my numerous engagements, should have given it an immediate answer, had I not attended to some circumstances which rendered it unnecessary. Upon observing that during the summer the readers are in the country, and being in no such forwardness as to admit of my going directly to the press, saw that I might safely delay till I returned, which was the last tuesday [the 4th]. Though you do not mention it, I flatter

myself that your tour was equally safe and pleasant. No particular damage can arise from the papers having lain by till your return. I shall not begin to print till the end of the next month; when, health and strength permitting, I mean to continue it, till the whole work is finished, which will not be before March or April. You have done me great honor by entertaining so good an opinion of me; wish you may not be disappointed: but I shall endeavour to approve myself a faithful and impartial historian as far as my powers extend.

Am sorry that but few read English in France. Translations can seldom retain that pointedness which is to be met with in the original, through a difference in idiom, and the translator's not being equally master of both languages.

I embrace your offer with the warmest gratitude. In my situation such a gratuity is an object, more especially should the bookseller increase it proportionable to the number of volumes: but that is a matter which I shall readily submit to your judgment. In case of an agreement propose sending the three first volumes soon after the fourth goes to the press, that so the translator may get in the greatest forwardness. Shall go again into the country on the morrow, and not return before the middle of October. Should you have any inducement to write sooner, let the letter be directed for me at Mr. Mollyner's, Orange Street, Red Lion Square. Request your mentioning the wanton damage done to your estate and property by Tarleton in order for insertion in its proper place.

Your condescension and friendship render me incapable of expressing how much I am Sir Your most obedient humble servant.

My most respectful compliments to the Marquis de La Fayette; have not yet received a line from him.¹⁶

¹⁶ "Dr. Gordon, I suppose, is up to the eyes in business: he was to begin to print the latter end of last month." Hazard to Belknap, November 17, 1787. 5 *Collections*, II. 496.

"In short nothing American sells here [London]. Ramsay's History, Dwight and Barlow's Poems are not sold, nor, I fear will Dr. Gordon's, notwithstanding the precious Materials he must be possessed of." John Adams to Mercy Warren, December 25, 1787. *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 301.

The "gratuity" mentioned in Gordon's letter was one of about forty guineas which Jefferson had obtained for Ramsay; but the poor sale of the translation of Ramsay discouraged the French publisher from undertaking Gordon's work. Jefferson to Gordon, July 2, 1787; July 16, 1788. *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Memorial Edition), VI. 154; VII. 66.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

LONDON, April 3, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I had proposed writing by the present opportunity, before I received your letter of January the first on tuesday last. Return you my most sincere thanks for your good wishes. The second volume will be printed off I expect by the end of the week after next. The first begins with the settlement of the several colonies, and comes down to and takes in the Lexington engagement. The second finishes with the Saratoga convention. The storm is blown over for the present, and the continuance of peace is expected. But whenever war breaks out among the European powers, I hope and pray with you that the United States may have no interference therein, other than as carriers between the belligerent powers. And yet this may lead on to a war, should Britain assume the exercise of the powers which they had long practised before the armed neutrality. It is a very desirable thing for the Americans to obtain an insertion in all their treaties of this principle that neutral bottoms make neutral goods. Would the different kingdoms of Europe make it a part of the law of nations, though Britain should dissent; that might most probably prevent the latter's being so insolent because of her marine.

I conjecture from what has taken place, that the New Constitution will be established, and most sincerely hope it will promote the general interests of the United States. Strength of government is certainly wanting; but as to the plea that the court of London makes for not entering on a commercial alliance from a deficiency of power in Congress, I consider it as deceitful. A disinclination to the business is the main reason; and was I in the councils of America I should advise to send no more an ambassador to London, till this court was disposed to do the like. A consul at Westminster may suffice for a consul at New York.

We are not yet settled, but am going tomorrow to a place in the neighbourhood of where I was first fixed for thirteen years; should all parties suit upon a trial, may probably set down there before summer is over for the remainder of my days.

Mrs. Gordon the beginning of last November was seized in the night with a throbbing in her right thumb, which continued, spread, inflamed her hand and near to her shoulder. It was attended with a violent fever. When it pleased God to restore her health, her hand and fingers were crippled by the inflammation so as to be useless. They are come to in measure, so that within this month she has been able to dress and undress herself. We are in hopes

that the summer weather will nearly perfect the cure: but are very thankful that she is so much better.

Reports represented the duke of York ¹⁷ as a most deserving and temperate person. Since then we are told, that he has lost by gaming most or all of his Yorkshire estate, and that he is frequently intoxicated. His brother the sea captain ¹⁸ it is said, made an entertainment at Plymouth and invited the ladies to whom he introduced his black mistress, but they considered it as so coarse a compliment that they withdrew. After that he made another and invited all the neighbouring negro men and women, who were well pleased with the company of the prince's favorite. We have a hopeful generation of princes. The Americans will not regret their separation from them.

Government are sending troops to the East Indies to take possession of the East India company's territories. In a course of years these will be lost to Great Britain, for they are as far again from the seat of power as America. The means taken to prevent may, as in the other instance, hasten the catastrophe.

Expect the pleasure of having to congratulate your Excellency before the year is out upon being chosen President to the American parliament. I know of no one whom I could wish so heartily to fill that place as yourself. But I do not wish you to have Mr. Hancock for your vice-president; there are many I think much better qualified, on one of whom I hope the choice will fall. I feel myself interested in the prosperity of the American States. May they be ever a virtuous free and happy people! I remain, my Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant.

Mrs. Gordon unites with me in best wishes for your lady and family.

Suffer me to drop a hint in favor of the Post Master General, whose attention to business, when I was in America, made me desirous that whatever revolutions in state government might exist, he might continue in office. Should Cornwallis be the watch word agreed upon, of which I wish to be absolutely certain, be pleased to introduce it in your next.

¹⁷ Frederick, Duke of York (1763-1827), married Frederica Charlotte Ulria Catherina, daughter of Frederick William II of Prussia.

¹⁸ William Henry (1765-1837), Duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. He had served in the West Indies.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, April 24, 1788.

SIR, — In a late letter to the Marquis de La Fayette I mentioned my design of writing soon to your Excellency. The reason of my having been so long silent was, that I might be able to acquaint you, that the second volume of the History was printed, which I can at length do. You was pleased generously to offer me your friendly assistance for the procuring a similar consideration for an early copy of the work, to what you obtained for Dr. Ramsay; I am therefore encouraged at the present period to apply for your aid; and design if it meets with your approbation, to send you the two volumes for your inspection; and should they be honored, as I hope will be the case, with your recommendation, the bookseller will probably be willing to allow me for them what your Excellency may think reasonable, in order to an immediate translation, with an engagement to be furnished with the third and fourth as soon as printed off. The Marquis having obligingly hinted at a translation, I observed to him that you had mentioned the like, but without intimating any thing more, so that your special proposal is not known to him. You will judge upon the propriety or impropriety of communicating to him particulars, when you take notice of having heard from me on the subject. Pray present all due compliments to him on my behalf; and instruct me in the proper form of inserting his titles and name among my subscribers, of which I am not master at present. He has honored me with a subscription for a dozen sets. If I mistake not you was a considerable sufferer by Tarleton's needlessly cruel ravages; wish to have some general account thereof in order for insertion. I remain with great esteem Your Excellency's very humble servant.

Direct for me at No. 1 Orange Street, Red Lion Square.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, July 8, 1788.

No. 1. Orange Street, Red Lion Square.

SIR, — I trouble you afresh from an apprehension, that either your Excellency did not receive my letter of February, or that your answer has miscarried. I mentioned in my letter my having delayed to write, till I had gotten forward in printing; and informed you, that I had finished the two first volumes, and should be obliged to you for your friendly assistance in the way you had proposed, by

procuring from some bookseller a gratuity for an early copy, as in the case of Dr. Ramsay's History. I have now completed the third volume, and am about 100 pages in the fourth. The three volumes could be sent over immediately, that so the translation might be commenced. The sum you mentioned as granted for Dr. Ramsay's would go far toward paying for engraving the maps, and is therefore an object with me. Whether an increase of it should be asked on account of the four volumes I leave to your determination: but your friendship in this business would confer a lasting obligation on Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

Mr. Trumbull has I apprehend by this time conveyed in company with some pictures intended for you, the marquis de la Fayette's picture of general Washington, which the marquis intended for my service in case of my having an engraving of the general. Intreat your care as to it's being safe delivered.

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, August 15, 1788.

DEAR SIR, — From the generous encouragement you gave me in your answer to my first letter, I informed your Excellency about April, that I should be greatly obliged to you, could you assist me in a similar way to that by which Dr. Ramsay was benefited. I left it with your judgment to settle the terms; and proposed sending over the printed volumes that the translation might be entered upon. Receiving no answer, I wrote afresh upon the subject about six weeks ago. Neither of the letters being replied to, am apprehensive that either they or their answers have miscarried. I carefully avoided public affairs, lest touching upon them should prove a bar to their progress. A friend of mine, Mr. John Dickinson of Doctors Commons, being upon a tour of pleasure, I have intrusted this with him, as I can rely upon his delivering it, and taking all proper care of any letter you may condescend to write. Could you with propriety send me an account where the marquis de la Fayette is, and what is the state of public affairs in France, you would add greatly to the favor. Should you have any package to send by Mr. Dickinson, which you would wish to go by the ships from London to the United States, let it come under cover directed to me, with a request to him to see to the delivery of it, and I doubt not of his bringing it me. With most respectful compliments I remain Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant.

Have printed as far as the 304 page of the fourth and last volume.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

LONDON, September 24, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — I send under cover to Mr. Hazard, that so it should not be known at the Coffee House, that I correspond with your Excellency; and pray you not only to have any direction to me written in some other hand than your own, but the letter sealed with the seal of another. When you write again, introduce the Key in some sentence where it may appear natural, with a stroke underneath it. The reason of the request is, my not being absolutely certain about it, though I conceive it has some relation to the persons who surrendered at York Town.

I have been laboring hard for near a year, but have not yet completed the History so as to be in readiness for sending by the present vessels. The Index is printing, but the paper will require some time drying before the books can be bound. The delay for a few months will admit of their being more closely and better bound. At the end of the fourth volume, I have inserted Extracts of the Virginia act for the establishing of religious freedom, as also the New Constitution, which I conclude will soon take place. May it prove a blessing to the United States in particular, and the world of mankind in general! Let me suggest, that could it be made fashionable through the Continent, to have one fish day in every week, your fishery would be thereby promoted. The introduction of coals for firing at Boston and elsewhere, where wood is dear, would probably employ a few vessels in carrying them from Virginia. The American hemp, when grown upon rich ground and well cured is far better than the Russian; cannot the raising of it in places affording water carriage produce a staple to exchange for European goods? Could not sugars be raised to advantage in the southernmost parts of the country? While Mifflin was president, I hinted to him, that Congress should possess the sovereignty of all gold and silver mines through the States, and not any individual state or person. None should be permitted to be wrought but with their leave, and only to such an extent, as to stock the country with a bare currency, without reducing its value, by a redundancy. The communication of these thoughts to your Excellency, I am persuaded you will consider as tokens of my abiding affection for America; and I am persuaded that the voice of the country will show that they have been addressed to the right person. I am sensible your attachment to domestic happiness, will render you averse to appearing again in public life. But the good of your country is a law that you must submit to, when you are called to

possess a power in the most honorable way by all professions and ranks of people, and which, to your everlasting credit when known, you honestly declined with the truest patriotism, when offered in an irregular manner. This is a secret which will remain till you are dead, unless I could be certain of not offending through the publication of your letter, with the suppression of the party to whom it was addressed.

When the New Constitution is adopted, many will endeavour to supplant the possessors of present places. I most sincerely wish that my friend Mr. Hazard, the post master general, may be continued. His fidelity and regularity I apprehend cannot be exceeded; and it is I conjecture almost his sole support, while his duty obliges him to maintain an aged mother.

I have forgotten whether you sent me only thirty pounds for the thirty subscribers, or forty for forty sets. When I can look over my papers, which have been much deranged, shall be able to determine; but as I may possibly not find your or Mr. Mason's letter soon enough, pray you to mention it.

I most sincerely pray, that your honors and happiness in this world may be only the forerunners of more substantial ones, in that future and better world which remains for the people of God, and the living and true way to which — the Lord Jesus — has been revealed to us by the gospel.

Mrs. Gordon joins in affectionate regards to your Excellency, and your Lady.

Pray present my respects to your young gentleman, who by this time is a fine youth, I hope, Mr. and Mrs. Lund Washington, Dr. Stewart and family, and others with whom I had the honor of being acquainted while at Mount Vernon.

Am not yet settled, please to direct therefore as before. I remain with the truest professions, Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

RECEIPT¹⁹

[*Stamp of 2 d.*] Recd. Oct. 9. 1788 of his excellency Thomas Jefferson seven pound four shillings, by the hands of Mr. Trumbull.

£7. 4

WILLIAM GORDON.

[*Endorsed:*] Dr. Gordon's Rect. in full for subscription for 6 setts of his History. Mr. Jefferson.

¹⁹ From the Jefferson Collection (Coolidge), Mass. Hist. Soc., 524.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

LONDON, October 28. 1788.

MY DEAR SIR, — The leisure I have enjoyed for a few weeks past, has enabled me to look over my letters, from which I have learned that your remittance was for forty-two sets. They will be sent accordingly to your Excellency the first opportunity that offers. The plates I expect will be finished this week: have sent a specimen of the maps and plans already wrought off. If you should observe any material errors, pray you to inform me of the same, that they may be corrected in future impressions. There are to be beside, a general map of the United States, a map of North and South Carolina with a part of Georgia, a map of Vermont, Hampshire, the Main, and lower than Albany, a map of the part of Virginia which was the seat of war, and a map of York Island and part of Long Island. I unexpectedly heard of the present opportunity by the way of New York, and must decline the pleasure of enlarging that I may be in time for the bag. Mrs. Gordon joins most sincerely in affectionate regards to Your Excellency, your Lady and other friends with, my Dear Sir, Your most obedient humble servant.

November 1. The delay of the bag has given me the opportunity of adding the maps of the United States, and of New Hampshire, *etc.*

TO THOMAS JEFFERSON

LC

LONDON, December 9, 1788.

SIR, — Your obliging favor of September 2 was duly received. The books not being in sufficient forwardness to send before your leaving Paris, and the prospects of the success your Excellency wished me being so small, I declined sending a copy as soon as finished. One Mr. De Maisoncelles has written to me about translating the work into French. I apprehend he means I should employ him: by line this day I shall decline all concern in the business.

Last friday the six copies of the History of the late American War done up in a paper parcel were left at the White Bear to come by the Diligence: hope they will be received safe and in due season. As you honored me with a generous subscription, I have sent the superfine paper at the same price with the demy. Mr. Trumbull paid me some time back seven pound four for them. Shall rejoice if the printed contents meet with your approbation, so as that you

can with satisfaction recommend the same to an English reader. I remain with real esteem Your Excellency's very humble servant.²⁰

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

RINGWOOD IN HAMPSHIRE (97 miles from London),
February 16, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have at length finished that arduous undertaking, in which I have been engaged for many past years. I shall have peculiar pleasure in learning that it meets with your Excellency's approbation; and that you are not disappointed in that reliance you exercised on my honor and prudence, when you admitted me to a free inspection of your valuable papers. I apprehended it to be often necessary to introduce sentiments and information, while I suppressed the names of the writers from whose letters they were taken, and at times inserted them as though they were originally my own.

The binding, the paper, the print and the quantity, will I hope satisfy the Subscribers to the History that I meant not to make a penny of them. The maps I doubt not will meet with their approbation. The benefit accruing to me from the advance of the money will be compensated for, by the insurance upon the books, and the freight which I pray you to deduct from the subsequent payments.

The cost I have been at, exclusive of the trouble, has been very great. The charges of the present edition will not fall short, I expect, of seven hundred pound sterling. One thousand sets have been printed of the demy paper, and two hundred and fifty of the best wire-wove. A set of the latter has been ordered to be very elegantly bound, and if it can be got in readiness, to be sent with the forty and two sets. I beg your Excellency's acceptance of it, as a small token of the sincere and warm affection that the writer entertains for you: which leads him to wish that your answer of May 22, 1782, to a certain proposal might appear in print in case of a second edition, while the name of the proposer is concealed; that so the United States may have the fullest possible proof of their having made a right choice of your Excellency to the Presidency in the new Constitution, which is an event that has undoubtedly taken or will take place; and with which, I hope, you will concur notwithstanding your attachment to domestic life, upon the same principle that induced you to accept of the appointment

²⁰ A letter from Washington to Gordon, December 23, 1788, replying to one from Gordon, September 24, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), XI. 345.

of congress to the *military* command — a true patriotic desire of promoting the welfare and freedom of America.

I am warranted in looking out for another edition from the sale of the present. This makes me desirous, that if your Excellency discovers any capital mistakes, you would be so obliging as to point them out in order to future correction. Whatever alterations or additions may be made hereafter and wrought into the body of the work, I propose having printed likewise on a single sheet or more for the service of the first purchasers, that the encouragers of the work may not be the sole sufferers. Very few copies, besides those subscribed for, are or will be sent to America. Should the work be approved of on your side the water, so as to occasion any considerable demand, would wish to know it, that the more may be printed. The greater the number the larger the profit, as the expence of setting the press is the same. Was any trader to order a number, upon his sending a bill to pay for the same when ready for delivery, he should be charged only seventeen shillings sterling a set in sheets, and if bound the binder's demand in addition, beside the cost of case and putting them on board. Should particular maps, or whole sets be wanted, he should be supplied upon the most reasonable terms.

I have not yet got settled. Congregations prefer younger persons; and individuals, who have influence and are anti-Americans, naturally cooperate in preventing my being chosen. But notwithstanding this and the dislike that many have entertained to me for the part I took during the late war, I am far from repenting the little share I had in the Revolution, which I consider as being a glorious part of my life. Though I have done with all public interference in politics; yet I now and then say to those protestants who do not relish the Revolution — *Before many years you may be glad that it has taken place; and the United States may prove an asylum to you or your children.*

Notwithstanding all the assertions in the house of commons, and Mr. Fox's declaration, there are members who believe that the prince has been married both by a popish and protestant priest: ²¹ and no sensible man, who has considered the matter and been conversant with history, but knows that the same parliamentary omnipotence that made marriage without the king's consent illegal, can reverse a former act, and legitimate a bastard, if so minded. The highest encomiums have been passed upon the prince in the debates of both houses, by each party. Who but will worship

²¹ Maria Anne Fitzherbert (1756-1837), was married to the Prince of Wales, later George IV, December 21, 1785, by a clergyman of the Church of England.

the rising sun, unless he had a singularly independent spirit? Princes and nobles possess virtues, as maids of honor do beauty, by their places.

Fox and his party fairly outrun themselves, and by their over-eagerness to gain too much fell into a *Pitt*, in which they have been held fast, without being once able to get out, with all their struggles, or to procure a single alteration in the ministerial plan of regency.

The visitation with which his majesty has been afflicted, happened at a time when the whole nation was engaged in the centurial commemoration of that Revolution which placed the Brunswick family on the throne; his derangement furnished the occasion and opportunity for the two houses to declare in favor of *the Majesty of the people* to fill up the executive branch when the same was interrupted, by supporting their right of doing it as the representative of the *last* Majesty. I have laughed in this my retirement, upon observing how whigs have turned tories and tories whigs in the business of the regency: but been fully gratified that this occurrence has produced a new edition of the people's rights, with some important additions to serve as precedents to future generations. I have enjoyed my absence from the capital during the general conversation on the subject, which has secured me from taking a part in it.

When I had seen to the delivery of the History in and about London, I retired with Mrs. G. to this place, that I might escape impertinent questions; and leave every one to vent his observations upon the work at pleasure, without being betrayed into any meanesses, by the censures of some and the commendations of others. Here we have been since the 12th of December. I mean to pitch my tent at Ipswich in Suffolk, seventy miles from the capital, where we settled in the early part of life and have many friends. Should we be spared, expect to be there by the middle of May; but till you hear of my being fixed, pray you to direct all such letters as you may honor me with to the care of Mr. Thos. Field No. 11. Cornhill, London. Our not having the opportunity of enjoying the benefits of a congregation, makes it prudent in me to think of some way of adding to our present stock; and induces me to mention that if any traders or gentlemen should want any number of books from this quarter, I might find my account in supplying them, and have it in my power to do it as cheap and as completely as a bookseller, by exchanging copies of my history for what I should want from them. But then I should be desirous of an order to receive the money upon sending the books, making the usual allowance for prompt payment. I should be particularly attentive to their being

bound well, and agreeable to direction. Should not the set of my History be in readiness to accompany the others, shall forward it in a parcel to Mr. Hazard the Post Master General at New York.

Mrs. Gordon's nephew, Mr. John Field, being now settled in a house his father has built for him, I have made bold to send you four of his cards. So far as you can promote his interest without interfering with previous engagements, you will oblige me greatly by attending to it.

I trust you will find nothing in the History leading you into a suspicion of my being unfriendly to the United States of America. I can safely say, that it is my daily prayer, that good government may be established among them, and that they may be an holy, free and happy people.

Mrs. Gordon joins most sincerely in wishing your Excellency, your Lady, and your other dear connexions the best of blessings — many more happy and honorable days on earth, and a glorious immortality as the gift of God through Jesus Christ. My respectful compliments to Dr. and Mrs. Stewart and children, to Mr. Lund Washington and family, to the last married Mr. Washington and Lady, and to the young Washington who startled me at the table, before I had time for recollection, by saying that he loved the devil. I hope he will hate all that goes under that name, except the broiled and peppered gizzard or what is equally innocent. I would wish to be remembered to all other friends, and remain, my Dear Sir, Your Excellency's most obedient servant.

TO HENRY KNOX ²²

RINGWOOD, March 2, 1789.

FRIEND KNOX, — Before the receipt of this, I apprehend you will have seen and passed judgment upon my History. I shall rejoice to hear, that you have allowed it to pass muster, as contributing toward the support of the American cause, though not entitled to rank among the first defenders of it. Don't owe me a grudge, because I wish the order of Cincinnati mortal, for I am not conscious that I wish a single member of them dead. You will pronounce it in character for me to pray that they may be all amended.

The parliament of Great Britain has done well of late, in pronouncing on the business of a regent, that the right of appointing the person, *etc.*, rested in *the Majesty of the people* by and through their representatives. The Fox was unexpectedly caught in a trap, and all his followers involved in the consequence. But the severest

²² From the Knox Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc., XXIII. 119.

mortification they have met with has been by a stroke of Heaven, in the happy recovery of his majesty, which has deprived them of the hopes of being ministers of state and governing powers for — it may be *ever*, in regard to several. What a balk! You are in no danger of entering into the spirit, practically I hope; and can only speculate upon it with your humble servant. I should have some pity upon the poor curs, had they not abandoned their whig principles: but when men with a view to interest and power will expose the nakedness of their own intentions, let them be laughed at. The laugh is kept up by the arrival of the Irish committee with a parliamentary address to the prince, to accept of the regency with all the powers of sovereignty, at the moment his majesty was become *compos mentis*. This will make a splendid figure in the history of Irish bulls.

I was not a little displeased at finding that your name did not grace my list of subscribers; it was owing to my having put on one side at the time of printing it, your letter wherein you mentioned your having subscribed. I was most heartily vexed, when upon taking up your letter I discovered my error too late to be corrected.

It is now past mid-day, and I have much more writing to finish before the mail coal [coach?] goes off this evening for London, with my letters for America to be in time; and therefore must draw to a close. Pray present our respects to Mrs. Knox, and your children, and to other friends, should I happen to be the subject of conversation and my health and spirits, which are at full par for my time of life, be inquired after. Yours being at present a peaceable department, though of a warlike sound, I promise myself you will have time to answer this in your own *littera scripta*, which if plainly directed for me at No. 11 [Cornhill] will go near to reach, if living, your sincere friend and very humble servant.

Let me know how your brother is.

[From the *Independent Chronicle*, June 18, 1789.]

GORDON'S HISTORY.

For the *Independent Chronicle*.

Messrs. ADAMS & NOURSE,

Please to give the following observations a place in your paper.

In a country, young, and rising like America, every patriot will encourage Literature, and most cheerfully subscribe for those productions, which will encrease the peoples' love for knowledge and information;

correct the stile of the age, and do honor to the national character of their country. But when a prones to subscribe for, and to promote the writings of every mercenary scribbler, who makes books with no other view than to gain a few pence, shall take place, it levels all ranks of literary distinction, and burys the talents of great men, in the same pile of rubbish with the insignificant pedler of rhimes and punnings: We should then be careful to avoid all imposition, and to promote only those productions, which will do honor to the taste of our country.

I am lead to these observations, by reading Doctor *Gordon's History of the Revolution of America*.

The author, disappointed in his views in America, where he never obtained a political confidence with the people, took himself to his native country, to exhibit to the world a specimen of his ill-nature, and revenge: In every part of his history, there is a very remarkable want of truth, and integrity, but the arrows of his envy and malevolence, are so blunted by his indiscretion in his attacks, and the want of decency in his stile and manner, that they do no injury, either to the characters they are pointed at, or to the country which he wishes to wound and injure.

While he was in America, he laboured much in the Gazettees, to disaffect the people of Massachusetts to their happy constitution of government, but his writings had no other effect, than to call down upon his own head, the contempt of every rank of citizens. In his production which *he alone*, calls the history of the revolution of America, there are very few facts which are true, and those are badly arranged, and the effects for which he assigns causes, are generally, as much estranged to what he supposes they flow from, as he is to a pure historical stile.

Not to mention the great violence done to grammar in almost every page, it may with justice be said that his language is only fit for those histories of Elves and Farries, so much sought after, and attended to, in the northern parts of North-Britain, and well calculated for the relation of those very unimportant, and trifling incidents, with which his books abound.

There certainly will be, in a very short period of time, by some able hand, a history of the revolution, which will do justice to the great leading characters of America, as well as to the people of the United States, and we ought to reserve ourselves for the support of such a writer, instead of giving countenance to a production which is equally a disgrace to our country, and to literature.

AMERICANUS.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

St. Neots, February 20, 1790.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I anticipated the pleasure of hearing you would be chosen President; yet it was confirmed and increased

by the actual news of an event, which expressed the gratitude and wisdom of the United States, in conferring their executive power and confidence on the person, who had never deceived nor abused it — no; not when he was tempted to it. The knowledge of *this* remains to be known by them in some future period. I wished for liberty to have divulged it, in a way that might have prevented all harm, and promoted real good, by attaching the public voice still more to your Excellency. For though you may plead — your being *conscious of only having* done your duty; and may from thence with a profusion of modesty infer — that *no particular credit is due to you*, I am persuaded the world of mankind will join me in rejecting the inference. There are circumstances, wherein the discharge of duty deserves the greatest credit, excites astonishment, and is entitled to the heartiest commendations: or why does the general praise the valor, the fidelity, and the patient hardiness of his troops. As it is to be hoped, that you being the younger may survive me, you may restrain me, much against my inclination, from a publication that would shew — there are scarce any among the moderns or ancients who can compare with yourself in genuine patriotism: but I have taken care (as far as I can) that when you have made your exit, your reputation shall be exalted. However when that period arrives, may you hear the plaudit of our final judge in a well done, good and faithful servant, enter into the joy of thy Lord.

Your very obliging letter of December 23, dated 1789 instead of 1788, was received the 16th of the following April, while I was at Ringwood in Hampshire. Immediately on my publishing the History, I withdrew with Mrs. Gordon from London to her brother's country house at that place, for the winter season and to notice whether any opening offered for my settling again in the ministry. On the 27th of that month we set off on our return for the capital, where I was busily and constantly employed in attending to the affairs of a London Annuity Society (for the benefit of wives, when we leave them widows) of which I was a director. This detained me in town till the 3d of June. While thus detained, I had an unexpected invitation to preach in this place as a candidate, and with a view of settling, if agreeable to all parties. The time for my preaching not being till the first Lord's day in July, we went upon a visit to Ipswich; where we settled after marriage and lived for thirteen years. Such were the regards of my former people, that when I returned from America, had they been vacant, they would have urged me to a renewal of my connexion. When the time came for my preaching, I proved acceptable, and an invitation followed, with which I thought my duty to comply. In August we crossed the

country, thro' Bury and Cambridge (from the last we are eighteen miles) to St. Neots. The getting a house, the procuring furniture, making alterations, and public services, have kept me so employed as to have almost worn me down. After the fatigue I had undergone, spirits and strength were well nigh exhausted. But we are now pritty well settled, tho' far from having finished; and I find myself capable of re-commencing my epistolary correspondence. I trust your Excellency's goodness will admit of this account of myself as an apology, for my not writing sooner, and hope the length of it will not offend. Your avocations being so many, and important, I cannot in reason expect that your answers will be either regular or lengthy; but when you have a leisure moment, I shall rejoice to hear in a few words, of the health and happiness of self and family; and that my letters are acceptable to you. Last year I sent a quantity of the seed of the true Turkey Rhubarb to Mr. Hazard with directions for the cultivation of it. If he received it safe, doubt not his having mentioned it. I apprehended it might be raised with advantage in some parts of the United States.

I have charmed many of your admirers, male and female, by shewing them your letter of December 23. Yours of February 23, 1789, was received in May; and afforded me real pleasure, among other particulars, by informing me of the then tranquil state of the country. I congratulate you on its continuance, and the prospect of its doing so; and hope that France will establish their revolution shortly on so solid and liberal a basis, as to enjoy similar tranquillity. The Marquis de la Fayette must feel himself extremely happy on the occasion. On the 16th of February I wrote you a letter from Ringwood, which I suppose Mr. Field carefully forwarded by the ship *Eleanor*, Capt. Magruder for Alexandria; who had the care of a case marked G W No. 1. Mount Vernon, containing forty-two sets of the History for the several subscribers. The freight was paid. Mr. Field was directed to send a set of the best wove paper, most elegantly bound, of which I begged your acceptance as a token of genuine affection; and to enclose in the letter the bill of lading. Your absence, engagements with Congress, and tour to Hampshire State, has prevented, I apprehend, my hearing of their arrival. It will give me peculiar pleasure to learn, that the History meets with your approbation for the impartiality of the writer, and the goodness of the materials communicated to the public. Lest I should trespass too much upon your time shall close with mentioning that Mrs. Gordon joins me in most sincere wishes for the present and future happiness of your Excellency and Lady, and for your being spared and enabled long to preside in the chair of Congress, to your own growing credit, the increasing advantage of the

United States (among whom I rejoice to find North Carolina is now included) and as an instructive pattern to European princes. I remain Your Excellency's most hearty friend and humble servant.

Be pleased to direct as before at Mr. Thomas Field's, No. 11. Cornhill.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, January 31, 1791.

MY DEAR SIR, — A sincere desire of promoting the good of the United States, and not merely my own concerns, will, I trust, prove a sufficient apology for the interruption I am now giving your Excellency. Your country I apprehend has the advantage of Europe, for the erection of particular towns, by reason of the several great falls to be met with in the American rivers. The papers have announced the neighbourhood of Shepherds Town for the permanent seat of the federal government. I crossed the Patomac in 1781 from Maryland to that Town, and have an idea that there were considerable falls at no great distance. Should there be such, could wish the Federal Town to be so situated, as that the river above the falls may, by a canal, supply a most capacious reservoir at the head of the town; from whence, by fire engines to pipes, water may be raised to supply water closets, *etc.*, from the lowest to the highest apartment in every one of the buildings, for the use of the family, and the carrying away of all soil, by subterraneous passages, into a grand common sewer running under the middle pavement of every street — the common sewers to be kept clean and sweet by letting the water of the reservoir into them at pleasure, through a number of sluices, which, carrying away with it all the collected filth of the town, shall empty itself in one stream below the falls.

The securing of original records and state papers being of the utmost consequence, might it not be proper to have the apartments destined for them, at a distance from all other buildings; and so constructed as to be in no danger of suffering by fire, water, damps, or other enemies?

The building of the town or court house, as in Philadelphia, and other places that copied after the capital, in the center where four streets meet, always appeared to me an injury, by breaking the view from end to end, without being compensated by equivalent advantages. Should not the cultivation of the sugar cane be tried in Georgia, that so if it flourishes the United States may not depend upon a precarious supply from the West India Islands? And should not the ravages, likely to be made on the maple trees for the obtaining of sugar, be speedily circumscribed, that so the back

country may not, through the heedless destruction of the tree without ever planting or promoting its growth, cut itself off from a future supply of sugar? Should not the burning of wood in the sea-ports be discouraged, and the free expenditure of coals be promoted, that so an American Colliery may be established as a nursery for seamen? Our English papers have of late made frequent mention of a quantity of ambergris found in the body of a whale caught in the South Seas. Before I left Jamaica Plain Mr. Greenough shewed me some ambergris, part of a great quantity taken out of the large gut of a whale caught by the West India Whaler, Capt. Atwood with one Rich for his mate, just before or soon after the commencement of 1776. The vessel belonged, I imagine, to Mr. Doane at Cape Cod, with whom Mr. Greenough lived many years. He afterward married Mr. Doane's widow. Upon Mr. Greenough's information I was put upon conjecturing, that the ambergris was no other than the hardened dung of the Spermaceti whale, which, from some cause, had not been discharged by the pain and distortion occasioned by wounds and dying agonies. I was strengthened in that conjecture upon reading in Rees's edition of Chambers's Dictionary, that the factitious ambergris, which comes nearest to the genuine, is made from human dung. Query, Whether the Whalemen should not be advised to examine the bowels of the whale, before they let the carcass sink after taking away the fat?

When I had finished my History I repaired to Ringwood in Hampshire, from whence I did myself the honour of writing to your Excellency about the 16 of February, 1789. I left direction with Mr. Field to put up forty-three sets of the History (one of which I begged you to accept) and to forward them. Toward the latter end of February they were put on board the *Eleanor*, Capt. James Magruder for Alexandria, marked G W No. 1. Mount Vernon, accompanied with a letter from Mr. Field. I trust they were safely delivered, though advice thereof has never been received. Your favour of February 23, 1789, was received; but as I was sensible how much you must be engaged by the addition of the Presidentship, and expected an account of the Case's being received, I declined answering it till February 20, 1790. The answer from St. Neots I enclosed in a letter to Mr. Osgood, and forwarded by the *New York*, Capt. Woollsey; but have had no information of either's being received. I have been at considerable expence in fitting up my present habitation, was exercised the last year with a confinement at Ipswich, where we were visiting, from June 13 to July 28, by an injury done to my right foot, while attempting to go down stairs, and from which I am not yet fully recovered. I am now advancing in life, and would willingly settle all my affairs, that so

in case of removal every thing may be free from difficulty. Am persuaded therefore that your friendship and judgment will not [be offen]ded at my requesting, that you would add to your former kindness that of [asking y]our steward to collect the remainder of the subscriptions and forward [them as soo]n as convenient. I am concerned to find that your health is se[riously inter]rupted more than formerly. God grant that you may be long spared to enjoy strength of body and mind, for the service of the United States! I should think myself greatly honoured by a few friendly lines, be they ever so few, from your Excellency. Mrs. Gordon joins me in the sincerest and most ardent wishes for the present and future happiness of You and your Excellency's Lady. I remain, Dear Sir, with the greatest esteem, Your most obedient and very humble servant.

TO JOHN ADAMS ²³

ST. NEOTS, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, Sept. 15, 1791.

FRIEND ADAMS, — I had not abandoned the idea of renewing our correspondence; but should probably have delayed executing it, had not my indignation been roused, at the implied insult offered to the good sense of the federal government in the following newspaper (and as supposed ministerial) paragraph:

Mr. Hammond ²⁴ the new Consul General to the United States of America, and late secretary to the embassy at Madrid, will set off in a few days for Philadelphia. His appointment is of the highest importance to this country, as he has it in commission to conclude a treaty of *offensive* and *defensive* Alliance between England and America. The outlines of the treaty have been already discussed, and we learn that some very considerable commercial advantages are held out to America as the basis of it, which will in time supplant the greater part of the trade of Russia with this country.

European subtilty, alias stupid confidence, may say of it, *latet anguis in herba*, but American penetration will see that neither *latet* nor *in herba* belong to it, for that the *snake* is wholly uncovered. I read in the prints, some time ago, that your worthy President had informed the Senate, that proposals had been officially made to the British ministry for entering into a commercial treaty with this nation on terms of reciprocity, but that they had not been attended to. Should the idea of an offensive and defensive alliance be in the least insinuated by the new consul general, I hope

²³ From the Adams MSS.

²⁴ George Hammond (1763-1853).

he will be told in the plainest American English, that the motto of the United States is: Peace and Commerce with all the world upon a principle of reciprocity, and that they are determined to be the dupes of no power on earth, by being drawn into a offensive and defensive alliance with the same: but that should an unexpected necessity oblige them to depart from their present resolution, the preference would be given to the French, as governed under the new constitution framed by the National Assembly, that so the insolence of the present ministry may meet with deserved rebuke.

No commercial advantages can be held out to America, that can in any degree compensate for her concluding such a proposed treaty, which will be charged like Pandora's box with numberless evils, eventually destructive to American prosperity and liberty.

The armed neutrality, so justly proposed, and so successfully promoted by the empress of Russia, has subjected her to the rancorous hatred of numbers in and out of power, both in the army and navy, in public and private life, who are for monopolizing exclusive privileges to themselves, in defiance of the general rights of mankind. John Bull would gladly oblige every foreign mariner to doff his hat and pay him obeisance as he passes him on the High Seas, and to submit to a general search warrant, issued from the mouth of his cannon.

The resentment of the British minister against the Czarina has been much increased by the firmness she has discovered in abiding by her own demands upon, and proposals to the Turks, and by letting him see, that she was not afraid of an *armed* mediation. His hauteur must also have been grievously hurt by the pointed and expressive compliments she has paid Mr. Fox. Pitt would now retaliate by undermining her trade to Britain through the medium of American commerce, and with a view of alienating these two distant powers by making them rivals in commerce. The position of B[ritain] in regard to these two powers, points out the propriety of a perfect good understanding between them, soldered by a commercial treaty grounded upon reciprocity, that so the insolent airs of John Bull may be restrained. It is hoped that the United States will take care to have it inserted in all their treatises of commerce, that neutral bottoms shall, in time of war, give security to all goods not specified as contraband. I suspect that when this touchstone is applied to discover the integrity of British offers, like Ithuriel's spear it will detect the impostor.

The minister having failed, thro' the glorious Polish Revolution, in his intended commercial treaty with that kingdom, and scheme of procuring Dantzick and Thorn for Prussia, by both of which he

hoped eventually to injure and affront the empress, is now politically traversing the Atlantic with a similar view, flattering himself probably that young sovereignties, like greenhorns upon the turff, are to be taken in by the knowing ones. But you, who when young in tactics got to the windward of the French helmsman, Vergennes, will undoubtedly see in an instant to the bottom of the Pit that is digging for you.

In answer to this long testimony of my attachment to the American States, I request a speedy assurance, in the strongest terms, that the Americans will enter into no offensive and defensive alliance with G. B., nor into any commercial treaty, but upon the principles of reciprocity. And in making even such treaty, you should remember not to preclude yourselves from any advantages that may accrue from the flourishing state of manufactures, *etc.*, which will be likely to exist within the course of a few years in France, now that they have their liberties restored and secured. I shall await with earnestness the receipt of your assurances, that I may, as soon as possible, expose the folly of attempting the seduction of the Americans by specious promises, from attending to their true interest.

The accounts given in the public prints of the amazing number of maple trees in the back settlements, together with the excellency and quantity of the sugar to be easily obtained from their juice, lead me to wish that methods may be pursued, not only for supplying the American consumption, but that of Germany, without injuring posterity by a needless waste of the trees.

How far an Office, under the sanction of Congress, for loaning to new settlers, upon mortgages at five and six per cent, with a view to assist them in their improvements, would be for the benefit of the states, by promoting agriculture and population, would submit to your judgment, as being upon the spot, and capable of knowing all circumstances.

You will have heard of the riots at Birmingham, and of the sufferings of Dr. Priestley and others.²⁵ If dissenters do not meet with better treatment and support from government, I augur that in a few years, should the French constitution be well rooted, numbers will emigrate with their families across the channel; while the length of the passage and the danger hinders their crossing the Atlantic.

Mons. Fayette has approved himself the genuine follower of the

²⁵ A mob on July 14, 1791, attacked Priestley's house and destroyed nearly all his books, papers and apparatus, wrongly believing him to be among those responsible for a meeting of the "Constitutional Society" of Birmingham on that day.

American Patriot under whom he served; and will continue, I trust, to deserve and enjoy the confidence of all his honest countrymen.

Besides a particular commission to tender our hearty respects to the President and his lady, and your lady, your own family among whom are included Mr. and Mrs. Smith ²⁶ and one or more children, I give you a general one to remember me to all my friends in and out of congress, whenever I may happen to be the subject of conversation.

Many things in this letter ought not to be known in G. B. to have been written by me, for there are many worthy characters, who confine their regards for social liberty to their own country, and are no more than *mere* patriots, instead of citizens of the world, embracing all mankind as their brethren, and praying for universal happiness. The head of the letter informs you how to direct to your sincere Friend and very humble servant.

I am fearful that somewhat [thing?] painful has taken place in regard to my friend Hazard, having had no line from him since he was on the point of removing from New York to Philadelphia.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, February 8, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — I write, to testify the continuance of my affection; and to express my hopes, that before the receipt of this you will happily have entered into the 62d year of your age. I doubt not your having been re-elected to the Presidentship, and I most sincerely wish you may fill it the next four years with equal reputation, ease, and success: and if you are assisted with the joint abilities of the same vice-president, secretary of state, and secretary of the treasury, you will go near to do it, if health and strength are granted from Heaven, which I pray God may be the case. The flames of war are spreading in Europe. May they issue in the overthrow of civil and ecclesiastic tyranny, and in bestowing upon the inhabitants the liberties to which they are justly entitled, without destroying subordination! May the United States enjoy peace during the contest; and be thereby at liberty to supply their friends with provision, *etc!* I suspect that Demourier is making forced marches for Amsterdam. Should he succeed, and possess himself of the naval stores, *etc.*, of the Dutch, it may produce a revolution in Holland, and introduce a form of government more favorable to

²⁶ William Stephens Smith (1755–1816), who married Abigail, daughter of John Adams.

the rights of all orders, than what has been for many past years. The present British war I consider as having in principles a great affinity to the last, and as entered into upon the like presumptuous hopes of being soon ended, from a confidence in the amazing power of the confederates. But the conquering event is not always to the strong. May it issue as the former, in liberating the human race from despotism!

We shall rejoice in the reception of a few lines assuring us of your and your Lady's health. That the best of blessings may attend you both thro' life, and terminate in everlasting blessedness, is the earnest prayer of Mrs. Gordon, and Your Excellency's most sincere and affectionate friend.

TO GEORGE CLINTON ²⁷

ST. NEOTS, March 14, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — Your benevolence will apologize for my introducing to your Excellency, three young emigrants, Messrs. Talbot, Allum, and Lee; who are to sail the next week for New York, with a view of settling in the mercantile line. According to my information, from what I account good authority, they have a fair character and are warm friends to liberty. They are all single men; and come not as British agents; but mean, as I apprehend, to be constant residents in America. Mr. Talbot is a member of Dr. Stennet's ²⁸ church. The Dr. is an aged baptist minister of great eminence. Mr. Allum is a member of the baptist church in the Borough, formerly under the care of the deceased Mr. Wallin, now of a Mr. Dore. Mr. Lee is what we *here* call a Dissenter, but is not in an especial connexion with any particular class of dissenters.

I am far from soliciting your interference on their behalf; but its being known, that you have had a letter of recommendation, announcing their good character, will undoubtedly be of advantage to them.

The French affairs in the Netherlands have taken an unfavorable turn, through their not keeping a good look out, and suffering themselves to be surprised. If the national Convention can bear up under the shock, suppress the Parisian mob, and keep down Marat and all his incendiaries, I doubt not but they will ride out the storm; and that their affairs will soon put on another appearance.

²⁷ From the New York Public Library.

²⁸ Samuel Stennett (1728-1795) pastor of the Baptist church in Little Wild Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London.

I do not despair of their liberties, notwithstanding the united efforts of their confederated enemies. Be that as it may, we know that the counsel of the Lord shall stand, and that he will do all his pleasure: and as He reigneth let the earth, and especially his own people, rejoice.

Mrs. Griffiths desired to be remembered to you when I wrote. Be pleased to present my respects to your Lady. I write to my brother Rodgers by the present conveyance. With real esteem I remain Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

P. S. A brother minister of Bedford, within twelve miles of me, mentioned in conversation the last week, that there lived in that place a mill-wright, a Yorkshire man, very ingenious, who did all the Duke of Bedford's work, and whatever of that kind was wanted in that part of the country, who with his wife and children were desirous of removing to America. I inquired into his character, and was answered, "I know not of his having any one vice, and I know that he possesses many virtues."

Would such an one be an acquisition to the country, and would he be likely to get into immediate employ, so as to support himself? If so, I would encourage his propensity. Should he come, can he get every tool upon his arrival, or will it be best for him to bring all with him?

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, March 30, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — When I wrote on the 8th of February last, I had no thought of addressing you so soon after. But the subject matter of my writing is of such importance, in my apprehension, that I could not decline doing it, and of that nature, that I choose not to submit it to the inspection of any but yourself, in whom I can confide for secrecy, in regard both to the writer and letter.

I have lately learnt that some of the first manufacturers in the hardware, mean to seek the full enjoyment of liberty within the U. S. One kind, beside a position where they can be supplied with plenty of coal, iron and copper near at hand, must have *tin*, without which the particular branch in which it is used, cannot be carried on. Such, desire to know, whether there is any tin ore in America. So little of it is wanted, that being at a distance from the site of the manufacture will be of small comparative importance. Should there be no tin ore within the U. S., the quantity is so great in Cornwall, that a sufficient supply may be got from England; but then it must be done, before government can get to the knowledge

of the design for which it is intended; as they would be likely to prohibit by law, the sending to you the desired quantity. If tin ore can be found in America, yet it may be so circumstanced, as not to afford a quantity equal to the demand, for years. Might it not be prudent then to procure from England tons upon tons of it, at the expence of the U. S., by various shipping returning from Great Britain. Nothing but the uncertainty of a sufficient supply for years of that ore, stays the emigration of one of the most capital and wealthy manufacturers in the hardware requiring that article. If an immediate supply for years can be obtained; before that is expended, peace may be established in Europe, and all objections and hindrances to a free and full exportation removed.

Should you incline to write to me upon the subject, let not the letter be directed in your own hand: for me however at St. Neots, Huntingdonshire.

Hope this will find you and your Lady in good health, attended with various comforts, and under the divine blessing, whether at Mount Vernon or elsewhere; Mrs. Gordon joins in this wish, and desires to be remembered most respectfully to each. I remain Your Excellency's sincere and affectionate friend.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON ²⁹

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, August 17, 1793.

MY DEAR SIR, — The renewed choice of your Excellency to the Presidentship was what I expected; and I was much pleased, when looking over the *Gazette of the United States*, it appeared that the vote of every elector was in your favor. When the war commenced between G. Britain and France, I was repeatedly asked, What part will the Americans take? I always answered, I apprehend they will observe a strict neutrality; for peace and trade with the whole world is the interest of the United States. The arrival of your proclamation confirmed my opinion. But I suspect, that the court of St. James's will not admit of your acting upon the principle of neutral vessels making neutral property, with an exception of warlike articles. You will undoubtedly maintain the principle, should prudence prevent entering upon hostilities to support it: but by firmly maintaining the principle, instead of making the smallest concessions, you will vindicate your future conduct upon the occasion, whenever the opportunity offers of your supporting it by force without any considerable hazard to yourselves. This however

²⁹ Printed in *Letters to Washington* (Sparks), IV. 435.

has not influenced me to trouble you with the present letter; but something of more consequence to the United States.

There is a prevailing idea in G. B., if not in other parts of Europe, that whenever you are removed, the federal union will be dissolved, the states will separate, and disorder succeed, for that the American government cannot in its own nature be lasting. The confusions in France, and the eccentric publications in the U. S. tend to strengthen the idea. I am fully convinced from what I have read in the manuscripts you possess, that nothing will give you greater satisfaction than being the means of disappointing such expectations. Some conjecture, that when you have been removed from these lower regions (may it be to the regions of perpetual bliss!) for a few years, the states will quarrel about who shall be President, and thereby produce a separation. I am fully convinced that one, if not more, of the first persons in the U. S. is of opinion, that in time an hereditary President must be chosen, to prevent the dangerous contests that periodical elections will produce, similar to what has happened repeatedly in choosing Polish sovereigns. An hereditary President will become most probably, in a series of years, but another name for an hereditary monarch, and the whole spirit of government be changed into European, Asiatic or African, whatever may be its bodily shape. Allow me then to ask your opinion, whether the following plan might not, if brought into execution, be preventive of such a deplorable event? Let an alteration be made in that part of the federal constitution that relates to the choice of the President.

Let it be agreed by the U. S. that after your decease, or declining the Presidentship, the President shall be chosen alternately from each state (in the same form as now) for four years, the population of each state to determine the rotation, from the highest to the lowest, the first and the last. The population to be settled as soon as possible: and then the order for each state's furnishing a President be declared. When every state has enjoyed the privilege; before the last in rotation has completed its term of four years, let the population of the states be taken afresh, and a new orderly list be formed, as the variations produced by sixty years and more may require. Though Virginia has furnished a President once and again, before such alteration in the choice of a President, her right to the order of the rotation not to be vacated. I cannot be absolutely certain, but I conceive that it was at length agreed by the former Congress, that the President should be chosen in rotation from the respective states, or a state that had not before furnished one.

Whether we may judge alike upon this delicate and important subject I know not: but I am convinced that your Excellency will

give me credit for my attachment to the welfare of the United States; and will deem it respectful, that I have not communicated these thoughts to any other correspondent; and have entrusted it with you, to digest, and ripen, and bring forward the plan, if honored with your approbation, in your own way and time. I am too much attached to American liberty and the United States, than to fail in praying for their continued and increasing prosperity.

Mrs. Gordon joins me in wishing your Excellency, and your Lady the best of divine blessings through the remainder of life, and an infinitely better life hereafter through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I remain, my Dear Sir, Your most sincere and affectionate friend.

I deplore the situation of our friend de la Fayette; but can obtain no news of him, other than of his general imprisonment. May he be supported thro' the trial, and at length be restored to the public and his friends.

P. S. If what the News Paper which arrived yesterday mentioned should be true — That Mr. Hamilton had written to all the American Ports to admit French prizes, but not prizes taken by the powers at war with France, and there is a settled determination on the part of the Americans to fulfil the articles of the treaty with them in 1778, wherein special privileges are granted them, beyond those who are their enemies — however desirous you may be of observing a neutrality in other respects, I divine from the hauteur of the British ministry, that prudence will require your getting ready for a rupture, that you may have the chance of preventing it. May Heaven forbid such a rupture! Should it take place, I can pray for my friends, though I can no longer correspond with them.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTS, March 7th 1794.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your benevolence is so well established, that no apology is needful for my introducing to your notice, my friend the Rev'd Mr. Hickman, who prefers living in a land of real liberty to remaining in his native country, where there is little of it, though great boastings about it.

Being at Cambridge the beginning of the week, a gentleman of my acquaintance, Mr. Flower,³⁰ who has published upon the French

³⁰ Benjamin Flower. A copy of the second edition of his work on *The French Constitution*, London, 1792, was in Washington's library and the letter of presentation from the author was dated Cambridge, March 17, 1794.

Constitution of 1791, expressed his desire of testifying his regard to you, by sending you his work, did he know of a conveyance. I immediately told him that Mr. Hickman would gladly take charge of it. He took the direction where to order it, and I conclude that before this reaches Mr. Hickman, he will have received it.

I pray for your States as truly and steadily as an American, that you may be succeeded in warring with the Indians, till you have a safe lasting and honorable peace; and that you may be preserved from a war with G. Britain; but am afraid you will be driven into it by our ministry. Should the French give the allies a good hearty drubbing upon the opening of the campaign, so as to leave no reasonable hope of its being a successful one to the [confede?]rates, the ministry may accede to your just demands: for notwithstanding the contemptuous regard they cast upon the voice of the public, a war with America will be so extremely unpopular, as to endanger their seats, which many think are more dear to them than their country.

Wishing and praying that your Excellency may live to see the United States confirmed in the enjoyments of a safe peace with all the nations of the earth, and in the possession of a plan that shall secure the liberties of America to the latest posterity, without exposing them to the evils of hereditary power in a single State, or a single President; and then finish your race with full glory, and remove to a better world through the merits of the Lord Jesus Christ, I remain, My Dear Sir, Your Excellency's affectionate friend and humble servant.

Mrs. Gordon joins me in the preceding paragraph, and in most cordial regards to your Lady, to whom Mrs. Hickman will pay proper respect upon her arrival.

N.B. I shall enter my sixty-sixth year should I be spared till tomorrow. Am so favored, as to be able to write without spectacles, and to read without any kind of glasses.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, March 25, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR, — The goodness of my intention will apologize for the present letter. The purport of which, I conceive, may not be known to any American. You may possibly be under the disagreeable necessity of appointing military officers for active service in dangerous warlike undertakings. I have a great regard for Gen-

eral Otho Williams,³¹ and am under peculiar obligations to him; but if what our deceased friend General Greene told me, has not been mentioned to you, it is proper, I apprehend, to acquaint you with it. When conversing about him the words of General Greene were nearly to this purpose: "Williams does not want for courage, he will fight any thing; but he has no fortitude, and cannot bear up under disasters; he was so dispirited by the rapid pursuit of Cornwallis before he joined me, that I would have beaten him with forty old squaws."

You had the blessing of being endued from above, with both courage and fortitude. Greene's distinction between the two qualities pleased me so much, that I have never forgotten it. Wishing your Excellency all that special wisdom which is wanted, for guiding the state helm in this critical period; and that you may have the guidance of the supreme Governor of the universe, I remain Your affectionate friend and humble servant.

Mrs. Gordon joins in most cordial regards to Self and Your Lady.

P.S. My friend the Rev'd Mr. Hickman who is intrusted with this has one of an earlier date, together with Flower upon the French Constitution of 1791, a present from the author, if sent in time.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

St. Neots, September 12, 1794.

MY DEAR SIR, — Judging there is an advantage from knowing the particular tempers of those with whom we have to transact business of the first consequence, I have taken up my pen to acquaint your Excellency with the following matters. I had an intimate friend, who was settled, as a minister, with an English Presbyterian church in Rotterdam; and who was acquainted with a teaching tutor of a prince of Wales, under special obligations to him for copies of letters to be transcribed, and then put into the hands of the pupil, for furnishing the latter with suitable materials to be forwarded to his sovereign upon special occasions. My friend annually visited Ipswich in Suffolk, where I resided. In free conversation he related the above circumstances, mentioned the tutor's name, and his particular employ; and further added, that being in familiar chat with the tutor, he asked him, what sort of a person his pupil was, and had for answer: He has good common abilities,

³¹ Washington's opinion of Williams, written in 1792, is in *Writings of Washington* (Ford), XII. 510

and if he falls into good hands the nation will be very happy with him; but if otherwise, the Lord have mercy upon you, for he is as obstinate as any mule. Corresponding with Americans before I crossed the Atlantic, I communicated this anecdote to the late governor Bowdoin, long before I left G. Britain. Of this same person, I have been assured, that the present Sir John Temple was told by the noted Lord Chatham — when the American war was the subject of conversation: It is not Lord North's war; it is not Lord Mansfield's war; it is not Lord Bute's war; it is the man's own war, I have seen him in the council and I have seen him in the cabinet. The events of that war have been a sore mortification to him, and the person, under whose care he was when ill, told an acquaintance of mine in the neighbourhood, that he apprehended his disorder was owing greatly to it. Dr. W. lives rather more than thirty miles from hence to the northward; and in passing backward and forward goes within about a mile of me. Have lately heard in a way that gains my credit, that the same individual delights in war: notwithstanding, I am well assured, that he is a personal coward. I doubt not, but that an American war, could it be commenced with safety, and prove successful, according to his wishes, would not be disgusting to him. But it will probably be avoided, if possible, while the French continue to bear down all before them, as nothing would be more unpopular. However, cowardice is often attended with low cunning and artful chicanery; and I should not wonder if negotiation is prolonged, instead of satisfaction's being given, in hopes that a turn of affairs in Europe, may admit of prosecuting the dispute by avowed war, and thereby affording the opportunity of gratifying revenge. Should war ever commence, *you* must be upon your guard against some of the English among you, who are friends to royalty, and enemies to the federal government. My information upon this head cannot be doubted. It was obtained in free conversation from a young gentleman in my neighbourhood, who reprobated the conduct of his countrymen; and who told me, that when dining at New York in company with twenty or thirty of them, they discovered the temper I have now mentioned, and while they toasted the king, they refused toasting your Excellency. I should not have mentioned this, but to shew how much they ought to be watched in case of a rupture. The greatness of your own mind, will lead you to pass by the affront as below your attention. My informer was Mr. Maitland, a large youth of twenty, whom you will possibly remember as having been introduced to you, after coming from the West Indies, and being advised by you, what rout to take for seeing the country while upon his travels; and with whom you sat down, and conversed in the most familiar way, upon

the sofa after another gentleman had left it, when paying a complementary visit to your lady.

The weight of business you have had upon your hands, and the misbehaviour of some turbulent fiery spirits, will not, I trust, dishearten you from prosecuting steadily the real interests of the United States, nor tempt you to quit your post. You are spared, it is to be hoped, to ward off those evils, with which the country has been, and may be still threatened; and to give a firmer establishment to the liberties and prosperity of it.

You was raised up by the Lord of Hosts to be an instrument of saving the United States from slavery. I most sincerely wish, that the same Omnipotent Power may have commissioned Kosciusko to deliver the Poles from under slavery. If he and his co-adjutors can but weather the present year, I shall scarce doubt of his succeeding in his glorious attempt. May the divine Blessing attend you in private and public life, living and dying! Mrs. Gordon joins in most cordial regards to Self and Lady. Your Excellency's most sincere and affectionate friend and humble servant.

September 15. The papers of saturday contain such information, as give me hopes that Providence favors the Polish Revolution.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTINGDONSHIRE, April 29, 1795.

MY DEAR SIR,— Your ardent, persevering, and disinterested patriotism, from the commencement of the American difficulties; and through the various changes that have occurred, from your being chosen August 5, 1774, one of the Virginia delegates down to the present day; assure me, that you will approve of my good intentions to promote and perpetuate the welfare of the United States, though you should think me mistaken in the plan for procuring it.

Upon reading over in Fenno's *Gazette* of July 29th, 1794, Dr. Ramsay's Oration delivered at Charleston on the 4th of the said month, I noticed particularly the following paragraph:

We should above all things, study to promote the union and harmony of the different States. Perish the man who wishes to divide us, into back country, or low country, into northern and southern, or into an eastern and western interest. Forming one empire we will be truly respectable, but divided into two, or more, we must become the sport of foreign nations, and peace will be for ever exiled from our borders. The unity and indivisibility of the republic is an essential part of the French Constitution; so it ought to be with us. We should consider the people

of this country, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, from New Hampshire to Georgia, as forming one whole, the interest of which should be preferred to that of every part. Even the prejudices, peculiarities, and local habits of the different States, should be respected and tenderly dealt with.

These sentiments were in perfect unison with those of my own heart. But from the very mention of *back country* or *low country*, of *northern* and *southern*, *eastern* and *western* interest, I was immediately alarmed with the apprehension, that such or similar distinctions had been used. And I began to turn over in my own thoughts, what method would be most likely to preserve for ages, The Union and Indivisibility of the United States, as forming One Whole, Empire. At length it occurred to me, that it was your Excellency alone that could do it, and that the doing it was in your power; and would give as great a lustre, or even a greater to your patriotic character, than any preceding single act whatever. I mean your proposing A new Article to the United States to be by them adopted into the Federal Constitution, similar in the main to what I mentioned in my letter to you, after hearing with great pleasure, that you had been rechosen to the Presidentship. Let it be proposed, that the President to be elected should be chosen for four years, by rotation from the several States, beginning with that whose numbers were the most when the last census was taken, from among the first old Thirteen States. After that, from the new added States, in the order they were received into the Union, or according to their numbers, as these stood in the census made nearest to the commencing of the election from such new States. Such an article, by giving hopes to the settlers in the New States, that out of their posterity a future President may be placed at the head of the American Empire; and by honoring them with an *equal* prospect, as well as an *equal* right; will tie them so to the Old States; that they will not be liable to be seduced by the settlers beyond your American lines, the subjects of foreign powers, who will undoubtedly endeavour, in an under-hand way, to promote dissatisfaction, and to draw them off from the Union, that so your prosperity may be hindered, and civil wars be introduced to stop your rapid advances, to the height of human governmental happiness. It will at the same time promote the spread of knowledge and literature among them; for it will fire their youth, from the earliest period, with an eager desire of procuring those qualifications, that shall fit them for making a figure in Congress, and gaining the respect of their fellow citizens, in the several States they do not represent, and thereby, if spared, and possible, the personal repre-

sentation of all the States in the quality of President or Vice-President.

My much respected and beloved Friend, don't think me cruel in suggesting, that should this meet your approbation the above plan be adopted and ratified and the nations of the earth be blessed with peace, before your presidentship is ended: and you should avow your determination to retire from the weight of public business, to the domestic happiness of private life, and that you may have more leisure to devote your attention to concerns of infinite importance. You will secure your character from being risked by the failure of your mental powers, when further advanced in life. There are not quite three years difference between our ages. I am the elder; and perceive a great alteration, a vast one, in point of memory and my other faculties; and should certainly give up my public relative connexions, had I wherewith to live without my present salary.

View this manuscript as the fruit of love to yourself and the United States: however mistaken the sentiments contained in it may be.

Mrs. Gordon continues still to join me, in wishing your Excellency, and your Lady, the best of divine blessings through the remainder of life, and an infinitely better life hereafter, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. I remain, my Dear Sir, Your most sincere and affectionate friend.

TO HORATIO GATES ³²

ST. NEOTS, HUNTS, July 17, 1795.

FRIEND GATES, — Since your leaving Travellers Rest, and fixing in the neighbourhood of New York I have written you a letter, and long ere now expected an answer. I cannot be certain that you ever received it; and therefore must not add more gall to my ink, by writing you a bitter scolding for slighting an old acquaintance, who went through perils by water and land that so he might reach your abode on the 7th of Nov'r, 1781. He left General Armstrong's at Carlisle on monday the 5th. By the *Philadelphia Gazette of the U S* I learn that Armstrong is dead.³³ Shortly, and the same event will be notified in regard to us, whatever health and strength may attend us in our advanced age. Our main business is to prepare for the close of life, that so it may be safe; and prove introductory to everlasting happiness. This however cannot be, but by adhering

³² From the Gates Papers in the New York Historical Society.

³³ John Armstrong died March 9, 1795.

to the faith and practice of christianity. May divine influences inspire us to do it effectually, that so we may triumph over death, while falling under his stroke!

Though I have not heard *from* you, I have heard *of* you, through the medium of a brother to the son of a worthy minister of my acquaintance, going by the name of Palmer. The son I find has s[ome] knowledge of you, and of your old war-horse's dancing to the sound of the drum. Pray let me [know] the spot where you reside, and whether you can entertain me and my partner who still sticks by [me], in case we should be forced through the miseries of the times to seek an asylum in America. We are going [in my] judgment from bad to worse; and now mean to take the bull by the horns, if we can, by [retiring fro]m the seacoast, in which we shall sacrifice the emigrants and get rid of the expence we s[hall have] in supporting them, lose a number of our own men, and so have the less to maintain or throw upon the public, when the war is over. I expect no peace till next spring, by which time I imagine we shall be so handled and endangered and humbled, that we shall be glad to get it by begging and praying. My comfort is that the Lord reigneth, and can make the sorest evils in the end public benefits. If the Africans can obtain their freedom in the West India Islands, and the slave trade be put an entire stop to, tho' by the loss of all the Islands — If the world of mankind can be liberated from sacred and civil tyranny, tho' by the ruin of G B, when it cannot be without that painful event, I say Amen, so let it be. Being short in time I write *currente calamo*, and therefore make mistakes; but not for want of eye sight. I thankfully acknowledge the mercy in having no occasion to use spectacles, and being capable of reading small, even the smallest print, without them. My bodily health is at present upon the whole good; but my memory fails me greatly. Mrs. Gordon enjoys special health. I do not recollect having any personal knowledge of Mrs. Gates, but the goodness of your taste assures us that she is deserving of our notice, and therefore present our best respects to her; and similar ones to all our deserving acquaintance that may fall in your way, and upon us as the subjects of conversation. Your old and fast friend.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

St. NEOTS, HUNTS, January 16, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR, — This will be presented to you, as I hope, by the nephew of Mrs. Gordon, Mr. Oliver Field; who from right principles

emigrates from Great Britain, that he may become a citizen of the United States, and secure to himself, and family and posterity, those sacred and civil rights, that he cannot enjoy in his native country. He prefers the American Constitution to all others: and from a conviction of its being calculated to preserve the privileges of all under a good government will necessarily support it by practice and influence, and discourage all that anarchy which is baneful to the well being of society.

With pleasure I markt the contents of your late speech to the Congress; and observed, that you had passed over, without noticing, the irregular and intemperate proceedings of town and city meetings, regarding matters of State, in which they had no right to interfere. The publications of Curtius, and Camillus³⁴ I have perused in Fenno's *Gazettes* with satisfaction, and promise myself they have answered the valuable ends proposed by the writers. Was astonished that Judge Rutledge should express such violence: and could not but approve of the manner you had silenced him, by heaping coals of kindness upon his head.³⁵

My nephew settled at Worcester, where he was in business for many years, till the present removal; and maintained an irreproachable character, and was much respected. He has not determined where to settle; but sails with his wife and two children immediately for Philadelphia, from whence he thinks of making excursions to New York and other places.

We have had hitherto the most open and mild and blowing winter, with the wind chiefly at west and southwest, that ever was known in the memory of man. The body of the nation are now panting heartily for peace; and from the cessation of hostilities between the French and Austrians in Germany, many are willing to hope, that it is at no great distance. In my opinion the British ministry and *Sovereign* will make no peace, till they have tried their utmost in the East and West Indies, against the French and Dutch settlements; and that their demands will be such at present that the French Directory will not agree to. Nor am I sanguine in my expectations of peace between the French and Austrians, unless the latter, through fear of losing all their Italian dominions, should be willing to agree to French stipulations regarding the Netherlands and the Rhine. The slaughter and devastations occasioned by the

³⁴ On Jay's treaty. Camillus was Alexander Hamilton and Curtius was Noah Webster.

³⁵ Rutledge had been appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court July 1, 1795, and on July 16, before he had received notice of his appointment, he made a violent attack upon Jay's treaty. Warren, *Supreme Court in United States History*, I. 128.

present war have been horridly excessive. May a kind and gracious God overrule them for the good of mankind at large — the liberating them more and more from under sacred and civil tyranny! O! highly favored and blessed United States of America, that have enjoyed the calm and enriching prosperity of peace, while a great part of the world has been convulsed, impoverished, and destroyed. May America ever understand the things that make for her peace and happiness!

I hope your Excellency, and your Lady have enjoyed a comfortable share of ease and health. Mrs. Gordon joins me in wishing you both every blessing through the decline of life; and future blessedness through the merits of our Lord Jesus, when the present mode of existence is terminated. I remain Your Excellency's sincere and affectionate Friend and humble Servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTS., August 29, 1796.

MY DEAR SIR, — The most cordial congratulations attend your Excellency on your firm and successful conduct during the last Session. The United States are as much indebted to you for the same, as for procuring them a Treaty with Great Britain; truly and greatly advantageous, though it may not equal the sanguine wishes of many; still infinitely preferable to a rupture, which would have ruined multitudes, benefited but very few comparatively, and might have endangered your national existence. Under God, you have been the happy instrument of saving your country twice; first in a time of war, and now in a time of peace.

I contemplate your retirement from the Presidency at the close of your second tour of service, with no small pleasure; under the persuasion, that it will not only redound to your credit, equally with your quitting the military command after you had seen the war brought to an honorable conclusion; but put you in possession of that retired private life, of which you are so desirous. Yours will be in truth *Otium cum Dignitate*. May you long find the sweets of it; and while you are enjoying earthly comforts, experience the pleasures of religion; and by meditation and the various acts of devotion prescribed in the sacred Oracles, be preparing for the eternal glories and joys of heaven, which every real christian is promised by his divine Leader, the Captain of his salvation, the King of kings and the Lord of lords!

This will be accompanied with a small miniature coloured print

of me.³⁶ I sat for the original painting, before Mr. Jay had his first audience, and in the adjoining street, which gave me the opportunity of seeing him oftener than I should otherwise have done. You will be pleased to accept of it and Wyvill's Correspondence with Pitt,³⁷ as a small token of that sincere affection which I bear towards you. Mrs. Gordon and self enjoy, through the goodness of our heavenly Father, no small share of health, considering that we are in the sixty-eighth year of our pilgrimage. It is our wish and prayer, that you and your Lady may be equally favored, and if it pleases God even more so.

We are much obliged to your Excellency for the kind notice you took of our nephew Oliver Field. His father died the last friday in his seventy-eighth year.

In Great Britain our gathering storm seems to be thickening apace over the heads of the inhabitants. And, old as I am, were my circumstances sufficient for my living in a state of independence, I should be strongly inclined to prepare for a removal next spring, if spared, and should we not have a peace, of which I have no idea; for I suppose the French terms will be — The restoration of all taken from France and her ally the Dutch, and that these we shall not consent to, while we can continue the war, which our rulers may attempt doing, till a national convulsion exists and hazards every thing.

Your Excellency and Lady will be pleased to accept of our most affectionate regards. I remain, Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and humble servant.

TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

LC

ST. NEOTS, HUNTS, February 20, 1797.

MY DEAR SIR, — It is with peculiar pleasure, that I contemplate your having been preserved to the present period; sustained under the weight of that service to which you have been called, by the unanimous vote of your electors; uniformly pursued the prosperity of the United States; concluded upon returning to the enjoyment

³⁶ The print was the engraving by Chapman after a miniature by Charles Hayter (1761-1835), and is reproduced in this volume. In 1841 Mr. Sparks gave a copy to this Society and stated "that it was pronounced by Mrs. Kimball, of England, who knew Dr. Gordon well, to be an excellent likeness." *1 Proceedings*, II. 218.

³⁷ Christopher Wyvill (c. 1740-1822), rector of Black Notley, Essex. The book was *Correspondence of the Reverend C. Wyvill with the right honourable William Pitt*, Part I. (Newcastle, 1796, Second Edition.)

of domestic happiness; secured the lustre of your character; and communicated to the people over whom you presided, the best testimony of your love to them, in the momentous advice you have given. May they and their descendants view it as the political Pole Star by which to steer their course, in order to escape those sands, shoals and rocks, which have proved fatal to all preceding nations, after a lapse of a few centuries! May your retirement be sweetened with an uninterrupted observance, that the United States are steadily adopting your sentiments, and by so doing have their peace and prosperity secured, and gradually improved. Now you are honorably released from the cares and encumbrances of the presidency you will have greater opportunities of attending to those sacred employments, which, through the divine blessing may prepare you for the mansions of everlasting bliss and a crown of glory.

However well we may have conducted towards fellow creatures, and have merited their love and approbation; when we come to sit down alone, and to reflect coolly upon the relation we stand in to God, we must be conscious of having broken his law in numberless instances, though it may not have been in action, in word and in thought. And how awful is that declaration, "Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them!" The gospel may well be stiled *glad tidings of great joy*, for it informs us, that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son to be a sacrifice for sin, that so through his atoning blood, the chief of sinners, upon their repenting and believing in Jesus as the Lamb of God, and walking as he walked, may not only escape deserved punishment in hell, but be brought to the enjoyment of endless and growing happiness. For the attainment of this, may the short remains of life be devoted. Then may we hope for an endearing meeting in the heavenly regions, though debarred the pleasure of any further personal interviews on earth.

I observed in the Philadelphia papers, mention made of a publication of a volume of your epistles, domestic, confidential and official.³⁸ If I mistake not two volumes were published sometime back. Should be glad to know, whether they are genuine; and in case thereof, you will admit me to republish them in this country, with the addition of several of which I have copies. That which I alluded to in a former letter, may, I find upon a careful review, be safely published, suppressing the name of the person to whom it was

³⁸ Ford, *Spurious Letters of Washington*. The two volumes were authentic, compiled by John Carey.

addressed. It was copied from your 2d Volume of Private Letters, dated Newburgh, May 22, 1782, and directed to Col. L. N.³⁹

The re-publishing of what have already appeared, with the publication of what I propose might make my circumstances more easy (for the smallness of my income and the dearness of every article of life through increase of taxes, *etc.*, straiten me) besides proving serviceable as well as entertaining to the world. I should be careful to publish nothing, but what would add to the many evidences of the goodness of your character, tho' not needed on that account; and to suppress whatever might be really prejudicial to the United States. Mrs. Gordon joins in wishing you and your Lady the brightest prospects under a calm and serene evening of life. I remain your Excellency's most sincere and affectionate friend and humble Servant.

P.S. Should you have any thing larger than a letter to forward, oblige me so far as to let it be sent to Mr. Hazard; for otherwise when it gets to England it might pass into the Post and be charged so heavily, as to amount to a prohibition of my receiving it. Mr. Hazard forwarded me a few news-papers by the *Ceres*. The Captain some how, instead of bringing the parcel to London, let them go into the Post Office at Hastings with the bag of letters, and the charge to my correspondent where they were to be left was two pounds and one shilling sterling. He did not receive them, but first consulted me. Knowing what they were, I declined advancing the postage, and they are lost to me.⁴⁰

To _____

LC

ST. NEOTS, May 13, 1799.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — By letter received yesterday from Mr. Conder learn that the picture was finished, framed, packed and sent to Mr. Dilly⁴¹ directed for Dr. Morse,⁴² sometime last summer, though he could not say exactly the time. He remembered giving it to Mr. Ingram, Mr. Dilly's shopman, who said it should go in a case they were going to send. I shall desire Mr. Dilly to read this letter over before he sends it off; that so he may right to you about it. If the case was taken or the vessel lost on its passage, your

³⁹ Lewis Nicola. *Writings of Washington* (Ford), x. 21.

⁴⁰ Washington's reply, October 15, 1797, is in *Writings of Washington*, XIII. 425.

⁴¹ Charles Dilly (1739-1807) was Gordon's London publisher.

⁴² Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826).

missing of it is at once accounted for: did it get safe to Port inquiry must be made about it: undoubtedly Mr. Dilly knows by what vessel and Captain it went. Shall be glad to hear that you have at length received it. Your affectionate brother in our common Lord Jesus.⁴³

⁴³ Gordon sent to the London *Monthly Magazine*, in April, 1800, "extracts from letters of the late General Washington, to whose papers I had free access, when residing at his house for weeks, while procuring materials for the History of the American Revolution; and of some written to myself." The extracts appeared in the *Magazine* for July, 1800, and were reprinted in *Magazine of American History*, XIII. 487.

APPENDIX

1772-1786

TO EZRA STILES ⁴⁴

ROXBURY, May 29, 1772.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — You have herewith Dr. Furneaux's letter, the perusal of which afforded me much satisfaction. By some late letters, was informed of its being reported that the Bishop of Lincoln had ordained 2 of the expelled young men, on the recommendation of Durell, V C of Oxford, who said the one thing painful to him was his concern in their expulsion. Mr. Marchant was at my late place to attend public worship, in company with Mr. David Jennings, the beginning of March, and proved an agreeable visitor from his being able to inform my friends concerning me. I have the prospect of being comfortably settled, much to my mind, and when this shall be the case, and I have a house of my own, shall promise myself the pleasure of your company. Have sent you three Plans for a Society *etc.* of which I beg your acceptance. Shall be glad of any intelligence having affinity with what I have published.

Dr. Priestly is a Presbyterian; his religious sentiments are such in my apprehension as degrade christianity into a mere system of morality, tho' somewhat better than that of the old Philosophers. His opinions are too bad, I trust, to be received here, notwithstanding all the pieces he or his friends may send over. Your information of the Reverend Mr. Noah Hill's being settled with my late congregation is true; and I rejoyce in their being so well fixed. Have a very good character of him from different quarters; and understand that he is a sound and serious preacher. Mrs. Gordon joins in best respects to Self, Mrs. Stiles, and family, wishing you health of soul and body. Your affectionate friend, though unworthy brother in the gospel.

[Addressed:] To Dr. Ezra Stiles, Newport.

TO EZRA STILES ⁴⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, September 23, 1772.

MY DEAR SIR, — The main reasons for my writing, are, to keep up an intercourse, and to communicate a paragraph out of one of

⁴⁴ Yale University Library.⁴⁵ Yale University Library.

my London letters [*from David Jennings*] to the following purpose, *viz.*, "perhaps it may give pleasure to Dr. Stiles to inform him, that our friend Mr. Marchant has in a great measure succeeded in the business that brought him to England. I have no doubt myself, but that the money due to the Colony of Rhode Island from the Government here will be paid the next sessions of parliament, and which will be entirely owing to the assiduity and spirit, with which he has conducted the affair. Had it not been for this, I am well informed, from a friend of mine connected with administration, it would have lain over without any settlement made, or grant issued. However it had terminated, our friend has done the Colony much honor, and has I believe removed from the minds of administration many prejudices, they had imbibed to the disadvantage of America in general." Mr. Marchant hastening home so (as is natural) to see his family, has not afforded me that opportunity of conversing with him, that I wished to enjoy; but in some future period shall promise myself the pleasure of his company. He knows nothing of the above paragraph relating to himself, however *NON Bellero-phontis literas portat*. Through the goodness of God towards us we enjoy a comfortable state of health; at writing I am but poorly with a complaint in my bowels; this I trust is mercy notwithstanding, and will be more for my advantage than an exemption from it. Mrs. Gordon joins in best respects to Self and family, wishing to hear from you soon. May the blessing of heaven crown your labours for the best interests of those you are connected with. Your sincere friend tho' unworthy brother.

[*Addressed:*] To the Reverend Dr. Stiles, Newport.

TO LORD DARTMOUTH ⁴⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, October 24, 1772.

MY LORD,—Persuaded that your Lordship, in becoming a part of administration, acts upon nobler motives than what influence the generality, and that you mean the glory of God, in the prosperity of the whole British Empire, and more particularly of the Mother Country and its Colonies, I promise myself that I offend not, by communicating intelligence, that your Lordship's abilities can make subservient to your benevolent intentions.

The Almighty having stationed me in the neighbourhood of Boston, and mercifully given me much favour in the sight of strangers, have various and frequent opportunities of hearing senti-

⁴⁶ From the Dartmouth MSS.

ments delivered with freedom, and of conversing unreservedly with some of the first persons; and, though I would abhor the thought of betraying what is spoken in confidence, and of doing evil that good may come of it, yet apprehend I am justifiable in transmitting the following accounts.

The favour of a visit the last monday from Thomas Cushing Esquire Speaker of the house of Assembly, afforded an opportunity of discoursing with him about American affairs. He assured me that the Colonists would not be fully satisfied, till matters were brought back to the situation in which they were before the stamp act. The right of Parliament to regulate the trade of the Colonies was readily acknowledged, as also to appropriate the sums, necessarily arising thereupon, for the payment of expences; but not to raise a revenue. The conversation afterwards turned on what would be an immediate gratification, and tend to put the general Court into good humour, and yet of that nature that might speedily be done by the ministry, without degrading Government, or waiting for acts of Parliament, which were a work of time; when the Speaker mentioned the removal of the troops, the restoration of the castle to the care of the Colony, instructions to the Governor to sign the tax bills without exceptions in favour of the commissioners, together with the bills annually passed by the Council and Assembly for the payment of agents, and the leaving it with the general Court to provide for the judges.

I pray your Lordship's indulgence, while I briefly remark on these several particulars. The present number of troops is too small to be of any real service, either for the defence of the country in case of a sudden attack, or the support of the civil Magistrate, were they the main security for the safe discharge of his duty. A military spirit is spreading fast through the Massachusetts, and from thence will probably extend to the other governments: the inhabitants value themselves upon their loyalty, and by being trusted would have their affections recovered and secured to the use of the Mother Country. The detention of the castle is viewed not only as an injustice to, but as impeachment of them. The returning them their toy would please better than substantial benefits in exchange thereof. But to have a military power among them, not under the controul of the civil, nor at the command of his Majesty's Governor during their continuance within his government, is deemed in itself absolutely inconsistent with true liberty. The preservation of a people's morals will weigh with your Lordship as a Christian, and prevent your adopting the narrow plans of irreligious politicians, who by debauching think the more effectually to govern. Though there are Cornelius's and devout soldiers in the

present day, yet your Lordship is sensible, that there are not many in any corps; and that bravery, not piety, is the characteristic of his Majesty's forces. Much injury has been done to the morals of the people by the presence of the troops, and the removal of them would certainly be friendly to virtue.

I had the honour of dining with the Governor at his table, the day his Excellency prorogued the Assembly, and refused signing the tax bill in virtue of the instructions received a few days before, and had an opportunity of observing the disgust, and of knowing the sentiments of some of his warmest friends, who could not refrain from mentioning, that they hoped the Assembly would never agree to make the proposed exceptions, let the consequences be as they would. The money paid by the whole board of commissioners is trifling, falling short of thirty pounds sterling, as I am credibly informed. Should the instructions on that head be adhered to, after a while difficulties and disturbances must necessarily arise.

The imprudences of Sir Francis Barnard [*sic*] have fixt both council and assembly in the resolution to have agents, in the choice of whom a Governor shall have no concern, that so it may not be in his power by putting a negative, at pleasure to nullify any one's officiating. The allowing agents to be paid can never be hurtful to a Minister; the refusal only provokes; and the council and assembly will always find some or other, whom resentment or principle will incline to act, even though they should not be paid.

Disinterested men of all parties readily allow, that the judges have not been suitably provided for, and at the same time unite in asserting, that they ought not to be dependent on the Crown, any more than on the people. The new adopted mode of paying them from home occasions great private uneasiness, which will probably break out into publick complaints, whenever an opportunity offers. Was your Lordship present to hear what persons of the best characters (of a religious one, and who are not chargeable with party violence) say upon the affair, I can't but think your Lordship would consider, whether or no it was not the best way of getting clear of the difficulty in this point, with which your office was clogged when you entred upon it, to propose making the judges independent of both Crown and people, that so they might be left wholly to the influence of conscience and judgment; and to instruct the Governor to apply to the general Court, that an honourable and adequate provision might be made for them, to be continued during good behaviour, the failure whereof, on complaint regularly made at any time by the assembly, should be determined by the Governor and Council.

I give your Lordship the trouble of this with reluctance: the

desire of being useful has been my motive; have I erred in supposing myself qualified, humbly ask your Lordship's forgiveness, shall no more offend in the like way; but should your Lordship judge it in my power to be any ways serviceable, upon receiving a hint from the worthy gentleman through whose hand this passes (for the sake of secrecy, and who is the only person acquainted with my letters to your Lordship) shall cheerfully serve your Lordship, as far as consistent with the duties of my publick character.

And now my Lord sincerely praying, that you may prove instrumentally the repairer of that breach, which has unhappily taken place between the Mother Country and the Colonies in point of mutual affection and confidence; may not only approve yourself to an earthly Sovereign but to the King of kings; may be easy and happy in your department; may be long a blessing to the State; and may with your Lady be hereafter raised to the enjoyment of an eternal weight of glory, I remain with warm affection

Your Lordship's most obedient servant.

TO LORD DARTMOUTH ⁴⁷

JAMAICA PLAIN, June 16, 1773.

MY LORD, — The last accounts from England lead us to fear that we are on the eve of a war; I suppose with France and Spain, through their inclination to counteract a Russian settlement in the Mediterranean, and our obligations to assist the Czarina in case of an attack.

The luxury, distress and debt of Great Britain portend, according to the natural and usual course of the moral system, much evil; I am therefore jealous, lest we should not get out of a fresh broil, with equal honour and advantage, as formerly. However we are to use all probable means toward success; and the religious will look up to God for his blessing, and hope in the greatness of that divine mercy, which would have spared Sodom and it's [*sic*] dependencies, had it contained but only ten righteous. Notwithstanding all our declensions, I would hope, that the righteous in Great Britain bear more than that proportion to it's [*sic*] inhabitants.

Union, next to piety, is of the first consequence, and as both your Lordship's department and inclination, put you on promoting the same between the mother country and it's [*sic*] colonies, your Lordship may be willing to know what are the present sentiments of the people on this side the Atlantic. I shall faithfully transmit them. It is your Lordship's advantage to be in high esteem among us, which I have eagerly endeavoured to promote, by assuring the

⁴⁷ From the Dartmouth MSS.

popular leaders, that you had an hearty affection for the colonies; though I have concealed from *every* individual, the former liberty I took with your Lordship; on which you was pleased, to my great joy, to put so kind a construction. Suffer me to congratulate your Lordship on this advantage; and also on your having escaped the difficulties, that must have followed, had a discovery been made, by the court of inquiry at Rhode Island, of any concerned in burning the *Gaspee*; and had there been any attempts to have taken the accused, and to have transported them to Great Britain. Such an event, I am persuaded, would have been productive of the most unhappy consequences, and have set the continent into a fresh flame, especially as there had been an act passed, the preceding sessions of parliament, making it death to destroy any of his Majesty's ships, stores, *etc.* and subjecting the accused to be carried, at the pleasure of the Sovereign, to Great Britain, and to be tried in any county thereof. The peaceable demeanour of the colonists, I trust, will give no opportunity of attempting anything on that act: but should any minister advise to, and *attempt* the removal of persons from their vicinage, to such a distance, in order to trial, he would meet with an opposition, that could not end without shedding of blood. The affair of the judges, the court of inquiry, and the act, have led the house of burgesses in Virginia, to set on foot *committees of correspondence* through the several colonies, which have been agreed to, I apprehend, by all the assemblies that have sat since, and the last week by that of Boston. The gentlemen forming these committees *will* correspond, even though the assemblies that chose them should be dissolved, till a new assembly meets; and all *open* attempts from home to put a stop to them, will only convince the country of their importance, rivet their resolutions, and hasten a kind of congress. Great Britain must either decline making obnoxious acts of parliament for America, unless she will patiently submit to see them neglected and despised, or venture all and attempt supporting them by military power. Admiral Montague ⁴⁸ is so sensible of this, that at a private table, in free conversation, he said, "I see that British acts of parliament will never go down in America, unless forced by the point of the sword." A friend, who was one of the company, informed me of it, soon after it was spoken. I humbly offer it as my opinion, that the only effectual method to set all right in the speediest manner, is, for government to bring things back, as far as possible, to the same state they were in at his Majesty's accession. Till this is done, the colonists will think themselves aggrieved, and will be always wrangling; and should their assistance be wanted in any expeditions against a

⁴⁸ Sir George Montague (1750-1829).

common enemy, will be likely to deny it, till *actually* relieved, refusing to rely on promises. The situation of America, the cheapness of provisions, and the short and easy passage from Boston, to the West Indies, or even to Europe, when the northwesterners set in, give an opportunity of carrying on expeditions from hence with secrecy and advantage. France or Spain might be attackt unexpectedly from America, while it was thought the force was sailed to the West Indies, and *vice versa*. Should the cooperation of the Massachusetts, in case of a war, be required, and the influence of the Governor in promoting it be wanted, suspect there must be a change of the present, if not also of the Lieutenant, for his Excellency by broaching afresh, and supporting through the former assembly the anti-american doctrine of the parliament's right in *all* cases, has given disgust to the publick, and consequentially hurt, in this and the other colonies, the cause he meant to promote: besides, the house, since being called together, have, by some means or other, possessed themselves of original private letters, wrote by his excellency, his honour and others, years back to Mr. Weattly,⁴⁹ who was secretary to the honourable George Grenville Esquire, which they have voted *had a tendency to overthrow the constitution of the country, and to introduce arbitrary power*, so that neither the house, nor the body of the people will have any more confidence in, or value for the writers. Should Government ever conclude on a change, or should death occasion a vacancy, they could not perhaps ingratiate themselves more, or serve the common interest better, than by remembring and promoting a descendant of Sir William Pepperrell's, the grandson, William Pepperrell Esquire, a gentleman of an independent fortune, of a fine sweet disposition, well respected by all, that has improved himself by travelling, was over in England about four years ago, and was well known to some on the nobility. Lord North, with whom, I understand, he had the honour of a free conversation, may possibly apprehend, that he leans too much on the side of the people, but no danger would arise from thence. The country will never be lost by confiding in it, the inhabitants wish — not to be divided from Great Britain, and want to love her as formerly. I have pleasure from observing, how the Bishop of St. Asaph's sermon to the society *etc.* is read with avidity, is talked of in all companies, is greatly approved by the high sons of liberty, is considered as a good omen, and on that account meets with the more gracious reception. The first of the reprinted edition was soon disposed of; a second is, or will be out shortly. This is a rare thing for such a kind of publication in America.

⁴⁹ Thomas Whately (*d.* 1772), author of several pamphlets on national finance, 1765-1769.

Should there be a war with France, your Lordship may fear a little for Canada, but though Quebec is in some measure defenceless, yet your Lordship knows how many ships of the line are on this and the neighbouring station, which with other measures in the power of the colonies may be fully sufficient to prevent a sudden present surprise; your Lordship's vigilance will prevent a future one. A military spirit increases, and the people are forming various companies of artillery. I am fearful, lest I should have trespassed too much on your Lordship's precious moments, and yet I must continue doing it, till I have given your Lordship fresh assurance of my sincere prayers for your Lordship's welfare, and of my being

Your Lordship's most devoted servant.

P.S. A committee has been appointed to consider and report what should be done with regard to the letters; their resolves are before the house, and it is thought will be agreed to; the last is, to petition his Majesty for the removal of the Governor and Lieutenant Governor.

TO LORD DARTMOUTH ⁵⁰

JAMAICA PLAIN, August 28, 1773.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP, — that I had not the most distant idea, when I wrote last, of intruding again so soon upon you, but as it may be of use to have early intelligence, of what are likely to be the measures of the assembly, at their next sessions (which will scarce be, till after christmas) since what the speaker has received, have ventured upon the present freedom.

The state of affairs in this colony makes it *expedient*, I might have said *necessary*, for the speaker to communicate, to various individuals, information received from home, so that even *private* and *confidential*, no less than official letters cannot be so secreted, but that the contents will be known by many. I have had a sight of your letter to Dr. Franklin, and allow me, with all humility, to observe, that though it could not be thought that his Majesty, *acting consistently*, would do other than disapprove of calling into question the right of parliament to make laws binding his subjects in America in *all cases whatsoever*; yet it is certainly the prevailing sentiment, not only of this province, but of the others, that the British Legislature have not that right; and there are scarce any individuals, unless in office or expectants thereof, however they may assume to themselves the name of the friends of government, but what will deny the general position when reduced to certain particular cases, more especially that of taxation and of removing

⁵⁰ From the Dartmouth mss.

supposed criminals from the continent to any part of Britain in order to trial: and however such might decline contesting the matter in their own persons, they would wish the opposition of others to it successful. You will possibly think it strange, my Lord, and yet I have it so well authenticated, that I cannot but believe, that his Excellency, before he was in the employ of government, has again and again asserted, that whenever the colonies had a sufficient strength, they had a right to resist and reject all British acts of parliament; which in conversation is often quoted and reported against his present doctrines. It was through his unhappily moving the dispute, that the general court were drawn in with reluctance, as your Lordship has been informed, to agitate a point they would have chose otherwise not to have meddled with; but having given their real sentiments they will not be prevailed upon to go back, and would sooner submit to all the present grievances, than seek the redress of them by *rescinding*. I am convinced, that it would not be in the power of the most leading persons in the assembly to persuade them into it; and an attempt of that kind would only destroy their own influence. I was grieved that your Lordships letter should suggest, that the *doctrines held forth in the petitions and remonstrance* might be owing to the *artifices of a few who seek to create jealousy and distrust*; for individuals, though not intended, might think themselves aimed at, and that unfavourable reports had been propogated [*sic*] and believed concerning them, and thereby have their minds soured into a stiffer opposition to all healing measures; and without the concurrence and assistance of such individuals no such measures are like to be adopted here. I have but small hopes, from the conversation I have had with some of them, of the assembly's agreeing on a petition to his Majesty for the removal of what appear to them grievances, without implying or expressing their denial of the right of the British Legislature to make laws in *all* cases, lest their silence should be construed, especially after your Lordship's letter shall have been laid before them, a giving up their former sentiments; so that I could wish, that the removal of complaints might go upon a motion in the house, even though there should be no such petition — the propriety of which petition I have much insisted upon. All I expect, and which I am warranted to do, is, that should not his Excellency move the matter afresh, it will not be taken up by them in any shape, even on your Lordship's letter's (containing his Majesty's censure) having been read. Our politicians depend much on the correspondence that has been set on foot by the Virginians, and on the apprehension of a war's being at no great distance (from the disposition which has of late appeared in the French) for an opportunity of *insisting*

on an equivalent to a bill of rights: should it be expedient therefore for Great Britain to get rid of the present misunderstandings, would hope your Lordship's plan of conciliation will not depend on any pliability of the Massachusetts, but go upon national advantages. Should it be the design of administration to support in parliament any dutiful petition to his Majesty, for restoring American affairs to the like situation with what they were in, at the close of the war, supposing that there is nothing in it relative to the right of the British Legislature: and should it be thought prudent to have this publicly known in the colonies, would your Lordship condescend to notify the same to Mr. Thornton in a few lines for him to transmit to me as his correspondent (for I would not have it conjectured that I write to your Lordship) it might be in my power to promote and procure such petition, should there be attempts to prevent it. I trust to your Lordships goodness to put a favourable construction on my thus interposing with a benevolent intention: and continuing to pray that you and yours may be blessed of, and be made publick blessings by the Sovereign of the universe, I remain

Your Lordship's most dutiful servant.

TO LORD DARTMOUTH ⁵¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, September 18, 1773.

MY LORD, — Your Lordship might deem me wanting in respect and duty, was I not to communicate the intelligence, in which not only the publick, but your Lordship is personally interested, that I have accidentally gained on my return from a journey to New Haven in Connecticut.

Your Lordship's condescension in writing a confidential letter to the Speaker, has given an alarm to the gentlemen that have been in connexion with Sir Francis Barnard [*sic*], and your late predecessor in office. They talk of it, in their private and unreserved conversation, as though it was beneath a Secretary of State, to write to the Speaker of a petty American Assembly. They are apprehensive of your oversetting their several schemes; and say, that the friends of government here must use all their influence to get your Lordship removed.

Your Lordship will easily conjecture what a partial cast, such a design will give, to the various letters transmitted by them, both to your Lordship, and their respective correspondents. I shall briefly relate to your Lordship, the manner in which I came to the

⁵¹ From the Dartmouth MSS.

knowledge of the above. A certain gentleman who lives at a considerable distance from Boston, through marriage connexion, and sameness of sentiments, has a particular intimacy with the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, Chief Justice and others; and in consequence thereof is, whenever he visits them, admitted to their secret intentions, which he is apt to communicate, on his return, to an acquaintance of mine, as his own thoughts, whereas it has been repeatedly observed that he is only the echo of those whom he has been visiting: being with this acquaintance in my way home I learnt what I could not but in conscience communicate to your Lordship.

Your Lordship's knowledge of human depravity, will prevent your wondering, and therefore resenting on the occasion; while your desire of serving the community, will put you on your guard against every secret attempt to lessen your opportunity of doing it, which I am persuaded next to the glory of God, is the main inducement, that influences your Lordship in being thoughtful at any time, about continuing in the present department.

That no machinations, either on this or the other side of the Atlantic, may prevent the execution of your Lordship's noble intention of restoring harmony between the mother country and the colonies; and that your Lordship may evidence to the enemies of christianity, that true religion does not necessarily disqualify the possessor from being a good and successful statesman, is the sincere prayer of your Lordship's

devoted servant for the sake of Christ.

TO LORD DARTMOUTH ¹

JAMAICA PLAIN, December 11, 1773.

MY LORD, — Being greatly distressed with the present temper and situation of the colonists, and a strong apprehension of the embarrassment and delay it may possibly occasion to your Lordship's plan of reconciliation, I could not but flatter myself, that it might be acceptable to your Lordship to hear from me on the occasion; and this, I hope, will be admitted as a sufficient apology. The East India Company going into the measure of sending their own teas disgusted the generality of the American Merchants in London; who were thereby prevented obtaining the advantages, they before enjoyed, in having it pass through their hands, and might also conjecture, that the consignees would remit the value of the teas, in silver and gold, or in such ways as might further interfere with their trading interests. Upon this the merchants wrote over to different

¹ From the Dartmouth MSS.

persons in the several colonies, represented the step which was taken, as being the effect of a projected scheme on the part of Lord North to secure and continue the American duty upon tea, and therein to perpetuate the revenue act, of which the colonies complained as a sore grievance. They urged on the colonists, the necessity of opposing the present manoeuvre [*sic*], did they intend to preserve their liberties. Hereby they inflamed many: and the colonists might the more readily believe what was wrote, as they had in various ways been led to expect the removal of the tea-duty, and were to their grief and resentment greatly disappointed. The merchants at Philadelphia and New York, who were engaged in smuggling and selling the Dutch teas, were also deeply interested in overthrowing the measure of the English East India Company. Their gains were at stake, for they had got the tea trade chiefly in their own hands, the importation from G. Britain having been next to totally declined, as will appear from examining the custom house books of those two cities. They not only supplied their own colonies, but ran amazing quantities into the others. No wonder then that these, like Demetrius of old, supported the same sentiment that the British merchants had propogated [*sic*], promoted the discontent that began to diffuse itself through the people, pleaded the appearance of a dangerous monopoly, and joined in crying out, that the present measures must be opposed at all adventures. The scheme took, and began to operate first at Philadelphia. The day or evening before the publick meeting, the quakers, to save appearances, met among themselves as a body, determined to go into no violences, and then agreed, that they would neither drink, nor buy, nor promote, but discourage the sale of the teas that were coming from the East India Company: this was the purport of their resolution. The next day many of the most considerable among them attended the publick meeting, and were at least real, tho' silent approvers of, if not actual voters in the resolves of that assembly; and some of them were of the committee appointed to wait upon the consignees. From thence the open and avowed opposition extended to New York, and at length passed on to Boston. The measure had been for some time canvassed in private conversation; and after the first publick proceedings of the before mentioned cities, began openly to shew itself, by printed papers posted up in different parts of the town, inviting all the sons of liberty in Boston and the neighbourhood to repair on the morrow to liberty tree, there to consult on what should be done, *etc.* Who projected this step I have not yet learnt. The appearance at the place of resort was so trifling, that many were ashamed of it. The 5th of November (called here Pope-day) when a number of the lower class usually

attend the procession of the figures then carried about, being on the heels of the former proceeding, several were apprehensive, that the people would run into disorderly mobbings and riotings; but others asserted there would be nothing of that kind, and were right in their judgment. The first step not having answered, town meetings followed at the request of the inhabitants, who would then have agreed to have had the teas, as they arrived, stored in the Castle, upon the consignees consenting thereto, declining to sell it, and assuring the publick that none of it should be disposed of, till they had wrote home, and received fresh directions how to proceed. While matters were agitating between the contending parties, one of the consignees arrived from London, and while with his friends, the same evening, at the house of his father, another of the consignees (Mr. Clarke) a number of persons to the amount of more than an hundred repaired (as I have been assured on good authority) in a most peaceable manner to Mr. Clarke's, with a written paper which they wanted to read to him, the contents I am a stranger to, but conclude it referred to the consignees. On their appearing in the court-yard, the window was thrown up, and some harsh language used, which being accompanied with the firing of a pistol or gun (unloaded, as is generally believed, with respect to ball or shot) they were so enraged, that they immediately broke the windows of the house. This is the only attack that has been made on any house, place or person; for as to what passed at Mr. Clarke's store, on the day of meeting at liberty tree, it would argue the most excessive partiality to stile it an attack. His Excellency observing the uneasiness that prevailed, advised with the Council once and again; but they, concluding the affair did not properly belong to them, as a matter of state, declined interfering in it as a Council, whatever they might discover of their private opinions as to the measures proper to be taken upon the occasion. While nothing certain was concluded upon between the inhabitants and the consignees, Captain Hall arrived on the 28th of November. Boston being desirous of knowing the opinion of the neighbouring towns conducted accordingly, and different committees upon invitation joined them at Faneuil Hall, from whence the assembly adjourned to a capacious meeting-house, as it frequently done for the conveniency of numbers. And now, the consignees not having fallen in with the first proposals while they would have satisfied, the others being greatly strengthened from the country rose in their demands, and insisted upon the teas being sent back, which the consignees urged it was not in their power to do. The resolves agreed upon, your Lordship will doubtless receive from his Excellency before, or as soon as, this can be received. After the resolves, measures were

taken to prevent the landing of the tea, by setting an armed watch on the wharf to oppose all attempt[t]s for doing it; which has been given into as to Captain Bruce's vessel, and will be done as to the remaining ones on their arrival, and be continued till they are gone again. Day and night signals have also been agreed upon, which the watch are to give when assistance is wanted. This watch has, I imagine, hitherto consisted of volunteers, and so has not been paid by the town. Officers in the militia have freely undertaken the service, and provided the men for the time being; but how often I cannot inform your Lordship.

All endeavours to land the tea (which I understand has not been yet entred by the consignees) having been prudently declined, there has been no disturbance, nor any insult offered the servants of government, tho' under the fear of what might happen, for a day or two, the commissioners repaired to the Castle; but some or all of them have returned to their own dwellings. The consignees do not choose to leave the Castle, till matters are settled, lest, should any tumult unexpectedly take place, they might be endangered thereby. I must, my Lord, account it a happiness, that no attempt has been made to land the tea; for such is the temper of the people, not only at Boston, but through the country, that they would, at all hazards, have opposed it, even tho' it should have led on to the drawing of the sword. I have endeavoured in conversation with several to divert them from such rashness, and from venturing a rupture, by telling them it is not the proper time, that they are not sufficiently strong to encounter with the mother country, that their sea-ports are exposed, that they have no navy, and that, if their grievances are not removed before, it will be safer for them in some distant period, when more numerous, to attempt relieving themselves by force — but without making much impression upon them. How far the colonists may have so exceeded the bounds of moderation, after allowing for the manner in which they have been managed by interested persons at home and among themselves, as that government may think it expedient to decline giving them the relief, I humbly conjecture from your Lordship's letter to Dr. Franklin, was really intended; or may judge it necessary to adopt rough measures respecting them, it is not for me to determine: but must frankly acknowledge, I dread the consequences of the latter. Should any colony be dealt with separately, the rest would go near to make it a common cause, apprehensive that it would come to their turn sooner or later, which would probably lead on to a civil war; and the colonies, I am jealous, in that case would be so madly venturous, as to look out for naval allies among the states of Europe. As to mere land forces they appear to hold them in contempt; and indeed

from the knowledge I have obtained of the country, by travelling through various parts, and the number of it's [*sic*] inhabitants, was I wholly under the influence of wor[ldly] maxims and conscience out of the way, and was I obliged to take an active part either for or against them, provided there was a sufficient supply of military stores, cool sensible and courageous commanders, and a few months notice, I should think it wisest to cast in my lot with them, whatever regiments from G. Britain might be employed against them. They are too near akin to my own countrymen to be void of *natural* courage; they are used to the gun from their infancy; their spirits have not been broke by slavery; and they would have more at stake to fight for, than the trifling pay of the mercenary. Besides they are more numerous than can be inferred from what passes for their own authenticated account. They have increased amazingly since the last war, what by emigrations and population, which on this continent is extremely rapid. I have learnt, that when there was an attempt years back, to get to the knowledge of the number of inhabitants in some places, the persons employed to take an account of them, purposely returned imperfect lists, below the truth, that it might not be known how numerous they were. I thought the poll-tax would determine the number of persons in the Massachusetts above sixteen, till lately conversing with a select-man of my acquaintance, I found it was probable there was near an eighth more, for that they took no account of paupers supported by the parishes, and it was usual to omit those who had but lately come to that age. These particulars I mention not with a view of deceiving, but of preventing your Lordship's being deceived, and led into measures, which by being built on false principles, may in the end strangely disappoint the promoters of them. Bear with me, my Lord, in adding, that the present tolerating spirit of the French Court towards their own protestant subjects in France, will, if persisted in and more universally known, tend to take off the natural aversion of the colonists to France; and a certain gentleman of consequence could, when I was conversing with him upon the happy change the French protestants were acquainted with, could hint, that the difference of religion with such a tolerating spirit might not make a connection with France dangerous to protestants; his meaning was evident, and my reflexion upon it, tho' confined to myself, was, that what one thinks others may. Should it be possible, I cannot but be of opinion, that it's high time for all disputes between the mother country and colonies to be terminated; for instead of that warm affection for G. Britain, that the most serious and worthy persons assure me formerly prevailed in the breasts of the colonists, I perceive a growing alienation of heart, leading them almost to wish

ill to my native country, and to rejoyce in the calamities that may befall it; and hastening apace towards an inveteracy. Should ever the affection of the colonies be wholly lost, the loss of the colonies, I humbly conceive, would be likely to follow it, within half the life of a man.

There is a cutter fitting out, which, it is conjectured, is designed for stopping the ships when upon their return with the tea, and for carrying them alongside the Castle, in order to it's [*sic*] being landed and safely deposited therein; should this be done, I do not suppose there will be any actual disturbance, only verbal noise and clamour, which will subside by degrees, should the consignees agree on their part to what was first proposed; and if done, will admit of their returning to their own houses and going about their particular business, without injury or molestation, from man, woman or child.

Could the American duty, my Lord, be removed, and the East India Company be capable of supplying the market on those easy terms, as to leave no special encouragement for smuggling, I think I could mention a way in which they might effectually exclude the Dutch teas, and disappoint the influence of interested merchants whether here or at home. The town of Boston labours under heavy parish taxes, should therefore advise, that, instead of consigning the teas to a few individuals they should agree with the town, by it's [*sic*] overseers or select-men or otherwise, who should provide proper warehouses, be answerable, should remit, on the sale of the teas, good bills of a short date *etc.*, and have the benefit of the factorage for lowering their rates, by which all, whether high or low, would be proportionably profited, and unite in forwarding the sale of the teas, through not only this, but all the New England colonies. The like might be done at Philadelphia, and probably at New York. Should this hint be worthy your Lordship's notice, your Lordship may use it as though it was your own, for I have not communicated it to any other.

Thus having finished what I judged incumbent upon me as a member of civil society, I desire quietly to leave all with Him, who reigneth over the universe, and accomplisheth his own purposes, amidst all the different clashing designs of mankind. That He may direct your Lordship, in your various concerns while in life, and after many happy and honourable years on earth, take you to behold and participate of his glory, is the sincere prayer of

Your Lordship's most dutiful servant.

TO SAMUEL WILTON ²

JAMAICA PLAIN, April 6–May 6, 1776.

Tho' deprived of the comfort of hearing, my dear Sir, from you and other friends, whom I would by no means involve in difficulties, in order to my obtaining that special pleasure after so long an interval; yet I can embrace every opportunity of sending to you without increasing my own particular danger, which I consider as trifling, while I am sensible that I am very obnoxious to all the tools of administration in this part of the world. I decline saying of the British Empire, as it is highly probable, that the British Empire will not long comprehend the American colonies. A separation seems to be coming on apace; and France is in readiness and only waits the opportunity for making her advantage of it. I wrote to you from Philadelphia the 12th of September, 1775. We returned to our dwelling by the 14th of October and thro' the goodness of God, besides having been favoured with a pleasant journey, had the happiness of finding our situation such as would admit of our remaining on the Plain, the invaders of our rights not being able to penetrate our lines. We might have been drove off several times since, had they known the critical moment; but it was not the will of heaven that they should break out and ravage the country. We supposed that they were fully acquainted with the state of our camp: but either the accounts that were carried in varied so as to confound them, or something else prevented. 'Tis the cast of the New Englanders to enlist for a certain time, and when the time is expired to quit the service and return home, let the call for their continuance be ever so urgent. The time for the Connecticut troops was out the beginning of December; the consequence of which was that some thousands left us so weak handed, that General Howe might have attempted the lines with a great probability of carrying them. I addressed two or three regiments, and have been told since by one of the men, that I prevailed upon three hundred to stay for another month, which was all that was requested of them. The beginning of January the enlistment for the Massachusetts Hampshire and Rhode Island troops was out, when further numbers went off; and about the 10th of that month, General How might, humanly speaking, have come out and cut us to pieces, having nearly as many regulars as we had provincials. The history of this war down to the present day, April 1, 1776, will be little else than a detail of marvellous interpositions of providence.

² Original in the possession of Harold Murdock. Published in *Proceedings*, LX. 360–366, as addressed to "Samuel Wilcon."

The old continental army was dismissed, and a new one raised differently modelled from the former, under the guns of our enemies. Tho' we were in such a fluctuating state from the beginning of December till the end of January, yet we carried on our approaches. A number of militia were called in to strengthen us when at the weakest, but during the interval between the troops leaving the camp and the arrival of the others to fill up their place, a capital blow might have been struck. While the harbour on the side of Cambridge and Dorchester was froze over, it was warmly talked once and again of crossing the ice, and attacking our enemies in Boston; I never relished the thought. The repulse at Quebec cooled some fiery spirits, and prudence prevented such a rash undertaking. On the 14th of February about four in the morning a party from the Castle under Colonel Leslie joined another sent over the ice to Dorchester neck by General How burnt about half a dozen houses; but the General's scheme failed. He was up the whole night and busy in getting ready for an attack with two thousand of his troops, or it might be more. He expected that the burning of the houses would occasion such an alarm, as to put us upon sending from Roxbury lines a large reinforcement, and thereby give him an opportunity of attacking them with advantage: but when day broke he found that our men were as usual at their alarm posts so that he could not prosecute his plan. The burning of the houses, was a kind of retaliation, for our having gone over, some time before, from Prospect hill to Charles Town, and burnt a number of houses that the regulars made use of: but our expedition alarmed them much more than theirs alarmed us; for they apprehended we were going to attack Bunkers hill and the town at the same time. What was particular, while we were going on with our expedition, the ministerial officers were attending a play and the farce was the blockade of Boston, designed to ridicule us; just as the farce was commencing in comes the orderly serjeant crying out that the provincials had attacked Bunkers hill, some imagined it was a part of the farce, but the officers knew better and so did the generality, confusion and disorder therefore immediately ensued, and every military genius had to hasten to his post. Thus the ridicule was turned upon themselves, and for some time they imagined that we had got scent of their intention and designed it; but herein they were mistaken. Our brave and sensible commander in chief his Excellency General Washington, having laid his plan for seizing and fortifying Dorchester hills, that overlook the town, and that General Burgoyne mentions in his letter giving an account of the engagement on the 17th of June, applied to the New England governments, Rhode Island excepted, for a reinforcement of some thou-

sands for two months, ending with the last of March, which was accordingly sent. Our troops were busied in making fascines and in getting every other matter in readiness. A battle was expected and ardently wished for, whenever we should possess the hills. It was urged by some to go on so as that the engagement might happen on the 5th of March, the day on which the unarmed mob was fired upon at Boston by Captain Preston's men. It was accordingly concluded to enter upon the work the 4th at night. In the mean time to amuse the enemy, our bomb batteries being finished on Cambridge and Roxbury side, a few shells were thrown into town saturday night March the third; till then it was not believed that we had so many warlike instruments, but we had sent to Ticonderoga and had brought over the lakes, while froze sufficient to bear, cannon, mortars, and howittzs, to the amount of fifty and better; shells we got from the king's store at N. York. On the Lord's day night more shells were thrown, besides firing a number of cannon into the town. The monday night it was repeated and increased considerably; but not one of our friends in town was hurt; about half a dozen soldiers lost their limbs. All things being ready, as soon as the evening admitted of it, the undertaking went forward. The covering party consisting of 800 men led the way; then the carts with the entrenching tools; after that the main working body under General Thomas consisting of about 1200; a train of more than 300 carts loaded with fascines, presst hay, in bundles of seven or eight hundred, *etc.* closed the procession. Every one knew his place and business, the covering party when upon the ground divided, half went to the point next to Boston, the other to that next to the Castle. All possible silence was observed. The wind lay so as to carry what noise could not be avoided, by driving the stakes and picking against the frozen ground (for the frost was still more than a foot thick, about a foot and a half) to carry, I say, what noise could not be avoided, into the harbour between the town and the castle, so as not to be heard and regarded by such as had no suspicion of what we were after, especially as there was a continued cannonade on both sides. Many of the carts made three trips, some four. General Thomas told me that he pulled out his watch and found that by ten o'clock at night, they had got two forts, one upon each hill, sufficient to defend them from small arms and grape shot. The men continued working with the utmost spirit, till relieved the tuesday morning about three. The neighbouring militia had been called in for three days to guard against accidents, and were in by twelve at night, some before, in the evening. The night was remarkably mild, a finer for working could not have been taken out of the whole 365. It was hazy below so that our people could not

be seen, tho' it was a bright moon light night above on the hills. When the ministerialists discovered in the morning early what we had been after, they were astonished upon seeing what we had done. General How was seen to scratch his head and heard to say by those that were about him, that he did not know what he should do, that the provincials (he likely called them by some other name) had done more work in one night than his whole army would have done in six months. In this strong manner did he express his surprise. He soon called a council of war and determined upon attempting to dislodge our people (the Admiral having informed him that if we possessed those heights he could not keep one of his Majesty's ships in the harbour). Spectators in abundance, Yours among the rest, were looking out upon the adjacent hills for a bloody battle. The wharf was thronged with soldiers, while numbers were going on board vessels, the provincials rejoiced at seeing it, clapped their hands and wished for the expected attack: General Washington said to those that were at hand remember it is the fifth of March, and avenge the death of your brethren: it was immediately asked what the General said, by those that were not near enough to hear, and as soon answered; and so from one to another thro' all the troops, which added fresh fuel to the martial fire before kindled. The General's plan was in case such a number came out of Boston attackt and were defeated, for a body of three thousand provincials to cross over from Cambridge and attempt the town in the confusion that the regulars must have been in. Proper signals had been agreed upon, and by means of the hills which were in view one of another intelligence could be conveyed instantly from Dorchester heights to Roxbury and from Roxbury to Cambridge. The town of Boston is so surrounded on every side by neighbouring hills, that nothing could take place at the wharfs or next to the water, but we could note it by the help of glasses. The tide was turned, and the day too far spent to admit of the regulars coming out and attacking on the fifth of March. They would have been under great disadvantages had they landed after high water, at the point next to the town. General How proposed attacking therefore the next morning very early. He considered the affair as desperate, but thought the attempt necessary. The ministerial troops were not hearty in the matter. It was observed by one before whose door they were drawn up ere they embarked, that they looked in general pale and dejected, and said to one another that it would be another Bunkers hill affair or worse: some few of them shewed great resolution and talked of what they would do with the rebels. I have been informed that General How's plan was,* to make a feint towards Lechmores point on the side of Cambridge, to attack the lines at

Roxbury with a large body under his own command without firing, with bayonets fixed, and to attempt Dorchester hills by about two thousand men under Earl Percy. The party designed for Dorchester was to have landed in the hollow between the furthest of the two fortified hills and the castle. The men were to have went down in the evening of the fifth. When two of their vessels came down opposite the hollow, they were unexpectedly fired at by a couple of our guns which made them sheer off immediately. The wind was very unfavourable to the design carrying on by the ministerialists, blowing pritty fresh and almost full against them. I came home early finding nothing could be done that evening; and being fatigued with riding forward and backward, and the exercise of body and mind natural to such a peculiar state of things, and designing to be up by day break and down in view of what might be going on, I went to bed about eight. I expected that the men of war would get as near to Dorchester hills as possible, that the next morning at day break a most heavy cannonade would begin; and I thought it probable that the regulars would land under cover of it, and proceed to attack the provincials. But when I heard in the night how amazingly strong the wind blew (for it was such a storm as scarce any one remembered to have heard) and how it rained towards morning, I concluded that the ships could not stir, and pleased myself with the reflection that the Lord might be working deliverance for us and preventing the effusion of human blood. The event proved that it was so. The storm hindered the attack; and it was so given out afterward, in general orders by General How as appears by one of the orderly books that fell into our hands. Immediately orders were given to prepare for embarking the troops, that the town might be speedily evacuated. The tories were thunder-struck, and terribly dejected. All was hurry and confusion: the soldiers working like horses night and day, getting on board what they could as fast as possible. On the 17th of March in the morning they evacuated the town. They went off in a hurry and fright, leaving behind them stores to the amount of thirty thousand pound sterling or better, besides what they destroyed. God has done wonders for us. May we not only sing his praises, but remember his works. Must refer you to the publick prints for further particulars. Shall be soon busy in getting my books and furniture back and in settling afresh. I wish your way was clear for coming over to and settling at Boston. No less than three churches are in want. Humanly judging you would be by far more extensively useful in New England than you can be in old. Do think of the matter seriously. You may have an opportunity of coming perhaps by the way of France to one part or other of the Continent,

and no sooner should I hear of it, but would health permit should hasten to you. You have my consent to make this as publick as you please, altering the diction wherein faulty thro' the haste in which I have been obliged to write. Give my best respects to all friends. Design writing to Mr. Thornton by Captain Foster of — who I expect will sail about three weeks, having had General Washington's leave to return home with the Captains of some other vessels that were taken, bringing provisions *etc.* to the regulars. Adieu my dear Brother.

[*Unsigned.*]

May the 6th 1776.

Was disappointed in the means of conveyance and so am got into the month of May.

* have since learnt from a gentleman in Boston, that all the ladders that could be procured were cut to ten feet lengths, that the party designed for Dorchester hills and that were to have landed in the hollow did not amount to two thousand, but consisted of the grenadiers and light infantry; that General How intended crossing over, below Lambs dam so as to get upon the neck leading to the hills from the country, with four thousand and better with some other generals under him, designing in that way to put our people between two fires and if he succeeded to cut off their retreat, that General Robinson was to have attacked the lines at Roxbury with fifteen hundred, he was sensible of the hazard and the night before sent for a lawyer to make his will as did many others, and that General Pigott was to remain at New Boston, a part of the town so called, with six hundred men to defend the eminences and to guard against any attack from our people from Lechmores point. His Excellency General Washington had strengthened himself for a few days while the matter was depending by calling in the neighbouring militia to the amount of about fifteen hundred. When the ministerialists were preparing to leave Boston he sent off the riflemen by land to N. York to assist in securing that city should How propose possessing himself of it; and before they sailed, a whole brigade under General Heath about ninety miles by land and then to go up the Sound, and afterwards the rest of the army, except a few regiments which are left at Boston, took the same rout, notwithstanding the season of the year: and since the arrival of the troops at N. Y., that city has been so fortified that they bid defiance to the whole British navy: from N. Y. several regiments have been sent up the river to Albany and so to Canada: am in daily expectation of hearing that Quebec has been stormed and taken. Colonel now

General Arnold continued to block up Quebec when he had not half the number of effective men that Carleton had, viz. but 530. The number of effective men that General How had when he left Boston was 7,500 and odd exclusive of staff officers. We are fortifying every harbour upon the continent belonging to the united colonies, and intend verifying Governor Johnston's remarks about the weakness of ships to attempt any thing effectual without the support of an army. Even Georgia has baffled the regulars and prevented the execution of their plan to land at the Savannah. The poor tories under General Donald McDonald have been beaten and dispersed, and disarmed, and the General taken prisoner. Hitherto the ministerialists have been baffled in all their projects: how far it may please God thus to favour us for the future cannot be known, but we are recommended by the Congress to implore his continued gracious interposition, in the observation of another continental fast tomorrow fortnight the 17th of May.

TO JEREMY BELKNAP³

J[AMAICA] PLAIN, September 13, 1779.

BROTHER BELKNAP, — These parsons are strange fellows; they will neither admit of British nor American tyranny. If constitutions are attempted to be palmed upon the people which are unfavorable to liberty, one of these black coats makes his assault in open day, and demolishes the labours of a select convention; another works in the dark, and succeeds by sap. Well, let him take care to keep behind the curtain and not venture to peep, lest we should catch a sight of his phiz and cook both him and his egg till they are quite hard and past feeling. But all this is wandering from the point, for I mean earnestly to request the loan of your ms. History to be brought by our common friend and carrier, the ingenious Mr. Hazard, who will answer for its being safely returned; and so leaving you to have your laugh out, I bid you adieu, and present my respects to your good Lady, and say *totidem litteris*.

Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

I leave it with Hazard to give you the history of our present Convention proceedings, which bid fair, and yield me comfortable hopes.

[Addressed:] The Reverend Mr. Belknap, Dover.

³ From 6 Collections iv. 151. The original is in the Belknap Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.⁴

JAMAICA PLAIN, October 23, 1784.

SIR, — While I had in my hands yesterday morning one of your Bank Bills, it occurred to me, that within these two or three years, there was executed at London a young genius, for forging Bank Notes, whose forgery was so exact that the Parties in the Bank could not tell the counterfeits from the genuine; he even imitated the watermark to the highest perfection; and was condemned upon his own confession when first apprehended, with a few circumstances[tan]tial evidences corroborating his guilt. No persons in the Bank would venture to swear that this or that note was a counterfeit.

I thought with myself, what might be the fatal consequence to a young Bank should any similar genius equally vitiated appear in America, and how you might fix a private mark upon every note which could never be known in common by any other than yourselves. General Washington informed me that he had corresponded with the friends of America in New York by the aid of a chymical preparation which was invisible, and could be discovered by *no other means* than a counter liquor which being rubbed on the paper made the writing visible. Your name written with such a liquor on the notes, besides the signature, would secure the means of knowing by the counter liquor the genuineness of every note offered after the practice of so marking had been adopted. Should the Directors of the Bank chuse to adopt such a measure for the security of the Bank and the Public against accomplished villians, I will inform you from whom to procure the two liquors, the General having given me the name of the gentleman; but how they are made the General himself does not know. Your humble Servant.

Have written in great haste, that I might not miss of the opportunity of sending the above. The proposal must not be matter of notoriety, but to the Directors.

TO JOHN TEMPLE⁵

JAMAICA PLAIN, February 1, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — Though late in congratulating you and your Lady upon your safe arrival, yet I rejoiced when I heard of and was con-

⁴ From 1 *Proceedings*, vii. 296. The original is in the Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁵ From 7 *Collections* vi. 88. The original is in the Winthrop Papers (Bowdoin-Temple Papers), Massachusetts Historical Society.

vinced of your appointment; and made immediate use of what our friend Mr. Adams wrote concerning you, upon receiving it, that I might lay an anchor to the windward against the blasts of ill nature and prejudice; and therewith disputed against gainsayers in your behalf with a degree of success. Mr. Adams wrote June the 26th, [17]85, "I presume Mr. Bowdoin is your Governor, and that all things go on smoothly. Mr. Temple is here and behaves in a manner very friendly to America. If he goes out, as he proposes to do in August, he will do no injury to America, but on the contrary I believe more service than we can expect from any other British Consul." The day I received the letter, I forwarded the extract to a Massachusetts delegate at Congress, who I believed was friendly to you; that he might therewith make favorable impressions, and I communicated it to numbers at Boston of the Council, Senate, and House and others, weeks before I let the Governor see it, that so it might not be said that the family put me upon it. My Agent at New York has, I understand, agreeable to my wishes, sent you one of my Proposals, and hope for your Patronage. I am now getting a little in readiness for removing with my family to Great Britain and expect to quit America by the latter end of April or beginning of May. I doubt not of your readiness to serve me in a particular case, if within your power; and therefore mention it. I mean to take back a part of my library, in which there will not be a dozen bound books but what I brought over with me, or had sent from thence. I shall have also some furniture, but all of English manufacture. The United States being now *foreign* dominions, these articles will by a *strict* interpretation of the law be subject to duties, and some very heavy; but I should imagine a Representation and letters from you to the Commissioners of the Customs, specifying that they all came from England, are not meant for sale, but private use, belong to a Briton returning to his native country with the design of finishing his days there as a *peaceable subject*, would procure me a license for landing them free from duty, upon proper assurance given that the packages contain no smuggled article whatever, neither tea, coffee, chocolate, *etc.* Shall be glad to know whether you can assist me in this business consistently with your public character, and without giving umbrage to your friends by attempting to serve me. Should you not be able to serve me, still if you have any letters which you would wish to entrust me with to be delivered with my own hands, I shall attend to it, the same as if you could help me. I was very anxious for your arrival and being recognized by Congress ere a certain person could be seated in the chair, lest the public should suffer damage, by measures adopted for the purpose of gratifying private malice. Mrs. Gordon unites in

regards to Self, Lady and children. I have the happiness now and then of seeing and conversing with your amiable daughter. I remain, Dear Sir,

Your Honour's most obedient, humble servant.

TO JOHN TEMPLE⁶

JAMAICA PLAIN, March 15, 1786.

DEAR SIR,—Your obliging letter of 14th Feb[ruar]y, received last sabbath evening, has convinced me that I judged right in numbering you among my real friends. The spirit of the Americans in continuing to abuse Britain, *etc.*, tho' peace has been established, has reconciled me greatly to the thought of leaving the continent where I should have had no quiet in case of a future rupture, unless I would have gone with them in all their extravagances. Their malevolence has charged the British with bringing the Algerines upon them, and I have at times said, where it could be said with safety, that if the plague was to break out among them they would be ready to impute it to the king's being in league with the prince of the power of the air. You have had your turn; and now it is mine to be abused in the public papers. Some suspect whether the little man upon the hill has not his hands in this dirty business. He may justly dread an *impartial, independent* Historian. Should you visit Boston, and he know the time of your coming, he may get well enough to visit New York and occupy a place which deserves a person of more abilities and true dignity. You will ask, how do you bear the drubbing? Like an old countryman that possesses *mens conscia recti*. Would you think it, and yet so it is, Mr. Mumford, who rides post from Boston through Providence and Newport to New London, told me, that it was objected I was friendly to you, and therefore nothing could be expected from me favourable to America, upon which I shewed him Mr. Adams's letter that he might assure the objectors that you was friendly to America. Am obliged to you for subscribing, and hope you will have pleasure in reading. Shall get some of my friends to republish in the London papers the scurrilous paragraphs that have been printed at Boston, that so the British may be animated to subscribe. Wont [*sic*] that be a good scheme to take in the green horns of America, who see not the operations of their own malice for frustrating their very intentions? Will take care to present your regards as requested.

⁶ From 7 *Collections* vi. 89. The original is in the Winthrop Papers (Bowdoin-Temple Papers), Massachusetts Historical Society.

I rejoice in the prosperity of my native country. As I find you can quote scripture upon occasion, I will let you see that I am *like wise*, but shall leave the application and interpretation to yourself. *No man having drank old wine, straightway desireth new; for he saith the old is better.*

I guarded some against the epidemic frenzy of trusting the Americans; who I hope have profited by the hint and escaped.

I come now to my own particular business. I have followed and mean to follow your advice in general. I mentioned *furniture*; but all I mean to take is an old Indian Japan dressing glass, formerly belonging to Mrs. Gordon's aunt, and for which she has a relative fondness, and our best bed furniture, which has never been put up in America, nor even taken out of the case in which it came over, and only examined to see that it was not damaged. Chairs, tables, clock, *etc.*, we shall sell. A number of my books I have disposed of; the choicest and which I cannot replace easily, or that would fetch but a trifle here considering how little they are in demand, I shall take back. The freight of all I carry with me will fall short, I apprehend, of ten guineas. There will be about eight boxes and cases. Most of them what I brought over, and have put by and used for keeping corn in, *etc.* I take back the capital landscape upon iron which hung in the parlour, done at Birmingham. Half a dozen Mezzotinto's framed and glassed; and three pictures of butterflies are also packed up. The two beds with the blankets which will be wanted for selves and the maid, a chest of linen, a box with clothes, and two or three small boxes with papers, sermons, *etc.*, there will be no occasion, I apprehend, to put into the manifest. You may assure your correspondent that I will make no attempt to smuggle any articles, nor admit of any attempt of that kind under my sanction. And now suffer me, Dear Sir, to entreat your interest with Mr. Stiles, that the above articles may be admitted to a landing without being subject to duties, as they were formerly British, and are not meant for sale, but my own private use. Be pleased to mention in your letter to me, whether there are any perquisites belonging to the Secretary's office, and what they are, if you know, that so I may give custom to whom custom is due.

I expect to sail in three weeks at farthest, and must be ready before. Pray you therefore to enclose your letter to Mr. Stiles in one from yourself, and send by the post for safety the first opportunity, that it may not be too late. The expence of postage I shall consider as trifling compared with a disappointment of not receiving them in time. Mrs. G[ordon] joins in best regards to your Lady, Self and family, some children I suppose you have with you.

Dear Sir, Your sincere friend and very humble servant.

The Gov[ernor] and family I believe are well. They are well.

Pray present the Profile shade to your Lady. Wish she may find a likeness in it. Obtained it yesterday; but it must be kept a profound secret, as the delicacy of the Original may be otherwise hurt.

TO JAMES BOWDOIN.⁷

STOKE NEWINGTON, September 28, 1786.

MY GOOD SIR, — I congratulate you most sincerely upon your late passage and procession over Charles river; and am glad that the glorious day happened in the time of your being governour.⁸ Your continuance in the chair is what I expected; but whether your abilities, seconded by the sensible exertions of others, have not ruined your influence, must be determined by the next election. Depend upon it, if the country members can lead their electors, they will make you suffer for having jockeyed them out of their fall wages and winter perquisites, by completing the business of the last session so effectually as to adjourn the court till next January. Was ever such a thing heard of, since Sir F. Bernard revenged himself upon them before he left the country by proroguing them to January 10th? If you and your supporters practise such kind of patriotism as distinguished the last session, you and they must fall, or the state will rise and the blood suckers who wish to stick to it like ticks be reduced to the dire necessity of learning to be useful members of society. However you have my blessing, as good as the arch-bishop's of Canterbury. Go on and prosper under the smiles of the great Governour of the universe. Your bridge I hope will in time turn into stone by the help of masons, of free-masons; for salt water will not produce petrification. But what say you to an iron bridge? I have sent you the plan of one for your amusement. Great minds which have been conversant with great subjects are not given to wonder at every strange operation of art or nature. And now before I forget it (I shall think of myself by and by) let me mention that I have a nephew by Mrs. Gordon's side named Field,⁹ one of the best names upon the *face of the earth*, who finishes his apprenticeship the next month, after having faithfully and steadily served the noted Messrs. Nairne & Blunt, opticians, mathe-

⁷ From 7 *Collections* VI. 113. The original is in the Winthrop Papers (Bowdoin-Temple Papers), Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁸ The bridge between Boston and Charlestown was opened with great ceremony by Governor Bowdoin September 17, 1786.

⁹ Mrs. Gordon was a daughter of John Field, a London apothecary of considerable reputation. See 2 *Proceedings*, XVII. 302 n.

matical instrument makers, *etc., etc., etc.* He has made himself master of every branch. I can with safety to my own character recommend him as a good hand, such as has given his masters great satisfaction. He will set up for himself. Your Excellency's encouragement and interest among your friends will be owned as a great favour conferred upon me.

I proceed to answer some questions which I apprehend you are ready to ask. I shall not be able to publish so soon as I intended; but shall make as much haste as good speed. Several on this side the water have the protection of the law against libels; and as they will be likely to suffer by the truth, I must give it in that artful guarded way that even the fangs of law cannot fasten upon me, or they may hoist me into the pillory which is a post I am not fond of occupying, besides plundering me of all the profits I wish to gain from the History. In respect to culprits in the western world, I can safely say any thing do I keep to the truth, and relate it not as one who enjoys the follies and vices of others, but as an impartial faithful Historian. We are at present with my brother Field and shall probably remain with him till Christmas, unless some settlement should offer before. Have no immediate prospect of any, but are exercising reliance upon the divine wisdom and goodness. It would be a blunder in me to touch upon British politics when you have a correspondence with Mr. John Adams. You have so much upon your hands that I can scarce expect an answer; but if you can find no leisure to write employ our common friend Dr. Waterhouse as deputy in the present case. Mrs. Gordon joins in presenting best regards to your Excellency, your Lady, Son and daughter, Grand-daughter and son. Pray remember me to brother Thacher, and tell him that if he means I should correspond with him, he must tell me so in *many* words. I remain, with great respect,

Your Excellency's sincere friend and very humble servant.

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